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**FROM SALISBURY TO HARARE :
THE GEOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC
AUTHORITY FINANCE AND PRACTICE
UNDER CHANGING IDEOLOGICAL
CIRCUMSTANCES**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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and Geographical Science
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ABSTRACT

FROM SALISBURY TO HARARE : THE GEOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC AUTHORITY FINANCE UNDER CHANGING IDEOLOGICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

This study is based on the assumption that money 'powers the urban system'. Its focus is the geography of public finance in Harare and ideologically inspired change in urban management. The context is the changing circumstances attendant upon the transfer of power from minority White settler colonial rule to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe. The ruling ZANU-PF party professed a continuing ideological commitment to the principles of "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" socialism. It was surmised that application of these principles to the discharge of urban management and to the provision of public goods and services by a Black City Council would have been reflected in changing trends in the generation, allocation and distribution of public funds. Expressed as an aphorism, the geography of public finance investigates 'who gets what, where; who pays, who benefits, who decides, and who decides who decides'. These issues are addressed in the present study.

Annual income and expenditure on both capital and revenue accounts for selected Council operations, were analysed in an attempt to identify significant trends from 1978 to 1984. Analytical methods include regression analysis, tests for statistical significance, multi-variate analysis and shift-share analysis. Local authority organisation and practice in colonial Salisbury is described as a basis for the evaluation of changing patterns of public service delivery after independence. Perceptions of priority issues for the city's growth and development were solicited from Councillors in a structured, open-ended questionnaire, and Council by-laws were analysed for evidence of change in the regulation and control of urban activities.

Major findings include:-

1. that the accounting procedures employed by the City Council are inappropriate for geographical analysis;
2. that the organisational structure and operational procedures of the Council, particularly with respect to urban finance remain virtually unchanged;
3. that the financial and other data provide evidence of the reallocation and redistribution of public funds to redress the colonial legacy of inequality; but
4. that fundamental structural change consistent with criteria indicating transition to a socialist urban space-economy has not occurred.

Evidence is advanced in support of these conclusions and major reasons are suggested.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The *leitmotiv* of this research project is change; change that occurs in consequence of the transition from White settler colonial hegemony to a state of political independence in a newly created African country. The subject of analysis is the City of Harare (formerly Salisbury) in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia). The object is the geography of local authority finance. This introduction seeks to provide a brief theoretical and contextual synopsis, a background to a statement of the aims and limitations of the present study. Later chapters address specific research issues and will be accompanied by more detailed theoretical discussion.

In April 1980 following a protracted and bitter civil war the Zanu-PF¹ government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe acceded to power in newly independent Zimbabwe, thereby finally ending approximately 90 years of colonial domination.² War constituted the climax of continuing Black

¹ The Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front.

² The Union Jack of the British South Africa Company was raised in Fort Salisbury on 13 September 1890 in the name of Queen Victoria, thereby symbolizing the permanent occupation of the territory. A British government Order-in-Council in 1891 declared Matabeleland and Mashonaland to be British Protectorates and in 1898 a further Order in Council conferred upon the British South Africa Company the power to govern. In 1922 the British government conducted a referendum in Rhodesia to test local White opinion whether or not the country should be linked to South Africa or to Britain as a Crown Colony enjoying "responsible government". The outcome was in favour of the latter option. Accordingly, in October 1923 the British Colony of Southern Rhodesia was established. Save for the years 1953-1963 when the country was a co-member of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland it remained a nominal colony until April 1980.

African opposition to the strictures of settler colonial domination that can be said to have begun with the first 'Chimurenga ('freedom war': the Matebele war of 1893). The specific nature of Black grievances varied over time as did the agents and *modus operandi* for expressing them. They ranged from small group representations by chiefs or even headmen concerning such issues as labour recruiting practices, working conditions, hut taxes, land alienation and a host of immediate and pragmatic problems, to formal Black nationalist political organizations contesting the distribution of power, the rights of Blacks to political representation and, ultimately, self determination. Much of the political history of Rhodesia reflects the attempts of a White settler minority either to negate, divert or accommodate Black resistance to the socio-economic consequences of White political domination.

In the context of the extreme polarization that is an inevitable concomitant of any civil war situation the attitudes of most Whites in Rhodesia towards Mugabe's ZANU party was one of uncertainty and apprehension bordering on fear. Their adversary became a menace stereotyped as espousing an ideology that promised harsh retribution and fundamental, potentially traumatic, change in the political-economy. In a psycho-social sense ZANU-PF ideology was conceived by Whites as a threat to their entire culture realm: a perceived atheistic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy underpinning some ill-defined form of African socialism in which the 'povo' (the 'masses' of uneducated, unskilled and, as yet, uncivilized peasants) would rule. This image was nurtured explicitly and implicitly, consciously and unconsciously, by the White-controlled and state-regulated news media. It was also enhanced by party literature, pronouncements by Mugabe and his chiefs-of-

It is worthy of note at this juncture that throughout its history the colony was entirely self-governing: on no occasion was a Bill of Parliament not signed by the resident governor nor was any appeal against an Act referred to the British Privy Council.

state, and by evidence that ZANLA³ forces received substantial logistical support from communist China. In historical terms, the transition from White to Black rule was revolutionary. Certainly it was traumatic for the White populace. In rapid succession a cease-fire was followed by a peace conference at Lancaster House in London, a contentious British-supervised election, and independence celebrations. Blacks immediately assumed parliamentary power and positions of authority within the bureaucracy while a policy of "Africanization" in employment was aggressively pursued by Prime Ministerial decree. Former Black combatants (terrorists to Whites) confined after the ceasefire to assembly points, were later integrated into the armed forces. Segregated hospitals, schools and other amenities were opened to all races, and all discriminatory practices were declared illegal. Thus when Zanu overwhelmingly won the March 1980 election, revolutionary change, the precise nature of which remained indeterminate, was anticipated.⁴ Given the different cultural backgrounds, life experiences, perceptions and loyalties of the two groups, this transition from White to Black rule, and a proposed change to a socialist order, could be expected to result in many other far-reaching changes in almost every facet of daily life. Some aspects of the degree and nature of this change are the object of investigation here.

1.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The form, structure and functioning of any city represents the historical legacy of diverse decisions taken in a context of prevailing social, political, economic and

³ Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, Zanu's military wing.

⁴ None of this ignores or denies the considerable impact upon the national psyche of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). The emphasis upon Mugabe and ZANU merely reflects recognition of the outcome of the 1980 election and that Mashonaland, of which Salisbury was the provincial capital, constituted Zanu's support base.

technological circumstances. These decisions, in turn, reflect the different desires and motivations of the decision-makers which are a direct function of their perceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs which are underpinned by the prevailing political-economy and the ideology it generates. While private developers are the principal initiators of structural change and urban spatial organization in capitalist cities, the local authority is also a significant agent of development. This is because it is in a position to control the nature, rate and direction of development through, for example, its ability to zone land use, to promulgate by-laws, to create servitudes, to provide physical and social infrastructure and to provide public services. It also performs daily service functions, provides physical infrastructure, and undertakes forward planning.

The concerns of the local authority can be said to differ from those of the private sector in that they are directed towards the societal good and are long-term as opposed to the essentially short-term profit orientation of the private sector. Notwithstanding that the degree of authority and control possessed by local authorities can differ in different political economies, it is apparent that the local authority, through land-use controls and building initiatives, can greatly influence the location, design, and functional character of urban growth. It is axiomatic moreover that the location, type and quality of urban facilities and amenities in large part determine the quality of life of a city's residents.

In the capitalist economic system the majority of facilities and amenities are provided by the private sector operating for profit in a competitive business environment. However, for various reasons, it is often considered necessary for agencies of government to provide particular amenities or facilities. This usually demonstrates the desire to guarantee or enhance public welfare - however that is defined. What is deemed to be in the public interest is

ultimately a function of perception which, in large part, is influenced by the ideology espoused by the decision-makers.

Being able to specify problems, to design solutions, and to initiate planned action constitutes a position of power in society such that, who makes decisions and for whom, becomes a decisive factor in determining the condition of life and the life chances of individuals and groups within that society. Crucially, for the present argument, the exercise of such power becomes the translation of a distinct ideology. Should the ideology of those in power change, fundamental change could be expected in both the decision-making and actions of the local authority executive.

The nature of the cultural environment (here loosely defined as 'a way of life') is a decisive factor conditioning and modifying people's perceptions, values and ideologies. In Rhodesia, central government and urban municipalities were controlled exclusively by White settler-colonists who had experienced a particular history and who had developed a particular political-economy. Thus the social relations of production were historically and geographically specific. It is not possible to understand local authority practice other than in this context, particularly with respect to White responses to the disparate issues arising from the process of Black urbanization. A similar argument pertains following succession to Black majority rule: the structural reorganisation and management of the state according to the precepts of a different (socialist) political philosophy, proposed by the new rulers of Zimbabwe could be expected to produce socio-economic structures and operational systems that differed markedly from those previously obtaining. Evaluating change that has actually occurred in the city of Harare against circumstances that might theoretically result from the exercise of socialist principles of government forms the basis of this research.

The issues of power⁵ distribution are also relevant here. Who represents whom, and the ability of interest-groups to influence decision-making, critically influence the evolving nature of the urban environment since the type, quantity, quality and distribution of elements of social and physical infrastructure can affect (positively or negatively) the real and psychic income of citizens⁶. A corollary is who benefits from, or is disadvantaged by, the decisions and actions of those in power when these impinge upon the nature of the urban environment? This latter question is of particular importance for geographical analysis. Again, conclusions drawn could be expected to vary according to the social, economic and political location of observers and over time.

Because every facet of urban development ultimately has to be paid for, a fundamental pre-requisite of local government operation is financial viability. Given the ability to plan, to formulate policy and to locate public goods and service facilities, the ability actually to provide and maintain them is largely contingent upon being able to pay for them. There thus exists a fundamental and intimate reciprocal relationship between the polity and the economy, between establishing goals, procuring necessary finance and attaining the goals. Therefore different political-economies may be expected to yield different functioning urban systems; the theory and praxis of urban finance would produce different geographies. Local government finance in this context is concerned with the generation, allocation and distribution of public revenue. Expressed differently, it involves the management of scarce public resources.

⁵ Power implies the ability to ensure the prosecution of policy decisions. Usually it implies the potential for compulsion and/or coercive action.

⁶ Real income refers to the total pecuniary income of an individual adjusted for inflation. Psychic income is taken here to refer to all other non-monetary benefits that accrue to an individual. In combination they contribute to the totality of the individual's level of welfare.

Included are the provision and location of public goods and services to achieve acceptable levels of welfare and efficiency in relation to estimated need or demand. The identification of need and the setting of priorities relating to quantity and quality of supply are contingent upon the perceptions and motivations of the executive authority. All these can vary according to changing circumstances. Also, given that conditions of well-being, relative need, sources of tax finance and the provision of facilities and services can vary spatially, many of the dimensions of public finance are geographic in nature.

The above then surmises that an informed analysis of the geography of local authority practice is predicated upon certain fundamental issues related to the nature and powers of the local authority whatever political system it operates within. These include :

- (1) its relative autonomy;
- (2) its relationships with the central state and various interest groups;
- (3) its conception of ethics, social justice, and social welfare;
- (4) the degree to which perceived problems can be communicated with effect;
- (5) formal and informal constraints imposed by the state through the local authority upon individuals and groups affecting their right to freedom of association, the vote, employment, and residential location ;
- (6) the location of public goods and services;
- (7) community access to these; and the incidence of positive and negative externalities.

In addition to who gets what, where, and how (Smith, 1979, p. 18), the geographic analysis of public finance seeks to determine who pays and who benefits, who decides, and who

decides who decides. Fundamental concerns, therefore, may be identified as being:

- (i) the geographic sources of public revenue;
- (ii) the allocation of revenue between departments (or accounts) within the local authority;
- (iii) the distribution of the targets of public funding in geographic space, particularly insofar as it impacts upon public welfare;
- (iv) the processes influencing decisions in this regard.

Thus far an attempt has been made, briefly and in the most general terms, to define key issues relevant to an analysis of manifestations of change in the activities of a local authority particularly insofar as they impact upon the geography of human welfare and upon the changing structure and form (the morphology) of the city. Firstly, it has been argued that the functional urban system and its morphology represents the historical manifestation of a myriad locational and operational decisions which implicitly acknowledge and respond to current value systems, social codes and the perceived possibilities and limitations of existing social and physical structure and form. Secondly, it is argued that the local authority constitutes a fundamentally important agent of change, both influencing and prescribing the evolving activity patterns, structure and form of the city. Understanding the type and location of public authority outputs, in addition, requires a recognition of the particular ideological and structural context in which they occurred. What people perceive, think, and how they act is primarily a function of their experience and cultural environment. It is also a function of scarce money resources and of what already exists in the urban system and its built environment; public policies are not determined in a temporal void. For example, as regards public expenditure, Lewis (1976, p218) asserts that, "Unless every figure on a table (of data) is traced back to its origins it is impossible to disentangle how much of present provision is a response to existing problems and

needs, how much to past problems and needs and how much to past perceptions of likely present need".

The present study derives its rationale from the above observations and is focussed upon the former colonial city of Salisbury (now Harare).

Studies of particular facets of the form and functioning of former colonial cities have been undertaken by several authors.⁷ Despite the significant role of the administration sector in determining the origin, location, and form of many such places, however, and despite the pervasive influence of the public sector in colonial and post colonial societies, few studies focussing upon or even acknowledging, the fundamental importance of the local authority occur in the geographic literature.⁸ Indeed, in general, as Cox (1979, pvii) has observed, "in political geography the whole urban area has been conspicuous by its neglect". Concern with related issues of spatial inequality, social welfare and social justice is similarly relatively recent in geography as witness the remark by Coates et al (1977, p6) that "geographers, in comparison with sociologists and political scientists, have paid little attention to social inequalities." Harvey (1973, p9), notes furthermore that he could find hardly any literature applying the principles of social justice to the spatial and geographical principles of urban and regional planning.

⁷ See for example Simon, 1984, 1985; O'Connor, 1983; (Dwyer, 1974, 1975;) Teedon and Drakakis-Smith, 1986; Davies, 1986; Reed, 1978; Southall, 1967; Tiwari, 1972; McGee, 1967; Hoyle, 1979; Best, 1970; King, 1976; Abu-Lughod, 1975.

⁸ Many studies, however, while not explicitly geographical, address the issues of urban public administration and urban politics. See, for example, 'References' in Mawhood 1983.

1.3 GENERAL AIMS

This research addresses the question of local authority intervention in certain facets of the geography of the post colonial city. It has been guided and motivated by a central thesis :

1. That fundamental and far-reaching change would occur in the form, structure and functioning of the city of Harare consequent upon the assumption of power by a Black majority (both at national and local government level) espousing an explicitly socialist ideology;
2. That much of this change would either be generated or initiated by the local authority or directed by it through its ability to control the nature and pace of urban growth and development.

Put differently, and in 'scientific mode', the investigation was prompted and governed by the general null hypothesis that no significant change has occurred in the form, structure and functioning of the city of Harare as a result of local authority intervention.

To limit the scope of the thesis its focus has been narrowed to a study of change in the pattern of local authority finance as it affects welfare related functions in Harare over its first five years of existence.

While change is the pervasive theme of the study, it remains a somewhat elusive concept in a practical sense. Changes of different magnitude and direction are the norm in the financial transactions of any local authority (giving credence to the adage that the only thing that is certain is change). The practical difficulty therefore was to impart meaning to such changes as had occurred, and to identify those changes that were considered significant in the context of the thesis. Interpretation of significance has

been sought in analyses of the specific historical events to which the city and the state of Zimbabwe have been subject.

To give greater specificity to the investigation, a number of specific hypotheses were formulated. The hypotheses were derived from the nature of change that might have been expected in the event of an idealised socialist order replacing that of a capitalist settler colonial regime under revolutionary circumstances. These hypotheses and research foci are specified in Chapter 8.1 which addresses the empirical analysis of data. Their location in that Chapter permits the analyses of data to develop directly from them with greater immediacy.

This study is located within the discipline of geography. Emphasis thus rests upon the spatial manifestation of local authority operations. In this regard, attention is drawn particularly to those functions that impact directly upon the welfare of the citizens. In short, the study can conveniently be comprehended by the aphorism 'who gets what, where; who pays, who benefits, who decides, and who decides who decides? What this study is NOT is a research endeavour grounded within the precepts of public administration, municipal finance and accounting, sociology, town planning or civil engineering. It does not attempt to penetrate all of the dimensions of change in the structure and functioning of Harare. Nor is it intended to be normative or prescriptive by attempting any critical evaluation of social justice (although some might be implied) or by asserting how 'things ought to be' or how 'things should be done'.

The purpose of the study is to provide an appreciation of essential structural change wrought by the local authority in Salisbury/Harare over the years 1978 - 1985; years of critical change in the history of the city, particularly insofar as this is reflected in the financial records of the City Council. As such, it constitutes a contemporary historical geography of changes wrought by, and occurring within, the local authority, thereby providing a base-line case study for later time-series or comparative analysis.

An additional contribution to a growing number of case studies can readily be justified. Massam (1984, p61), discussing the state of current research on the local state, has noted that, while the ultimate purpose is to seek a general theory,

"there is no clearly defined path to this goal. Within the context of these two themes, first, the provision of public goods and second, public and collective decision-making we suggest that empirical and theoretical studies could be undertaken. Further we argue that a systematic approach might provide a suitable framework for linking the various components and for encouraging comparative studies to be undertaken. Such an approach might also allow relationships among local states to be studied at different scales. In conclusion we suggest that if, in ten years time we are able to look back on our activities and conclude that we have moved beyond the stage of case studies then we can conclude that we have progressed intellectually. Now is the time to gear ourselves for the challenge of seeking ways on integrating our rich empirical heritage on local states into meaningful theoretical statements".

Case studies provide a basis upon which to establish generalizations, to uncover regularities and to reveal the interactions between elements in intra-urban systems, in short, to move towards the development of a comprehensive theory of the local state.

Studies emanating from the African continent must be able to contribute significantly towards enriching the existing body of knowledge. There, ethnic and race differentiation is more pronounced, populations that integrate functionally but not socially differ markedly in respect of their histories and life experiences, ideological conflict is rife, and the issues of who gets what, where, who decides, and who decides who decides assume great import and immediacy.

While a considerable body of general theory is now developing under the rubric of the political geography of the local state, and while numerous case studies exist to test and develop this theory, it is predominantly drawn

from, and relates to, the experience of Western Europe and North America. No major geographical analyses have directly and comprehensively addressed the actions of the local state in developing Africa or its responses to the wide range of problems that have been so exhaustively documented. This study is motivated by the belief that, in developing independent Africa, the local authority is a particularly influential agent of change and that the seething political and 'survival' world of the post colonial African city cannot readily be comprehended by uncritical application of Western/industrial theoretical analyses.

Writing in 1977, Kay⁹ (p 113ff) ventured some opinions that provide a useful touchstone to the present exercise. Only three years before the final assumption of power by Blacks, he asserted that an early shift of power was unlikely and that a substantial change in Salisbury could not be expected for a number of reasons. These included the inability of Blacks to influence decision-making. He also identified as major problems for the future, discrimination, inequality and the crippling costs of an effective two cities within one jurisdiction. His commentary deserves restatement in the light of subsequent events:

"Setting aside the possibility of an early shift of political power from the Europeans to the Africans there are considerable forces that favour continuity rather than change in Salisbury. Throughout the book there have been repeated references to the close inter-relationship between the fabric and the society of the city. The various townscapes reflect the circumstances of human groups and, paradoxically, the differently built environments greatly affect the way of life and thought of their particular inhabitants.

⁹ In the light of earlier discussion on the relative lacuna of research directed towards local authority activities in the geographical literature, it is of note that in a book which purports to embrace many of the more important aspects of the city's geography and to provide a balanced introduction to some of its principal problems, it is only in a final chapter titled "Problems and Prospects" that the (implied) importance of the local authority is acknowledged. Its role in contributing to the nature of the city is never addressed however.

There are, therefore, substantial physical obstacles to change and especially to rapid change. These are matched by the entrenched views of a large majority of Salisbury's influential citizens, who favour retention of present conditions almost regardless of costs. Most aspects of the city and of the present Salisbury way of life do indeed prove pleasant to most well-settled European residents. They define current difficulties in terms of disturbance to the status quo and any prospect of real change is seen as a threat. Opinions of the African townsfolk, despite their numbers and the dependence of the city as a whole upon their co-operation in the labour market, receive little or no attention from those in authority. The deep division between African and European townsfolk makes communication difficult, and it is widely believed among Europeans that most Africans are as content as themselves and hold no opinion as to how the city might be changed for the better However, though rarely given voice, their hopes for the future and their definitions of ideal circumstances would call for fundamental changes".

"In any case, Salisbury's principal problems are not those of growth, serious though these may be, and there is a danger that obsession with immediate problems which have been aggravated by recent rapid growth will obscure the real issues. These will continue regardless of the rate of growth, but will become more intractable in the absence of growth. They are, first, the increasing inability of the city as a corporate body of its constituent households to meet the costs of the prevailing way of life and of standards that have been established in the past and are now written into the physical fabric of the city. The costs of running the city and of living and working in it continue to rise rapidly, and the costs of expansion on established lines are extraordinarily high. Viewed globally, these costs are rising more rapidly than the city's ability to meet them, in spite of economic and population growth. Under these circumstances, defiance of change is suicidal, though this may not be widely recognised; ill health due to slow debilitation is rarely diagnosed by the layman until near death. The second fundamental problem is also inherited and, because its manifestations are so familiar, it is too rarely recognised within Salisbury in its true perspective. It is the racial discrimination and gross economic and social inequality between African and European townsfolk which so deeply divide Salisbury that it

is, perhaps, unrealistic to refer to it as a single city of some half-million inhabitants".

The very limited time span (in historical terms) of seven years (1978 - 1984) covering the present study requires some comment since it affects the validity of the study. While human relationships can alter rapidly, particularly in the wake of invasion or war, and while the impress of such events can be cataclysmic for the social, economic and physical environment, constructive change of the built form of the city is generally slow and incremental. At least two major reasons for this can be identified. First, existing buildings and other physical infrastructure will tend to be utilized even if the users or uses change. Evident savings accrue from this despite a cost in relative efficiency. Second, extensive construction is very demanding of skilled manpower, machines and money, none of which would be in abundant supply in the short term. Third, many capital projects take a considerable time to be realized as they are subject to the processes of planning, budget approval and construction.

Thus it must be conceded that only minor changes in the physical form and structure of Harare could be expected in seven years. Nevertheless, it was anticipated that, in the initial period of revolutionary social, economic and political change, to mix metaphors, 'the new broom would sweep clean' and the new leaders would 'strike while the iron was hot'. Put differently, it was thought that there would be an early indication of emerging trends in both City Council policy and action and that these would find their most definitive expression in discernible reallocations of public finance. Suffice it here to assert that this has occurred and that certain trends can be identified. Moreover it is possible to weigh action against design; to assess events against statements of intent enshrined in revolutionary protocols and infused with a philosophy radically different from that obtaining under White rule.

This study then focuses upon temporal changes in the pattern of public authority outputs and attempts to relate them to their particular socio-economic and political context. As such it moves beyond mere description. It also provides some insights into local authority policy decision-making particularly with regard to public participation, pressure-group action and internal working relations. Evidence of change was sought in the field, from interviews and in official council records (most particularly the capital and revenue accounts, the capital estimates, the valuation rolls, the deeds records and a miscellany of reports and official documents of departments within municipal departments).

The project was conceived as being important insofar as it would trace the colonial period to its conclusion and thereafter monitor the beginnings of change under a different political dispensation. In so doing it would provide a valuable baseline for subsequent research on local authority practice in Harare and its methodology could inform comparative studies of cities evolving under different circumstances. Simon (1984, p505) has observed that, "It is in the post-colonial phase that Third World urban theory most requires elaboration" and that, "Post-independence urban development theory could meaningfully be integrated with earlier colonial phases if interpreted in terms of change to the political economic, social and physical bases of colonial urban organization". Such work, he suggests, could include analysis of the physical form of the evolving post-colonial city after the final abolition of segregation and related legislation under socialist transformation.

This project is intended as a contribution to that enquiry and to address some of the suggestions concerning a valid future agenda for public output research made by Hoggart (1984, p17) : " studies need to be more conscious of broader societal forces which impinge, in dissimilar ways, on specific localities. This applies not merely in

identifying how national trends are manifest in localities on account of local power relationships. It also involves specifying how broad social processes and conflicts develop particular local articulations which result in specific political-cultural environments. The need to emphasise the temporal dimension is evinced in local leaders' policy stances for these are undoubtedly linked to broader social changes".

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 PARAMETERS OF URBAN CHANGE : A CONCEPTUAL SCHEMA

2.1.1 The City as a Physical and Functional System

Since this study is relatively narrowly conceived, concentrating only upon a range of issues that concern the geography of public finance, it is important that the analysis be located within the more general context of urban growth and change. To this end significant elements in the process of morphogenesis¹ which are relevant to the present study are identified in this chapter. In particular the role of the local authority in that process is accorded a central position. This conceptual overview provides direction for interpretation of the historically and geographically specific reality of African colonial urban settlement which follows. It also provides a conceptual framework within which the influence of local authority practice upon the evolving structure and form of Salisbury/Harare can more easily be comprehended.

Any city, on the one hand constitutes a built environment with physical form and structure within which the life of its people is played out. In this regard it constitutes 'absolute space', a container for human activity or a system of grid coordinates. On the other hand, its interactive space is represented by flows of goods, people and ideas between locations each of which derive significance and meaning from its relationships with others. Here it becomes 'relative space' bound to time and process and existing "only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects" (Harvey, 1973 p13). Within

¹ Morphogenesis is here defined as "evolutionary or revolutionary change in form" (Johnston et al, 1986).

the city locations and interactions are the result of individual or group decisions stemming from the perceptions, attitudes and motives of the decision makers. These, in turn, are a function of the values, norms, ideologies, and technologies obtaining at the time.

Interaction over time develops into economic, social, political and technological institutions (defined here as deeply entrenched patterns of behaviour) which become outward and observable manifestations of established activity patterns, land use distributions, legal codes and regulations and class relations. The city also has functional roles. All urban settlements are human artefacts constructed to facilitate communication and interaction in pursuit of a variety of group or individual goals - economic, social, administrative and recreational. In short any urban settlement exists to perform one or more tasks in the interests of its inhabitants and of its wider hinterland.

Given the disparate functional requirements of different activities in terms of site, situation, and accommodation and given competition (in capitalist cities) in the urban land market for different locations, an urban morphology, reflecting the functional role of the settlement, evolves. This morphology incorporates the characteristics of size, shape, structure, land-use differentiation, texture (density differentiation within the built environment) and profile².

² Gordon (1980, p2) conceives of morphology as comprising:

1. Elements : e.g. plots, buildings, use, streets, plans, townscapes. Created by :
2. Actors : e.g. landowners, developers, builders, investors, financiers, architects, planners, lawyers, local authorities, national government, purchasers, operating on:
3. A stage : e.g. sites, site characteristics, land value surfaces, accessibility surfaces, innovations, regulations, controls and constraints.

2.1.2 Hurst's "Geographic Environment" : The City Considered

A wider framework (Fig. 2.1) developed by Hurst (1972) has heuristic utility in facilitating understanding of the functional organisation and morphology of any city. It is considered particularly useful for present purposes in that it does not attempt theoretical interpretation of particular aspects of the urban realm and thus is general or 'neutral' enough to be able to accommodate a variety of interpretations of the urban system that stem logically from different philosophical foundations. (cf. Vance, 1977; Carter, 1981; Mumford, 1961; Berry, 1965; Berry and Horton, 1970; Yeates and Garner, 1980; Murphy, 1974; Alonso, 1964; Bourne, 1982; Dear and Scott, 1981; Tabb and Sawers, 1978; Castells, 1979, 1980; Harvey, 1973, 1978; Mingione, 1981 and Badcock, 1982). According to Hurst (1972), the city may be considered to be a discrete geographic environment comprising a '*phenomenal milieu*', an '*operational milieu*' and a '*behavioural milieu*' (Fig. 2.2).

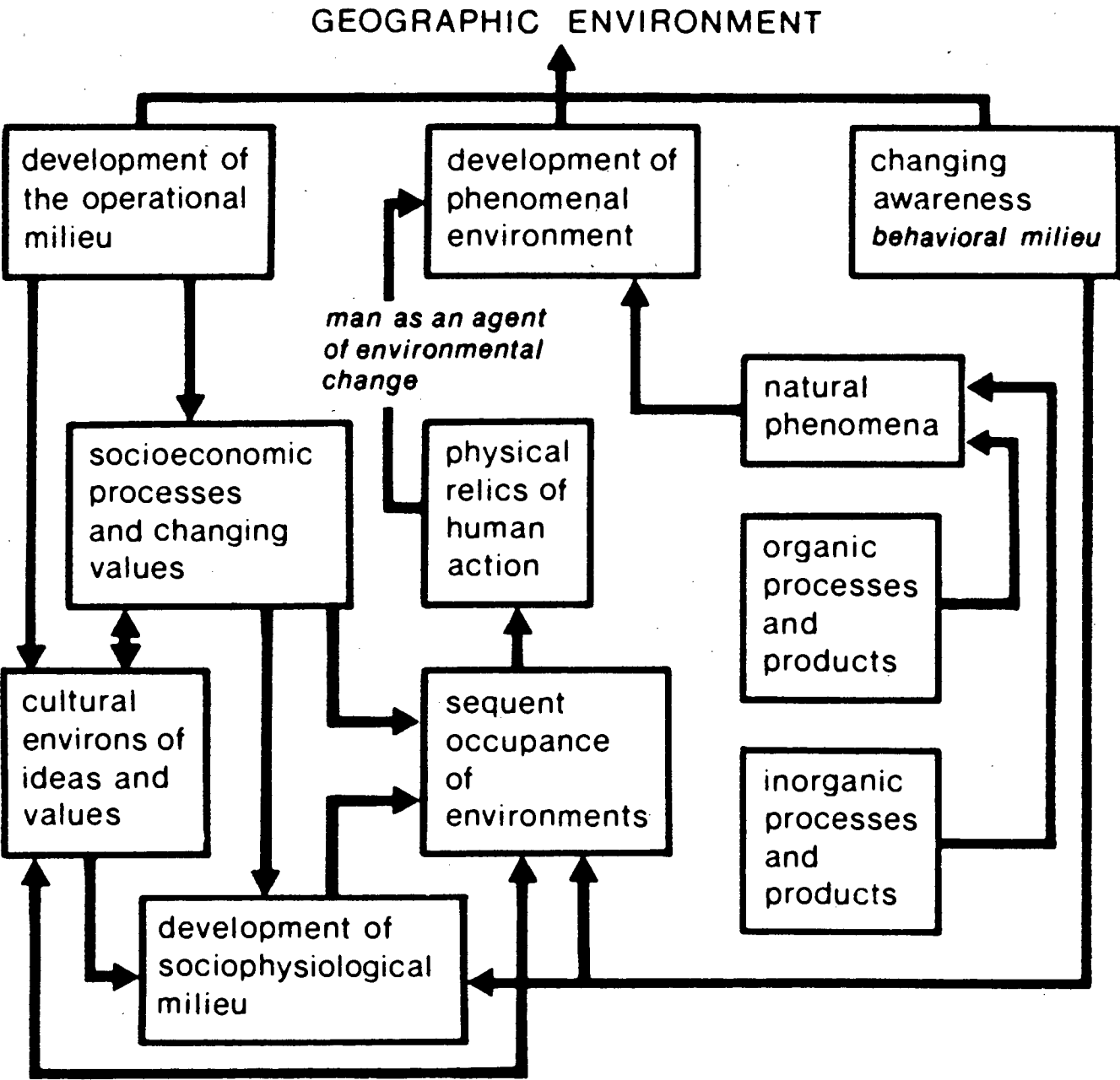
2.1.2.1 The Phenomenal Milieu

The *phenomenal milieu* depicts the physical and built environment including such elements as site physiography, climate, and biota, on the one hand, and such familiar elements as roads, railway lines, bridges, houses, stormwater drains, shops, factories, recreation facilities, and water and electricity reticulation systems, on the other. Collectively these elements constitute the physical structure and form of the city which, in the opinion of Mabogunje, (1980, p55), "show a high degree of continuity over time".

2.1.2.2 The Operational Milieu

The social organisation of the city comprises Hurst's '*operational milieu*' containing "the everyday world of common-sense objects and practical acts. This is the world with which we have most direct contact and from whose pressures and requirements we have the least escape" (Hurst,

FIG. 2.1



A geographic environmental system. Here the behavioural, operational, and phenomenal milieus are shown to interlink, producing the geographic environment that is the setting for man's behavior. (Adapted from W. Kirk, "Problems in Geography," Geography, vol. 48, 1963, p. 364.)

1972, p62). Its fundamental components are culture, including the economy and the political and technological systems of the society, and social institutions. Its nature derives from the historically and geographically specific nature of their interdependence. For example "culture, religion and education both legitimate and motivate the economy particularly through the legitimation of economic roles ... Political systems supply the legal order in which economic decisions are made and the legal institutions that make credit and investment possible" (ibid. p62). For present purposes culture, the economy and the political system assume particular significance.

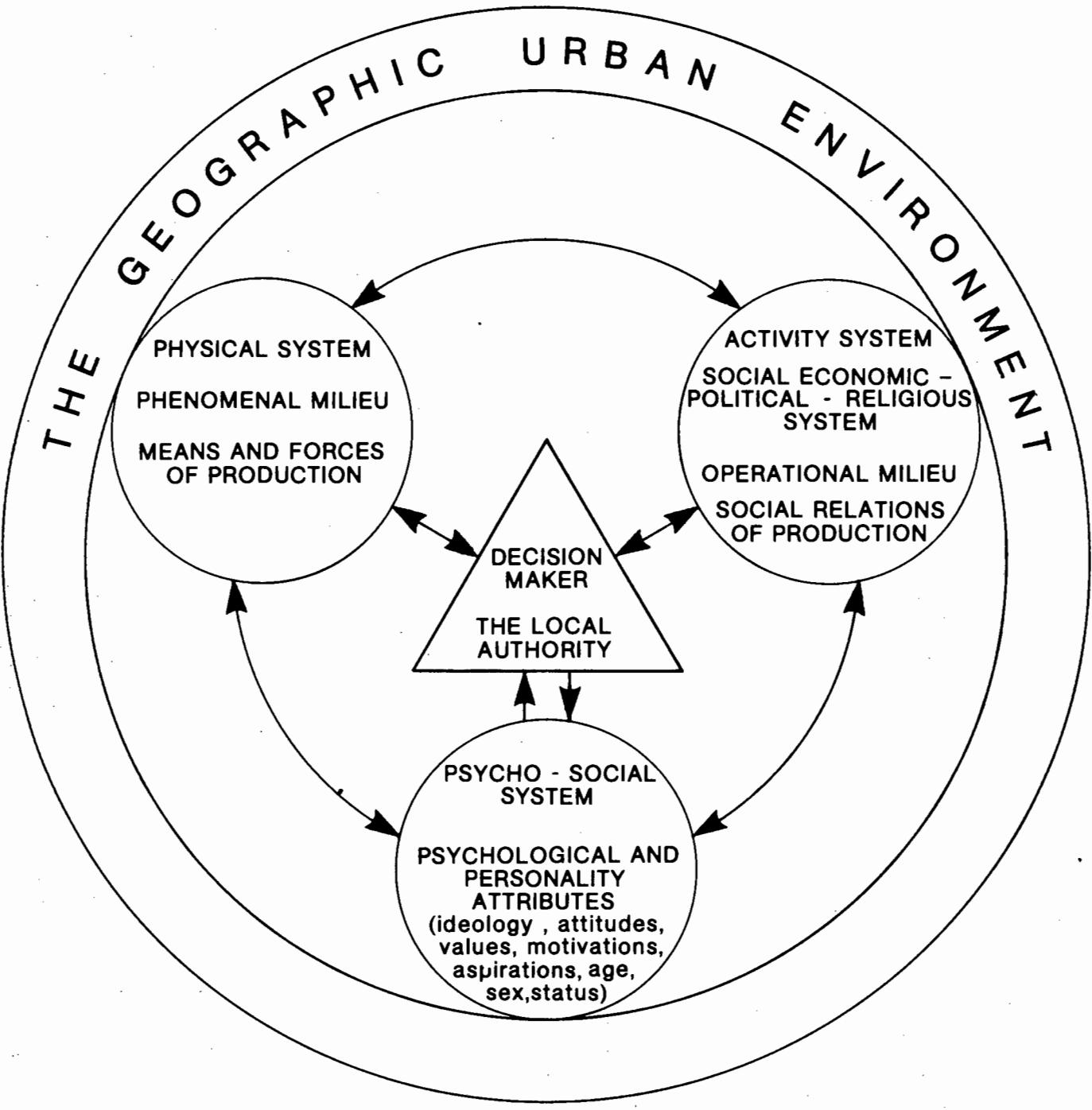
Culture may be defined as shared patterns of behaviour throughout a society which are passed on from generation to generation by the learning experience. It contains within it a number of components, some conscious, others unconscious. Conscious elements are overt behavioural patterns; the unconscious elements are unstated values and norms³. Culture shapes individual behaviour through institutions which convert cultural symbols into processes of socialization through the ascription of meaning to them. A relationship therefore exists

"between a cultural system's physical components - its artifacts, buildings, social institutions and so on - and the values, symbols and beliefs held within it. Thus two cultures having similar or identical institutions and artifacts, but attaching different meanings to them, are different cultures. In other words, the differences between cultures centre not on their physical components but on their naturally determined values, beliefs and symbols" (ibid. p55).

³ 'Norms' refer to common standards or ideals that guide members' responses in established groups. Social norms are those standards that are accepted by individuals for guiding simple actions or complex judgements in ideal situations (Hurst, 1972 p405). Most commonly they denote common behavioural responses, many of which are institutionalized.

'Values' comprise the shared cultural and social standards of a group against which actions and desires, attitudes and needs, can be judged and compared by members of the group (ibid. p412).

FIG. 2.2



The political system constitutes "a system of particular processes and human actions by which conflicts between the interests of sub-groups and individuals and the welfare of the society or group as a whole are governed or settled. Frequently such political processes involve the use of, or struggle for, power" (ibid. p407). In essence it provides for the extensive and penetrating organization of society by defining the mechanisms for the establishing of individual rights, the sharing of territorial rights, and the system of provision of mutual services. Thus, underpinned by the potential for coercion, the political system is responsible for the authoritative allocation of scarce resources within a society and the imposition of particular ideology. A set of governing agencies result whose functions may be conceptualized as *internal* (social control and welfare) and *external* (relations with other groups and societies). "Laws, policies and enactments ... are formulated through the interest group mechanism, through formal policy proposals, through the conversion of policy proposals into authoritative rules, and through the transmission of information, both within the political system and from it, to the societal milieu. In this way the inputs of the system are converted into its outputs" (ibid. p56).

The economic system incorporates the processes of production, consumption and exchange. Under capitalism the profit motive and competition direct behaviour while the market mechanism results in the non-authoritative allocation of scarce resources.

In any mode of production the economy and polity constitute a complex set of reciprocal relationships. While economic conditions frequently motivate or define social and political responses, human agency can also define or modify economic behaviour. The interactive nature of the polity and economy is critical in determining the degree and nature of change within a society.

2.1.2.3 The Behavioural Milieu

The last fundamental component of the geographic environment identified by Hurst is the 'behavioural milieu' which refers to human psychological processes. Briefly, he postulates that all decisions, both individual or corporate, are a function of the inherent characteristics of the decision-makers. Man "selects and organises his milieu in terms of his past heritage, present situation and future expectations. This milieu is no less psychological than natural" (ibid. p49). Given that man lives in a symbolic environment into which the majority of physical stimuli are admitted only in symbolic form, thereby acquiring meaning, any information received by the decision-maker is differently perceived, interpreted and acted upon according to *inter alia*, the age, sex, education, income, social status, personality, physiological attributes, aspirations, norms and values of the decision maker:

"The ability to create and use symbols is peculiar to the human species. Without it the higher thought processes could not exist. Symbols remove the organism from the world of sounds, shapes and smells to an environment of meaning. An act of symbolization can mediate between a stimulus and a response. Through many such acts, entire human groups can orient themselves to the phenomenal environment. Human society itself has been said to consist in shared symbolism" (ibid. p48).

This view was implicitly contained in Mumford's earlier work (1961, p113) which extended the theme when he wrote, with specific reference to the city, that

"The ability to transmit in symbolic forms and human patterns a representative portion of a culture is the great mark of the city"

Much of Hurst's conceptualization is echoed in a paper by Foley (1964) suggesting an approach to the interpretation of metropolitan spatial structure. A diagrammatic summary of Foley's fundamental dimensions of metropolitan structure readily confirms the similarity with Hurst's work save that

the behavioural dimension of perception and decision-making is not recognised (Fig 2.3).

Fig. 2.3 Selected Aspects of Metropolitan Structure :
A Conceptual View (Foley, 1964)

ASPATIAL ASPECTS		SPATIAL ASPECTS
Normative or Cultural Aspects	Social values; culture patterns; norms; institutional setting; technology	Spatial distribution of culture patterns and norms; values and norms directly concerned with the qualities and determination of the spatial patterns of activities, population and the physical environment.
Functional Organizational Aspects	Division and allocation of functions; functional interdependence; Activity systems and sub-systems; including persons and establishments in their functional role sense.	Spatial distribution of functions and activities; linkages functional relations spatially conceived; spatial pattern of establishments by functional type.
Physical Aspects	Physical objects: the geo-physical environment; man-developed material improvements; people as physical bodies; qualities of these objects.	Spatial distribution of physical objects; the resulting spatial pattern formed by this distribution of land forms, buildings, roads, people, etc; distribution in space of varying qualities in physical objects.

NOTE : "Aspatial" indicates no direct concern for spatial pattern. Correspondingly "Spatial" means a concern for spatial pattern.

In terms of Hurst's framework then, the structure, form and activity patterns of the city and the changes taking place within it are a function of human decisions, almost all of

which were, and are, differently motivated but are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Ultimately, however, they represent the desire of individuals, corporate bodies and public agencies to locate where they wish and to behave how they wish, subject to constraints placed upon that ideal choice.

While the nature of these constraints varies (including, for example, legal codes, availability of finance, social prejudices, the existing urban structure and form), ultimately they circumscribe and constrain choice and, implicitly or explicitly, direct decisions by operating as forms of social control. The degree of control would vary for different individuals and groups within different cities depending upon the particular operational environment in which they are located.

2.1.3 The Local Authority as an Agent of Control in the Urban System

Moreover, more overt social organization and control has been necessitated throughout history, for example, to obviate conflicts between individuals or groups; to regulate competition and to resolve functional incompatibilities between land uses within the urban system. The particular system of control, the agents of control and the mechanisms of control at any time tend to reflect the exigencies of the economic system, societal norms and values, political ideologies and practices and historical tradition. Nevertheless, whether formalised in legal statute and enforced in courts of law, or embedded in public norms, values and traditions, which are more subject to the coercion of social sanctions, such control is a crucial element in informing and directing decision-making. Unwritten and informal social codes notwithstanding, a crucial agent of control within the modern city is the local authority. Ideally the nature of control exercised by a local authority should largely derive from, and be legitimated by, the general value system held by the city's inhabitants and by the broader society of which the city

forms a part. This is particularly important in circumstances where it is accountable to the majority of those citizens through the ballot.

2.1.4 Ideology as a Factor in Urban Development

The combined set of values held by an individual (and, by more general extension, a societal group or sub-group) produces an ideology or 'world view' defining what is good or bad, right or wrong, ugly or beautiful and so on. Defined as "the body of doctrine myth and symbols of a social movement, institutions, class or large group" (Hamlyn Encyclopaedic World Dictionary, 1971), ideology has been said to speak of the world "in an omniscient voice as if the world itself rather than men were speaking" (Gouldner, 1976, p48). Gregory (1978, p63) refers to it as "unexamined discourse". It is a system for providing significance which facilitates the pursuit of particular interests and sustains specific relations of domination (Thompson, 1984). Men apportion meaning to their environment consistent with their particular ideological position or world view and they act eclectically in responding to the stimuli or information flows impinging upon their consciousness.

One important derivative of a popular ideology is a particular conception of ethics, those concerns related to morality, duty and human conduct. These provide the rules of behaviour which, over time, become entrenched as societal norms and are perpetuated in formal literature, folklore, and traditional behaviour. An important facet of the broader ethical sub-structure of a society, is its notion of justice (here taken to be a name for certain classes of moral rules and principles of rightness or fairness which concern the essentials of human well-being). "Justice is an idea and an ideal. Like law and morality it rests on the contradiction of what is and at least some men think ought to be. It represents or pre-supposes a criticism of some existing reality or state of affairs allegedly in the light of principles or an ideal end state; it is in that sense said to be both transcendent and a guide to action and

evaluation" (Kamenka, 1979 pl). It is as a guide to action and to the evaluation of what is right or wrong, desirable or undesirable, fair or unfair, problematic or acceptable, that the ideology and conception of ethics and justice possessed by decision-makers in different localities and time periods become relevant here.

It is apparent, therefore, that ideology is a fundamental explanatory variable influencing human behaviour and that the physical and cultural environments created by, and for, man are essentially a function of ideology. The city as both artefact and mentifact reflects this; it is indeed a medal struck in the likeness of its people.

Inevitably, within any urban political economy, notwithstanding the aggregate of the actions of individual citizens with their myriad motives and aspirations, those in power exert important influence upon the evolving form of the city through what are, essentially, planning decisions. Through history cities have responded to the planning and practices of different elites who are in a position to implement strategies toward the resolution of perceived problems, and the attainment of clearly identified end goals. Most of this planning is imbued with an underlying conviction of what is 'just', 'good', and 'in the interests of society'. Newman (1984, pl43), however, has observed that "planning is not an objective process but relates to the ideologies of the groups of people in power. These ideologies are based on the values and belief systems of these groups and the values, in their turn, may be either 'fundamental' (relating to the whole society) or 'specific' (relating to the party or group alone)". Elsewhere Galnoor (1980, p42) emphasises the interlinkage between power groups, ideology and planning, arguing that "planning constitutes an activity that is prescribed by, co-exists with, or is in conflict with, society's basic values and the ideologies held (or professed) by members of the governmental institutions concerned". In many respects

conflict is the motive force behind change whether planned or unplanned.

Of course societies, even when relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and cultural continuity are always subject to ideological change and conflict. Old values are questioned, innovations necessitate re-evaluation, ideas come into conflict. Thus ideological differences within society form the basis of intergroup conflict and the exercise of power. Politics is the mechanism through which such conflict is resolved : it becomes incumbent upon those in power to devise rules and regulations for the resolution of sectional conflict. Being able to make these rules and regulations, to identify problems and to specify solutions constitutes a position of power within society such that who makes decisions, and for whom, becomes a fundamental element in determining the condition of life of individuals and groups within that society - particularly since such action constitutes translation of a distinct ideology. Claval (1984, p16) identified the fundamental significance of competition and conflict between ideologies when discussing decision-making in the political arena:

"Political sociologists in the 1950's, '60's and '70's were inclined to study only balanced phenomena and to rub out from social and political life all those tensions which cannot be reduced to conflicts over economic interest with the result that the feedback game can go ahead undeterred without profound social disturbance. The world in which we live is a world of competition between ideologies and systems of society to the point of death and people claim to understand it by using models which ignore violence, disturbance, changes and precisely what constitutes history! The age criticises those people who ignore the power of ideologies".

2.1.5 The Impress of History

Yet another crucial factor bearing upon the process of functional organisation and morphogenesis is the influence of history upon both the ideology and the actions of executive bodies. Men are born into a society or

environment fashioned before their time and they must begin by accepting the conditions obtaining. New forms are not created without an awareness of earlier forms and an appreciation of the degree to which these satisfy the needs of the present and those predicted or desired for the future. Moreover, whilst social, economic and political circumstances may change relatively rapidly in historical terms, the physical structures of the urban system possess intrinsic inertia changing only slowly, and thereby entrenching and reinforcing ideology through the symbolism of their physical characteristics.

The physical component in a continuing dialectic, both constrains human activity patterns and provides opportunities for action. Its form and historical continuity constitutes, in many respects, a geographic imperative for future development. Rapid institutional change does not, in any automatic way remake cities. Thus "the fundamental insufficiency of a theoretical construct focussing only on the institutional norms (when attempting to understand the form and structure of any city) is the presupposition that those norms and processes can work without physical resistances from the past; the freedom to operate on a *tabula rasa* diminishes with time" (Vance, 1977 p2; parenthesis added).

Central to the theme pursued here is the argument that while those with decision-making and executive power in society are inexorably conditioned by their cultural past, the physical and cultural evidence of that past significantly maintains and reinforces beliefs and moderates future actions. A crisp aphorism attributed to Winston Churchill encapsulates this argument, the relevance of which will later become apparent when the activities of the local authority in post-colonial Harare are considered. "We shape our houses but then they shape us" (ibid. p2). It must also be recognized however that while physical form may remain, the way in which structures are used may change

fundamentally so that physical form may disguise new patterns of behaviour and of interaction.

2.1.6 Conclusion

In summary the foregoing is intended to provide a broad conceptual background for more detailed consideration of city formation within the settler-colonial political economy of Rhodesia and of subsequent change in post independence Zimbabwe. As such it has sought to place the local authority 'on central stage' as an actor in the process of functional organisation and morphogenesis (Fig. 2.2). The city has been conceived as a geographical environment, a created space, forming "the totality of spatial relations organized to a greater or lesser degree into identifiable patterns which are themselves the expression of the structure and development of the mode of production. As such, geographic space is more than simply the sum of the separate relations that comprise its parts" (Smith, 1984 p83). Nor is it an objective structure but rather a social experience imbued with interwoven layers of social meaning. People living within the geographical environment of the city experience, perceive, and respond to, space as a social product. As a result human activity and space are integrated so that the city becomes a product of social and historical practice.

The local authority as a decision maker is part of the broader society and to the degree that it requires legitimacy and is accountable to the citizens, it will affirm the prevailing ideology. As a legal entity under the state it is in a position of power which enables it to intervene significantly in the process of city growth and development.

Firstly, it is in a position to plan land use and urban organization for the future in terms of a particular conception of what is in the interests of the populace. Such planning decisions hinge upon its perceptions,

attitudes, and motives as a corporate decision-making body and these, in turn, are largely a function of ideology.

Secondly, the local authority can influence many aspects of economic, social and political behaviour by being able to promulgate rules and regulations which impinge upon activity patterns within the city. In particular it can mediate to overcome contradictions within the development process to ensure the preservation of the prevailing social order. Its authority to deflect or meliorate inter-group conflict is a potent instrument in this regard.

Thirdly, as an agent performing functions (the provision of goods and services) within the dynamic urban system, the local authority, by the location, nature and scale of its activities, must influence the decision-making of other private and corporate decision makers as they respond to the city's realities.

In the light of the foregoing it is now appropriate to consider, in general theoretical terms, aspects of the geography of public finance relevant to the present study. The intention is to provide a perspective for consideration of the activities of the City Council of Salisbury/Harare insofar as they are reflected in its financial transactions.

2.2 THE GEOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC FINANCE : A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter developed an argument that placed the local authority as a central actor in the process of morphogenesis and changes in the functioning urban system. It was also emphasised that, as a decision-making entity, the local authority operates in, and responds to, a specific cultural political, economic and physical environment. Decisions made are a function of the collective perceptions of those responsible within the local authority and these perceptions are, in large part, underpinned by the

historical legacy of the city and of its society. The ethics, values and ideologies obtaining within that society are particularly significant in this regard. This is to suggest that the local authority is not entirely an autonomous body or that it is politically neutral and isolated from the social, economic and political tensions existing within the urban system.

Before developing this prospectus, however, it is important to consider the theoretical bases of significant aspects of the geography of public finance, which are the central focus of this study. Because theory links the elements of a system into cognitive structures and enables meaning to be imparted to 'objective reality', it directs investigation and, ultimately the form and methodology of research. Importantly too, different interpretations, logically developed from different philosophical assumptions (i.e. differing epistemologies and ontologies), can be brought to bear upon the same issue. The significance attached to the parameters of the inquiry, how their relevance is conceived, requires theoretical validation or justification. By extension, the explicit theoretical location of the study imposes implicit qualifications upon subsequent interpretation and analyses. What follows therefore is an attempt to give the present study coherence and to provide a theoretical logic for investigation; that is, to explain the significance of the research agenda. This is necessary because the study is relatively narrowly focussed even within the field of the geography of public finance (see for example Bennett, 1980; Saunders, 1980, 1981; Hoggart, 1986; Massam, 1974; Barlow, 1981; Beaumont, 1983; Kirby, 1979; Pinch, 1985) and certainly within the spectrum of studies concerned with the operation of the local state (see for example 'References' in Taylor and House, 1984; Burnett and Taylor, 1981; Paddison, 1983; Mawhood, 1985; Harloe and Lebas, 1981; Kirby, 1982; Herbert and Smith, 1979).

2.2.2 The Importance of Finance in the Urban System

It was earlier asserted that the city is a reflection of human endeavours. It can also be conceptualised as a vast, localised resource system. Given that its resources are not ubiquitous, many of its daily activities constitute resource allocating and distributing mechanisms. Harvey (1973, p52) has identified some of the important institutions in this process viz: the "hidden mechanisms" of the market in which individuals and corporations are key participants, "urban managers" within local government bureaucracy, and "gatekeepers" such as estate agents, building society representatives and so on. Considered differently, in any economy, what exists, both as built stock or as services provided, has to be paid for. Money dedicated to one particular urban enterprise incurs an opportunity cost inasmuch as it cannot be used for any other use. Therefore, how money is generated for both the maintenance and the development of the urban system, how that money is distributed among institutions, and how the results of their expenditure is reflected in geographic space determines the form structure and functioning of the system. An invariable outcome of these allocation and distribution processes in a capitalist economy is an unequal resource distribution which differentially affects the welfare of individuals, households and social groups.

2.2.3 Welfare Considerations and Externality Effects : The Significance of Geography

The concept 'human welfare' is historically and culturally specific, and as much a function of perception as of 'objective reality'. However, while a geography of human welfare within the city can be recognized intuitively, it is difficult to establish empirically. Being a normative concept, welfare is difficult to define and to measure. A number of researchers, however, have attempted to develop working norms and standards using composite socio-economic indicators (Ellis, 1985; Maslow, 1954; Drewnowski, 1974). The concept has also been applied to the analysis of

geographical areas (Knox, 1975; Smith, 1977; Pinch, 1979). The practical implications of such analyses are apparent and among the most important of these is that they be used by planners and policy makers to identify problem areas in the city and to indicate possible solutions to perceived problems.⁴

A major difficulty associated with the measurement of welfare is related to its psycho-social dimensions. While it might be relatively simple to establish some universally acceptable parameters of basic human needs (food, water, nutrition, shelter), to establish valid indices and norms for such spiritual, mental, or aesthetic human requirements as belongingness, love, dignity, self-esteem, leisure and self-actualization (Maslow, 1954) is problematic. The problem is compounded in any multi-cultural context where different groups have different norms, values and experiences. What is acceptable to one group in terms of its traditions, morals, ethics and expectations might prove anathema to another in a different psycho-social context.

It was intended, in the initial conception of this study, to establish a geography of human welfare in Salisbury/Harare using a suitable range of socio-economic indicators. Thereafter the degree to which patterns of differential welfare were modified by changes in the provision of public goods and services were to have been evaluated against such criteria as equity and efficiency. In the event, this ideal could not be attained in circumstances where a comprehensive, composite array of socio-economic indicators could not be computed.⁵ Nevertheless, within the

⁴ This is not to assert that the symptoms necessarily reveal the causative processes or that these would necessarily be understood. Logically solutions directed towards 'welfare problems' might well prove ineffectual.

⁵ Consistent with circumstances obtaining in the developing nations, a wide range of quantitative data did not exist in Salisbury/Harare. Reasons for this are varied but include inadequate finance, competing demands for limited finances, paucity of skilled manpower, collection difficulties of different kinds, and the relatively low

constraints of available quantitative data an assessment of prevailing patterns of relative welfare and inequality has been prepared against which change in the geography of local authority finance might be measured and interpreted.

Living within a city, citizens are confronted with a geography of welfare and of relative opportunity. As a result of their geographic location and of their position within the economy and society they receive different levels of real income.⁶ The free market economy and its attendant political processes results in patterns of poverty, deprivation and inequality.⁷ In such circumstances people,

priority placed upon such statistical compilation in the face of seemingly more pressing needs. What data does exist is frequently inadequately compiled, insufficiently disaggregated for local scale analysis, of doubtful validity, and not readily accessible to the public.

⁶ Income has been defined by Titmuss (1962 p34) as "All receipts which increase an individual's command over the use of a society's scarce resources. Hence income is the algebraic sum of (1) the market value of rights exercised in consumption and (2) the change in the value of the store of property rights between the beginning and the end of the period in question". Real income denotes the value of income calculated during some base year in order to accommodate changing prices over time. In this regard it is opposed to the concept of nominal income (Atkinson, 1982 p140). Real income is not synonymous with 'human welfare' which encapsulates the satisfaction of the totality of human needs and wants (as such it constitutes a complex amalgam of physical, social, cultural, economic, political, psychological and environmental components). However, at the lower end of the income scale it can be argued that economic welfare (which is a direct function of real income) is a *sine qua non* of total human welfare.

⁷ These conditions and their causative processes are discussed in Kirby (1982, p26 ff): Poverty and deprivation relate to personal inabilities arising from personal and social group inadequacies and pathologies. They preclude people being able to cope with routine daily life. Inequality is interpreted as having structural antecedents in class conflict. The interpretational paradigm is neo-Marxist. Inequality "includes not only the tensions that result from class conflict in the economic domain, but the related issue of resource consumption. In short, 'people poverty' is equated directly with 'place poverty'. Underprivileged is considered to be the consequence of a maldistribution of resources and opportunities arising from inequitable

as locators, face a differential geography of wellbeing. This is, in large part, a consequence of the relative and relational properties of the space contained within the city. Changes in the form and functioning of the city can result in a greater or lesser amount of resources being made available to a person as a direct result of differential locational accessibility and proximity⁸. The location of urban amenities and facilities can greatly affect the price of accessibility or the cost of proximity thereby influencing levels of real income and human welfare. Conversely, people can enhance or diminish their real income and welfare by relocating.

The location of many urban activities often results in unpriced and non-monetary 'spillover' or 'third party' effects. "Being outside the price system such external effects are sometimes looked upon as the by-products, wanted or unwanted, of other peoples' activities that immediately or indirectly affect the welfare of individuals." (Mishan, 1969 p164). These externalities yield costs or benefits according to whether the producer or consumer is affected and according to the nature of the effect. Certainly location decisions made in terms of operational and technical efficiency or economic rationality, would not necessarily maximize the welfare function of consumers.

distribution of resources. Related to this are the failures of planning and administration (institutional malfunctioning) causing social groups to be relatively disadvantaged, Consistent with this Weberian interpretation, on some occasions 'people poverty' will overlap with 'place poverty', but this is not a conditional relationship: one does not depend on the other. What is more likely is that different status groups would emerge reflecting the quality of life available within different locations, even when social class is held constant. Some groups will exploit leisure facilities, some transport opportunities, others the education provision, and in each context, the groups will possess a subtly different style, and quality of life.

⁸ Accessibility refers to the cost of overcoming distance (eg time, money, effort, anxiety). Proximity refers to the neighbourhood effect of being close to something one does not directly make use of (eg pollution, noise, depressed areas). This too can impose costs on people.

When consumers are unable or unwilling to relocate or to pay the full cost of elimination of externality effects, social conflict, frequently articulated in the political arena, can result.

2.2.4 The Need for, and Nature of, Public Goods and Services

Occasions do occur when the market mechanism does not operate efficiently. For instance, the supply of any one urban good or service to one person may make the same quality good or service available to other people at no extra cost. This situation of 'joint supply' has the corollary of 'non-excludability' in that the supply to any one person prevents it from being withheld from any other person wishing access to it. As a result people who do not pay for a good or service become 'free riders' as they cannot be excluded from the benefits of provision. Viewed conversely such goods and services cannot be rejected and must therefore be fully and equally consumed by all, even those who might not wish to do so. Street lighting, roads, law and order, land use planning, clean air, are cases in point. When urban goods display the characteristics of joint supply, non-excludability and non-rejectability they are called "pure public goods".

In these circumstances the market mechanism, whereby a willing seller and a willing buyer enter into an exchange contract at an agreed price, fails: individuals, due to the condition of non-excludability will not reveal their true preferences if their contribution to costs is in any way related to this revelation. Because the good possesses externalities, its benefits (or disbenefits) are available to all.

On other occasions supply monopolies might distort the price mechanism. In such circumstances of market failure the market mechanism is sometimes modified to attain certain goals perceived to be socially desirable. As will be seen the state plays a significant role in that regard.

Sometimes scale or technical considerations preclude the provision of certain goods or services by the private sector. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the private sector might be unwilling or unable to provide certain urban goods or services. Some goods, although socially desirable, might be considered so essential to the maintenance of the social order that their quality and the continuity of supply could not be placed at risk. Others might require, again for social reasons, a more equal and equitable distribution than the private sector would otherwise produce. In such circumstances the public sector might regard it as a responsibility to provide such goods and services. Although now called 'impure' they are nevertheless still classified 'public goods'. While 'pure' public goods are theoretically freely available, all localised public goods become 'impure' as a result of the occurrence of positive or negative 'spatial fields' associated with them. As a function of their location, people do not get exactly the same quantity and quality of a good. It is precisely in consequence of these circumstances that much of the political activity that occurs in a city takes place. It reflects attempts to organize the distribution of externalities. Thus public goods may be defined as being the residual from private actions and those upon which it is possible to reach agreement.

2.2.5 Public Sector Involvement in the Provision of Goods and Services

An important difference between the private and public sectors is that the private sector is essentially short-run, profit oriented while the public sector is concerned more with social welfare objectives in the long run. Perceptions and needs stemming from such divergent positions frequently result in conflict. As a result, even though it may be possible for the private sector to provide certain goods and services under certain circumstances, it nevertheless becomes incumbent upon the public authority to provide them

to ensure certain social goals⁹. Bennett (1980) has argued that the decision to supply public goods cannot be based on a purely technical distinction since that would not define which of an infinite range of possible public goods should be provided. Instead a decision is required about what public goods are socially necessary. This, in turn, is predicated upon the decision-maker's particular conceptions of social justice and relative need. Assessment of justice and need depends fundamentally upon ideological persuasion, ethics and value judgements. Therefore, who makes decisions, for whom, and, how the geography of the city is moulded by the provision of facilities and amenities (in terms of range, quantity, quality and location), has far-reaching implications for the welfare of individual citizens and of social groups. Nowadays, in Badcock's opinion (1980, p43),

" the most important allocational decisions affecting the location of ... public goods within cities - collectively provided services - are made by government bodies. Needless to say, the exercise of these powers can effect a profound redistribution of real income among urban households especially where they are discriminatory in a locational sense.

Yet it is only relatively recently that policy analysts ... have come to appreciate that "Government, and especially local government, had grown to such an extent that the life chances of individual citizens could be altered by the precise way in which public spending decisions impacted on urban space" (Cameron 1980 p6).

This point was developed by Smith (1979, p50):

"Space is a relevant consideration in the differentiation of human life chances. However much the general features of inequality may be traced to the prevailing social formation within which production is organized, the surplus appropriated and the rewards disbursed,

⁹ For the present discussion an important characteristic of public goods is that they contribute towards the real and psychic income of the individual - a relative level of welfare beyond cash earnings that is a direct function of the location and type of amenities and facilities relative to his/her location.

geographical space is part of the reality within which life is lived. Every decision to build or invest, whether public or private is, in the end, a locational decision, for what is to be done must be done somewhere. And where it is done - where the factory is set up, the motorway constructed or the hospital built - has a bearing on the differentiation of human life chances. Every location decision has the capacity to benefit some people and penalize others".

Public intervention in the functioning of the urban system is also justified on the basis of the perception of problems by those in authority in the Municipality and can extend beyond the provision of goods and services to social, economic, and political control or regulation. Common situations that might be considered problems requiring local authority intervention might among many other factors, include,

1. the inability of citizens to co-ordinate themselves to ensure that the sum of their behaviour is socially desirable. In many instances experience has shown that persons act individually knowing that their behaviour is socially undesirable to a very minor degree. If everyone behaved in such a manner, however, the negative impact is likely to be great;
2. monopolies of supply, causing, for example, low wages;
3. different rates of adjustment to change. For example, it may not be possible for the inner city poor and uneducated populations to respond adequately to suburbanization of industry and the attendant reduction of employment potentials that may arise from such a process;
4. people doing things considered not to be in their own interest, for example, consuming too few 'merit goods' such as housing, health and education;

5. abuse of power by private sector agents, for example, the exploitation of building redevelopment by landowners (Needham, 1977 p155).

Whatever the motive, "different people have different ideas on such matters and it must be emphasised that the ideas that lead to public policy are those held by the people with the power to put them into action ... It is said that a modern physical environment is a town planner's value foisted on the working class because the town planners have the power" (ibid. p156). Whether or not the Local Authority elects to intervene in the functioning urban system also turns upon its collective assessment of the probability of solving a problem through intervention and also of the relative political and economic costs and benefits the particular type of intervention envisaged might elicit. What perceptions are held and how decisions are arrived at is extremely difficult to establish empirically.

Precisely what public goods and services should be provided by a local authority and where they should be provided is therefore a subject of theoretical (and practical) concern. Bennett (1980) identifies three schools of thought:

1. The Market Surrogate School which considers that the public sector should satisfy individual and collective preferences as revealed and expressed, but not as defined, by any preconceived ideology. Public goods should be allocated according to peoples' willingness to pay and the costs should be identifiable and their distribution determined in relation to benefits received. Which goods to provide depends upon whether the rate of profit is considered by the private sector to be inadequate and on what are perceived to be desirable or necessary facilities.

2. The Ideology Appeasement School which holds that a dominant class provides particular goods and services to appease an oppressed and exploited class. Public goods and services serve to ameliorate deficiencies experienced by repressed groups. There are services which are unlikely to be provided by private capitalist investment but which are necessary to maintain acquiescence in class domination.
3. The Needs Assessment School considers that public goods should be allocated between beneficiaries on the basis of their needs. Costs, through fees and taxes should be assessed on ability to pay and not on the level of benefits received. "Needs assessment does not adduce the organization of public goods to a mechanism of class oppression but is related more closely to the scientific allocation of public benefits to achieve the greater utility of society as a whole" (ibid. p19).

Whatever the motivation, when a decision is taken by a local authority to provide a particular good or service in a particular location or to intervene in societal processes, value judgements are brought to bear. Perceptions of relative need and desirability are, in large part, a function of shared ideology. Shared ideology informs conceptions of social justice, equity, and human welfare.

To capitulate briefly, the provision and location of a public good or service requires resolution of a number of interrelated problems *viz*:

1. Need or demand estimation. This might be established in terms of quantitative standards or criteria (eg amount of open space per capita or schools per unit number of children). Alternatively it might be the result of conflict within the political domain. The motives for

councillor responses could range from self-interest to a particular conception of equity or social justice. In other circumstances assessment might be the response to perceived urban problems which negatively impact upon the efficient functioning of the urban system.

2. Quantity and quality of supply.
3. Location. On the production side this might be particularly significant for the efficient functioning of the facility. For instance when technological constraints or considerations have to be recognized. Conversely location could affect the quality and quantity of consumption. The concepts of proximity and accessibility are particularly relevant here.
4. Capital cost.
5. Revenue burden. That is the annual operating and maintenance costs.
6. Revenue capacity. This refers to the annual operating funds that can be obtained given the particular social political and economic circumstances.
7. Welfare impact or benefit incidence. Inevitably this has to be assessed against competing needs and alternative projects to establish the priority of a particular facility or amenity.

Individual issues are addressed by different agencies or departments within the organizational structure of the local authority, generally within the context of a master plan and/or broad policy goals and objectives for the city. At this stage emphasis is usually placed upon considerations of technical efficiency, cost effectiveness and the satisfaction of established performance norms and standards. Specialist committees integrate the findings and recommendations of particular departments before forwarding comment to the local authority executive for final

consideration. It, in turn, evaluates and sets priorities upon a range of issues, many of which compete for limited funds. Its decisions include policy statements (such as rezoning), promulgation of by-laws or control regulations, and the provision and location of facilities and amenities.

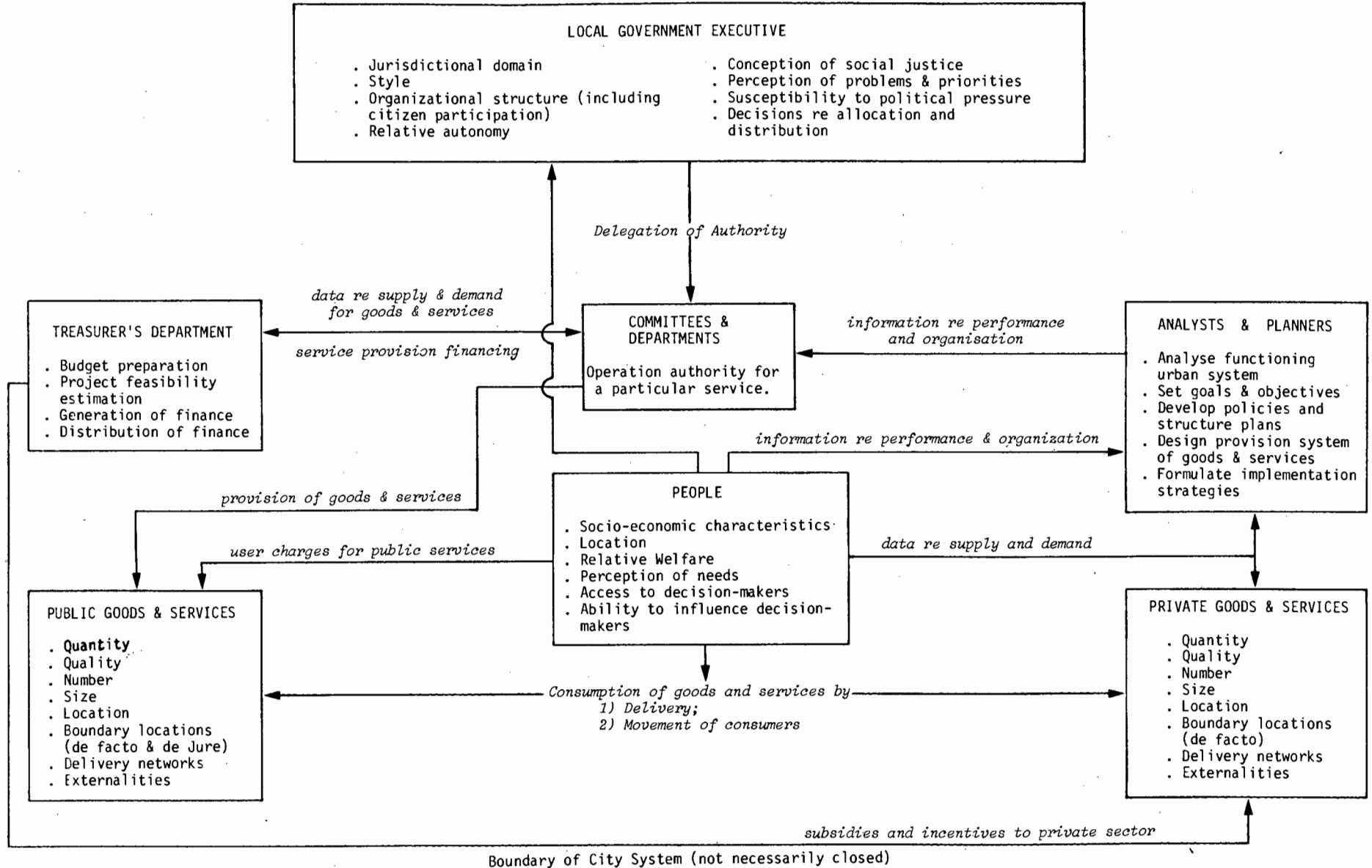
A framework, designed by Massam (1984) (slightly amended) provides a useful vehicle to locate the local government as a central element in the system for providing public goods and services (Fig. 2.4). It also serves to isolate the crucial position of the Treasurer's department in evaluating the financial feasibility of new projects, monitoring and sustaining annual operations, budget planning, and generating necessary revenue. The bulk of money is raised by the setting of fees and charges for identified services, licensing, the levying of rents and personal taxes, loan borrowing, soliciting central government grants and subsidies and, on occasion, the issue of stocks and bonds. It is axiomatic that financial viability determines the degree of effective local authority autonomy (Fig. 2.5).

2.2.6 Social Justice as a Criterion for Local Authority Intervention

As a general rule all local authorities would profess the intent to discharge their responsibilities for the public good. Questions of economic or technological efficiency aside, most policy decisions are informed by some conception of the principles of social justice. It is paradoxical therefore that principles so intrinsic to policy decisions and locational outputs are never, in capitalist society, explicitly formulated, tending to be an unconscious awareness developed in a specific historical and cultural context. Pirie (1984, p230) recognised this phenomenon, commenting that,

"The sketchiest acquaintance with nuances of concepts such as freedom, justice and rights is, in practice, not a disqualification from peddling these notions. Experts blithely parade redistricting, refugee settlement, transit subsidization, drought relief, slum clearance and public housing with shallow reference to 'the

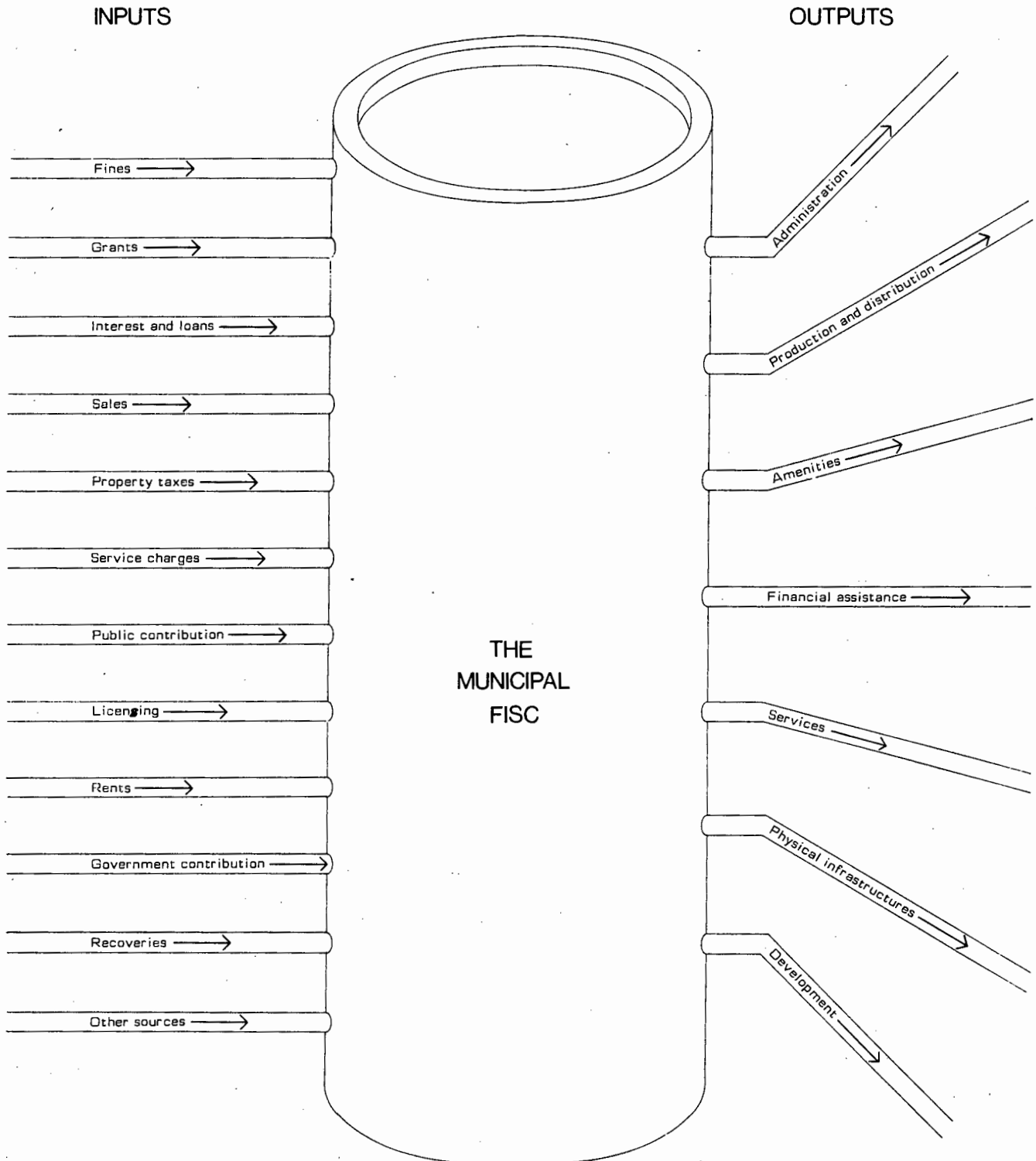
SYSTEM FOR PROVIDING PUBLIC GOODS AND SERVICES



Source : Adapted from Massam, 1984.

FIG. 2.5

SOURCES AND ALLOCATION OF MUNICIPAL FUNDS (GENERALIZED)



common good', 'fairness' and the like. On the receiving end, a huge proportion of the World's discarded people cry out against injustices in state development priorities and aid programmes, appeal for equal or preferential consideration, for attention to their rights, for compensation for hardships inflicted by nature or war. Judgements about what is right and wrong are made with half an eye on the public purse and the expediency of party or national politics. In the hands of ideological rivals, evaluative principles become pliable standards, and contrasting solutions vie as best, fairest and most humane. Principles of adjudication are compromised and contradicted. They are chosen at random without reflecting their pertinence to the issue at hand, or their consistency with other standards. Worst of all, political philosophical concepts are relentlessly manipulated and prostituted to shore up dubious claims. Only in certain quarters are the concepts 'essentially contested'; more usually they are inadequately contested."

The reason for this approach is that issues concerning the essential nature of justice constitute a complex philosophical polemic as yet unresolved (Rawls, 1971; Millar, 1976; Frankena, 1962; Kamenka and Tay, 1979; Pettit, 1980).

Many philosophers have attempted to develop an ideal, logically derived and universal definition of justice based, for instance, upon the principles of individual rights, needs, deserts and freedom of choice (Millar, 1976). Others, more pragmatically have attempted to establish logically consistent criteria applicable to a particular conception of justice. These include the proprietarian, utilitarian, contractarian and egalitarian criteria for justice (Pettit, 1980). Given the established relationship between jurisdictional authority, the distribution of urban goods and services, spatial discrimination, differential welfare and social conflict it is perhaps inevitable that "most geographic interest in urban output studies has been directed towards the concept of territorial justice" (Hoggart, 1986, p2). Harvey (1973, p98) for instance, addressed the issue of "a just decision justly arrived at" and proposed that the criteria used to decide who (or what

area) should benefit from the allocation of scarce public resources should be need, merit, and contribution to the public good.

For present purposes, however, elaboration of concepts and principles and the identification of contending opinions of justice is not required. The important point is that many public authority decisions are predicated upon an imperfectly conceived (and possibly logically indefensible) conception of social justice. Public assessments of such decisions similarly are based upon a particular conception of social justice. These conceptions are essentially normative reflecting contemporary ideologies, ethics and morals, rather than philosophically grounded reason. Disputes over whether or not decisions satisfy a particular conception of social justice are frequently the crux of social conflict over spatial allocations.

2.2.7 The Nature and Relevance of Space

The nature and relevance of space constitutes a significant problematic in the philosophy of geography. As such it has been extensively theorized. The works of Harvey, 1969; Sack, 1974, 1980; Peet, 1987; Soja, 1980; Troy, 1981; Castells, 1977; Gregory, 1978; are cases in point. One important issue concerns the degree to which space both reflects and affects social processes. The consensus of opinion is that it is untenable to regard space as an absolute, an objective reality. Rather it is socially created, the product of historical and social practice. As such it is imbued with social meaning. It is also a commodity with use value which stems from its relationships to other objects" (Harvey, 1973 p13). Relative scarcity and inequality derive directly from the nature of relational space. In the present context it is particularly important briefly to consider the role of space in patterns of inequality, deprivation, and discrimination.

It is almost axiomatic that inequalities are integral to the functioning of the economy particularly in capitalist

societies (Harvey, 1973, p52; Kirby, 1982 p9) and to the structural organization of society (Giddens, 1979). It has already been argued that the city is a "projection of society in space" (Castells, 1977 p115). Others have sought to argue that, conversely or reciprocally, space can act to influence or transform economic and social processes. For instance it can reinforce or mediate structurally determined inequalities. Socially formed space can also be used symbolically: "'structures of signification' can be created and mobilized to legitimate the sectional interests of hegemonic groups within specific structures of domination" (Giddens, 1979 p42). In Badcock's opinion (1984, p53-54), "while the city is plainly a projection of society in space it can be shown that, under certain conditions, socially formed space can act to refract social processes, compound inequalities and redistribute real income".

It is important however not to ascribe causative primacy to spatial distributions and to succumb to the 'fetishism of space' (Soja, 1980). This is to mistake the surface manifestation of social divisions - spatial segregation - for the social division itself. Frequently a pattern is a manifestation of something else, for instance, between classes and sub-classes and not between areas (Tabb and Sawyers, 1978 p12). Addressing this theme, Smith (1977 p112) distinguished between 'people poverty' and 'place poverty' and noted that "Low income people may occupy certain parts of a city by virtue of their low income but their money incomes are not low because of where they live". On the other hand, 'place poverty' "emerges when other benefits or penalties compound the advantages or disadvantages of particular groups by virtue of where they live". In reality however, people poverty (class or race) is invariably linked to place poverty (in terms of the provision of amenities and facilities). In other words those with limited or no income or with limited rights, generally live in deprived areas.

Spatial deprivation is not necessarily spatial in origin therefore, but might be associated with particular social groups who also possess some spatial existence. In many instances spatial inequality reflects long traditions of deliberate decision-making directed towards certain groups. This observation has particular relevance in colonial situations and is a case in point in the society of colonial Rhodesia.

However, it is often "very difficult to disentangle discrimination against particular classes or groups from policies that have implications for areas that happen to be coincident with a particular group" (Kirby 1982, p41). On other occasions, relative deprivation may not have been evident in terms of relative spatial location but might nevertheless have existed as a result of structural inequalities. For instance, the distribution pattern of an urban facility (for example clinics or schools) might not display a markedly uneven spatial pattern. However, effective access to them may be strongly influenced by such factors as mobility, income, and qualifications (i.e. structural determinants) and give rise to considerable social deprivation that might be masked by geographic equality. Kirby (ibid. p37) cautions that it is important to differentiate between different forms of deprivation. For example deprivation that:

1. is restricted to particular groups and implies structural or aspatial processes at work;
2. is restricted to different areas;
3. occurs *in situ* where all in a region could gain or lose as the result of the provision of a public good, and
4. is a consequence of mobility problems so that certain time and cost penalties are incurred as a result of the specific location of certain public goods.

Space then has neither independent functional properties nor is it merely the material debris formed by social process (Slater, 1980 p453-4). Rather "spatial structures are implicated in social structures and each can be theorized with the other" (Gregory, 1978 p112). Together they generate a dynamic tension resolved through "a socio-spatial dialectic" (Soja, 1980). Badcock (1984, p53) notes further that

"as well as simultaneous interplay, the socio-spatial dialectic implies a series of chain reactions. Not only is the city fused with the wider society, but as a social artefact it, in turn, is capable of calling forth a response from social agents and forces (the capital market, governments, etc.) which are obliged to take account of space. Social intervention then instigates another round of spatial restructuring which leads eventually to a new spatial realization, and so on."

As Gregory (1978, p120-1) has remarked, "It is clearly important to transcend geography's 'fetishism of areas' and to destroy the myth that areas, qua areas, can interact. But it should now be equally obvious that this must mean more than a simple demonstration that the spatial lattice exhibits, in frozen and displaced form, a bundle of social relations The real problem ... turns on the need to recognize (a) that spatial structures cannot be theorized without social structures, and vice versa, and (b) that social structures cannot be practised without spatial structures, and vice versa".

While the arguments are important in understanding the spatial expression of differential levels of material well-being in cities in general, they have particular relevance in the analysis of the urban system in colonial societies.

2.2.8 The Nature and Role of the Local State

Responsibility for the provision of public goods in urban jurisdictions generally devolves upon local authorities or designated *ad hoc* bodies. For this reason it is important briefly to identify some issues concerning the local state

that are relevant to the present study and then to attempt to integrate the themes of differential welfare, relative power, and citizen participation in decision-making, into a spatial and jurisdictional context. As envisaged here, the local state "comprises any government entity having political and spatial jurisdiction at less than the national scale and having the ability to raise revenue from, and make expenditure on behalf of, its constituents" (Dear and Clark, 1981 p1278). It is therefore neither a theoretical abstract nor a neutral entity. While no one theory of the local state has been developed (Massam, 1984), its many dimensions have been investigated both empirically and theoretically (Broadbent, 1977; Cockburn, 1977; Saunders, 1980; Dear and Scott, 1981; Taylor, 1982; Scott, 1980).

Some would regard the local state as an organizational institution pragmatically involved with ameliorating the daily problems of the city by regulation, planning and control. In this connotation its role might be described as 'technocratic management'; its planning functions as 'fire-fighting' and 'oil-can planning'. Ideally it would operate in the interests of the citizens. Insofar as social control is concerned it is regarded, at best, as the servant of the people and, at worst, as politically neutral¹⁰.

Another, more radical analysis holds that the local state functions as an agent of the central state and, therefore, possesses a specifically political agenda to facilitate and legitimate the accumulation and expansion of capital. As such it is a purposefully constituted agent of the central state. It achieves these ends by creating and maintaining an environment for investment, by regulating and dissipating social conflict, by acting as an ideological agent, and by socializing the populace. It also serves to legitimise the capitalist system and achieve fiscal control at the regional

¹⁰ This is not to deny that, in a market exchange economy where it is held that individuals and groups should be free to pursue their own goals and abilities, public authority intervention needs to be justified and accepted in order to have legitimacy.

or local levels while at the same time establishing and maintaining social relations and an operational environment that would enhance efficient capitalist production and accumulation. "A separate local state is required as an apparatus to maintain control over a spatially extensive and heterogeneous jurisdiction ... capitalist social relations are obfuscated as the fiscal rationality and legitimation crises are regionalized; such inter-state tensions are vital and functional aspects of the maintenance of the social order" (Dear and Clark, 1981 p1285).

In part this objective is achieved through the provision of public goods. Smith (1977) considered the primary purpose of urban government to be the provision of goods and services that the market cannot provide or provides inefficiently. This view is essentially reductionist and functionalist insofar as it reduces the role of the local state to one of developing a city form that functions to the advantage of the capitalist mode of production. Dear and Clark (1981, p1279) express the argument thus:

"... the specific form of the state derives directly from the social relations of domination in capitalism ... The form of the state may change as conditions of capital accumulation change. State functions are determined by the political repercussions of crisis in accumulation and by the overriding need to ensure the reproduction of the system of social relations . . . This is achieved via a state apparatus in which demands (inputs) are translated into administrative decisions (outputs), and consequently, crises of rationality and legitimacy are anticipated, controlled and circumvented".

Consistent with radical analysis, class struggles and power relationships are central foci of this genre of analysis of the state.

Johnston (1979) contends that elections serve to provide the necessary legitimacy since they afford citizens a part in government and thereby a perception that they are controlling the future of their country. Citizenship serves to transcend class relationships and social relationships. Such a view is promoted by central state ideology. Duncan

and Goodwin (1982) articulate this view, explaining that the essence of capitalist state relations is the apparent separation of social relations (including class relations) from political relations through the notion of citizenship. This "maintains the illusion of equality in the political world at the same time as actively maintaining inequality in the 'real' socio-economic world. Citizenship is one relationship that makes class domination in capitalism appear neutral in the state just as it appears neutral in the market".

If the local state does function as an instrument of the central state to regulate the tension between local legitimacy and central control and to reproduce conditions beneficial to capital accumulation and expansion, elections can prove dysfunctional and a potential threat. They can become a focus of class conflict resulting in class cleavages along class lines.

"This presents the possibility of either or both of : 1) control of the state apparatus falling into the hands of groups representing labour; and 2) the state awarding substantial concessions to labour (in high wage levels for example). Neither is conducive to accumulation and may act as a deterrent to capitalist investment within the state territory.

It is because elected democracy linked to class conflict is not conducive to accumulation that most Third World and Second World countries have authoritarian and bureaucratic regimes. In the desperate fight for investment and economic growth, democracy cannot be afforded for much of the time, and a repressive regime may be advanced as necessary for 'the good of the country in the long term'." (Johnston 1984 pl45)

Class relations and social relations are not, however, determined immutably by hidden structures. They are essentially interrelational and inter-subjective, the products of historically and geographically specific circumstances. By the same token, the state is more than a mere instrument of power for which rival classes or class fractions contend. Instead it comprises "a collection of individuals and institutions on which various interests

impinge" (Yudelman, 1984 p234). Human agency and social action are active agents in the organization of any political economy. Therefore the degree to which local area institutions are sensitive to the pressures of local opinion is a fundamental consideration for any argument that views the local state as a manifestation of the apparatus of the central state. Clark and Dear (1984, p10) contend that, "Whatever the ideal image of local government as the crucible of democracy, its reality is one of limited autonomy and instrumental purpose designed in accordance with the objectives of higher tiers of the state". On the one hand, the 'logic of the system' (for example the obligatory rights and duties of local authorities as defined by statute and the established systems of state control) could limit the possibilities of the local state for autonomous action. On the other hand, the nature of social relations and of political action could influence local authority policies and actions.

The structures for communication and citizen participation as well as the degree to which local groups can effectively influence executive decision-making are therefore important topics for investigation. In the context of the present study, the legal framework of state responsibilities, the spatial division of powers and the fiscal relationships between state tiers are of particular concern as is the question of many relationships that arise from a revolutionary change of power in both the central and local states.

2.2.9 Power and the Political Process

The possession and exercise of power is a crucial element in determining the nature of social and economic relations within society. Blalock (1970) considered that power in a society could only be interpreted in terms of the mobilization of resources in the interests of those exercising the power. These include "money, property, prestige, authority and natural and super-natural resources. Also included are physical strength and ability to bear arms,

voting rights, and various rights achieved by formal education, apprenticeship, or membership in certain organizations (eg. the right to practice law or union membership)" (ibid. p113). The power resources possessed by a group determines the scope and degree to which it can influence the functioning of the political economy.

Given a particular distribution of power the welfare of groups in geographic space is, in large part, predicated upon their ability to influence allocational decisions in their own interests. Local authority output decisions are, ultimately, politically determined. For instance, in the ideal democratic system, city councillors are (other critiques notwithstanding¹¹) 'servants of the people', being responsible for and accountable to them. On a more pragmatic level municipal officials are daily exposed to the the "inducement and persuasion" resources of social groups (Wilson, 1973 p15). Wilson goes on to say that,

"Generally inducement and persuasion resources are applied by groups that have placed themselves in a

11 Pahl (1975) conceptualized four other models to explain the distribution and exercise of power within the urban public domain.

1. A 'pure' managerialist model where control is exercised by professional experts operating within their concept of the common good.
2. A 'statist' model whereby the local authority is an instrument of control of the central government.
3. A 'control by capitalists' model whereby effective control is exercised by a capitalist elite in the interests of private capital.
4. A 'pluralist' model in which control is effected by the above three groups in permanent tension with one another (and often by the market power of the non-elite).

In short these views suggest that either

- (a) city councillors respond satisfactorily to their electors;
- (b) that councillors are used by particular pressure groups; or
- (c) that the socio-economic environment defines problems and impels solution responses ('fire fighting' or 'oil-can planning'; this is also compatible with forward planning to offset perceived problems) (Needham, 1977).

However, passive theories of councillor behaviour deny that government assumes a major role in the process.

position whereby they can often influence another group without referring to threats or penalties (i.e. constraint or pressure resources). Here I am referring to group economic and political power, the possession of certain desired skills such as are acquired through formal education and the control of certain prestige symbols. For the sake of brevity, I will often refer to inducement and persuasion resources as 'competitive resources'".

A closely allied conception of effective power mobilization is argued by Cox (1979) who avers that the resources groups can mobilize may broadly be categorized as 'accessibility' and 'bargaining' resources. Accessibility resources refer to a group's *de jure* or *de facto* accessibility to public officials. Bargaining resources, on the other hand, refer to a set of ideological predispositions, held by a group, to which officials will be more or less receptive.

When a local authority accords differential prestige and recognition to a particular group, when members of a local authority and a particular group possesses common cultural antecedents and social contacts, and when broad consensus exists concerning social welfare and social justice, allocational decisions could be expected to redound to the advantage of that group. The situation is compounded when the local authority can devise regulations to circumscribe and contain the potential power of other groups.

The extent to which interest groups and individuals can communicate with decision-makers and influence decision-making by providing information, advocating goals and objectives, criticising, vetting, and monitoring, is an important factor influencing the operation of the local authority and, by logical extension, the distribution of public goods and services and the geography of human welfare. The possibilities for citizen participation in public affairs must therefore constitute a topic for later analysis.

The theme of power has constituted the focus of previous paragraphs. The questions, in whose interests power is

wielded and how interest groups marshal resources to compete for control or influence have particular relevance. The contest for power, in turn, has been seen to occur within an operational environment of which the political system is an important dimension. In this context the role of the political system is to allocate resources between competing actors and interests. "The essence of a political system is sharing territorial rights and providing for mutual services" (Hurst, 1972 p53). It establishes citizen-state relationships in terms of mutual obligations and responsibilities and it formalizes the mechanisms whereby intergroup conflict can be contained or regulated. These mechanisms include state and parastatal institutions, organizational structures, operational procedures, and rules and regulations. The nature of all these can differ greatly.

A general framework of the resource-allocating process which emphasises the role of the political system has been postulated by Dawson and Robinson (1963). In it the political system is envisaged as a filter through which social group needs are perceived and articulated. The model also accommodates the possibility of external socio-economic conditions affecting output decisions and incorporates feedback since the output effects of public policies can impact upon the political process and subsequent public policy.

The relative primacy of the political system, on the one hand, and of socio-economic variables upon welfare expenditures, on the other, has elicited extensive debate and spawned numerous case studies (Pinch, 1985 p60ff). Three distinct viewpoints may be identified. Briefly stated they are:

1. That the political system operates as a device for aggregating social preferences and mediating between socio-economic environmental decisions on public outputs. Individual demands become

one of the basic determinants of public policy but they do not exercise an independent effect.

2. That political variables do exercise an independent effect on public expenditures and outputs.
3. That socio-economic conditions have some direct effect on outputs and expenditures irrespective of political systems.

The above are all polar views. Pinch (*ibid.* p77) however, notes a logical inconsistency in the third of these, arguing that socio-economic conditions would, of necessity, require some form of translation through the local political and bureaucratic system and could never therefore exert a direct effect upon policy outputs. He quotes Hansen (1981, p31) who attempted to reconcile this apparent impasse:

"Rather than regarding socio-economic variables as causes of the decisions, it seems more reasonable to treat them as decision-making criteria upon which public authorities may act. It is important to notice the difference between a causal factor and a decision making criteria (*sic*). While a causal factor is automatically related to the effect variables, the relationship between a decision-making criteria (*sic*) and the decision has to be established by the decision-making body. In other words, the decision-makers select the criteria upon which the decision is going to be based, and this selection process will be determined by the political values of the decision makers". (emphasis Pinch's).

Pinch (1985, p79) concludes that it is difficult therefore, to establish whether or not a strong association between socio-economic conditions and expenditures denotes:

1. The effectiveness of local politicians in responding to local needs (either as a response to demands or the imposition of policies based on their own ideology); or
2. the power of local bureaucracies in overriding political ideologies and ensuring uniform patterns of service output; or

3. the ability of central government to impose uniform standards across local governments.

In any event, it is apparent that the particular nature of the political system ultimately has significance for the distribution of local government finance. The obligatory and 'permissive' powers of local authorities are established by central government statute but the manner in which they are given practical expression under legislation can vary considerably. In the specific context of this thesis, understanding changing patterns of local authority output and expenditure will require recognition of the degree to which such financial transactions were constrained by law under the colonial and post-independence political regimes of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe respectively.

2.2.10 The Jurisdictional Context of Local Authority Activity

Whether or not the political system is a primary determinant of local authority outputs the spatial dimension of the exercise of power is nevertheless significant. Local authorities administer over defined territorial areas within which they possess specific powers to direct facets of social behaviour through regulations and by-laws and to locate and operate particular urban functions. The extent of their territorial jurisdiction and the nature of their rights and obligations are normally specified in central government legislation. These rights include the power to generate finance through the levying of local taxes, fees and charges. The extent of the collective powers enjoyed by an urban authority and the manner in which they are exercised has a fundamental impact upon the real and psychic income of the people living within a particular jurisdiction. The rights, obligations, powers and responsibilities of citizens within particular jurisdictions are also defined in law. The individual's rights and responsibilities are critical for the emergence of a particular type of market process influencing and limiting locational choice. Private market behaviour also has a wide

variety of impacts upon the welfare of local populations (Cox 1979). Different historical circumstances could be expected to produce different operational milieux.

Argument thus far developed suggests that the geo-political organization of urban areas is an important determinant of the quality of urban life. In large metropolitan areas which incorporate a number of different jurisdictions (in some cases including, such special function areas as school districts, police precincts and fire districts) a differential geography of the quality and quantity of public service provision is evident. Frequently geographic variation reflects the differential ability of areas to finance public expenditures. It can also reflect the perspectives of those in authority of need for facilities and amenities as well as the expressed desires of different pressure groups who possess the resources to influence decision-making. By extension, and as Castells (1978) has pointed out, the type, quality and location of the means of collective consumption provided by the local state becomes a major source of conflict leading to the emergence of urban social movements. Such movements would then strive to regulate urban development to the advantage of the 'local turf'. (Cox, 1979. p300).

It follows that the magnitude and composition of the social wage (the benefits derived from social expenditure) is decided both by the policies of local governments and administrative bureaucracies, and by citizen behaviour within a particular market environment. The *de jure* territories in which institutions operate can be seen to serve as a framework for the resolution of inter-community conflict over the resources which constitute the social wage (Knox 1982, p185). Theoretically, in unconstrained political circumstances, to the extent that people choose, and can afford to, they will move to areas of their choice (usually those areas offering the most preferred mix of tax rates and environmental quality (which itself is a function

of a particular mix of private investment and public sector provision)).¹²

Understanding of who pays, who benefits, who gets what, where, and at what cost, is not possible without an appreciation of the operational milieu obtaining. This defines the range of powers possessed by local authorities, the geographic extent of their powers, the rights of individual citizens to locate where they please, and the level of access to power and influence enjoyed by individuals and social groups which enables them to pursue a life of their choice. The jurisdictional context thus embraces the ability of social groups to participate in, and influence, public decision making on the type, quantity, quality and location of goods and services provided. Ultimately, the jurisdictional context defines the range of constraints and opportunities which combine to yield a particular quality of life for individual citizens and social groups.

2.2.11 Conclusion

That any urban facility has to be paid for has already been observed. It has also been observed that, under certain circumstances, some facilities and amenities have to be provided (or are considered necessary) by the public sector. These are the 'pure' and 'impure' public goods the location of which has fundamental implications for human welfare. Implicit in these observations is the argument that a case exists for the geographical redistribution of urban

¹² It is important to recognise however that the body of literature from which this argument is developed, derives largely from the general experience of the Western industrial world ignoring other political and economic dispensations. An extensive freedom of expression and action is implied which may be severely constrained under other systems of government. Therefore the model does not provide a basis for universal analysis. Nevertheless, given the explicitly Western European orientation of White settler society in Rhodesia, the model does have utility for examining the evolution of the social and physical geography of Salisbury.

amenities and facilities and, by logical extension, of the income generated within the urban system.

In essence, analysis of the geography of public finance is concerned with the generation, allocation and distribution of funds for the provision of public goods and services, a process that constitutes a fundamentally important element of the political economy of any city. Where public monies are directed in geographic space fundamentally affects the form, structure and functioning of the urban system and, ultimately, the quality of life and the life chances of people living within that system. Earlier discussion identified related issues that are relevant to this central focus. In summary these include the nature and powers of the local authority; its relative autonomy; its relationship with the central state and social groups; its perception of, and influence on, social justice and welfare; the manner in which societal problems are perceived and communicated by individuals and groups; formal and informal constraints on individual decision-making and behaviour; the location of public goods and access to them; the incidence of externalities; and the effects of territorial jurisdiction on urban structure, form and activities. In essence, and to restate an earlier aphorism, the geography of public finance is concerned with who gets what, where, who decides, and who decides who decides.

The pursuit of these issues insofar as they are manifest in circumstances of cultural change in the post-colonial city of Harare is the specific research aim of this study. It is intended that evidence of change is sought in an examination of the conduct of urban finance in the City Council of that city. A pre-requisite of such an analysis is the development of a basis for comparison that would permit measures of change to be determined as Harare emerged from its colonial past.

It is to that agenda that the study now turns. The succeeding chapters will examine characteristics of city formation within the unique circumstances of the colonial

political economy, the case of Rhodesia within this general framework, and relevant facets of the geography of Salisbury that elucidate subsequent analysis.

CHAPTER 3

CITY FORMATION WITHIN THE COLONIAL POLITICAL-ECONOMY

Local government practice cannot adequately be comprehended unless located within its specific historical and geographical context. As indicated earlier, all decisions that impact upon the functioning and morphology of the city, whether made by elected representatives or by bureaucratic gatekeepers and managers, reflect the particular circumstances of the decision-makers at that time. These include the nature of the economic system, the relative distribution of power, wealth and status within the society, the nature of social relations and group conflicts, historical antecedents and, importantly, the decision-makers' perceptions and interpretations of the particular situation obtaining. Thus decisions affecting urban development and the quality of life of urban residents are, in part, informed by the legacy of past phenomenal and operational milieux and, in part, by prevailing ideologies, norms, values and attitudes.

For this reason the geography of local authority finance in Salisbury/Harare will be better understood against a general theoretical background of city formation within the colonial political economy. To this end the generic characteristics of colonialism are considered initially. Thereafter the evolution of a unique urban form within that socio-political dispensation is considered before the specific circumstances of Rhodesia and Salisbury are addressed.

3.1. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SETTLER COLONIALISM : AN OVERVIEW

Numerous case studies, drawn from a multiplicity of historical, geographic and cultural situations, have documented and analysed the phenomenon of colonialism and

imperialism. They have also been placed in theoretical-conceptual frameworks (for example Horvath, 1972; Kuper and Smith, 1969; Smith, 1960; Hartz, 1964). However, there has been relatively little theoretical work undertaken on city formation within the colonial political economy of African states (see Simon 1984, Davies, 1983; O'Connor, 1983; Winters, 1982; Lowder, 1986)¹

Colonialism has been variously defined as,

".... the institutionalised dominance of one group by another resulting from migration based on vested economic interests" (Kinloch 1974, p225)

".... that form of intergroup domination in which settlers in significant numbers migrate permanently to the colony from the colonising power" (Horvath, 1972, p47)

"... the establishment and maintenance for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate from, and subordinate to, the ruling power ... It is no longer closely related with the term, "colonisation" which involves the settlement abroad of people from the mother country" (Emerson, 1968)

"The establishment and maintenance of rule by a sovereign power over an alien people" (Johnston et al, 1986)

Three significant themes emerge from these definitions. Firstly that of the domination of one group by another. Secondly, that of domination being effected through institutionalised structures, and thirdly, that of the long time span of dominant-group control.

"Imperialism" may be taken to mean an unequal territorial relationship between states based upon dominance and subordination but which does not necessarily need coercion and the establishment of a colonial regime. (Johnston et al, 1986). Horvath (1972) defines it as "a form of intergroup domination wherein few, if any, permanent

¹ This is not to discount, however, a considerable body of systematic studies addressing specific facets of the urban experience in colonial Africa.

settlers migrate to the colony". These concepts form the bases of Horvath's classificatory typology of colonialism and imperialism (Fig.3.1).

Fig.3.1 Rhodesian Settler Colonialism Located In Horvath's Model

Variables

Power

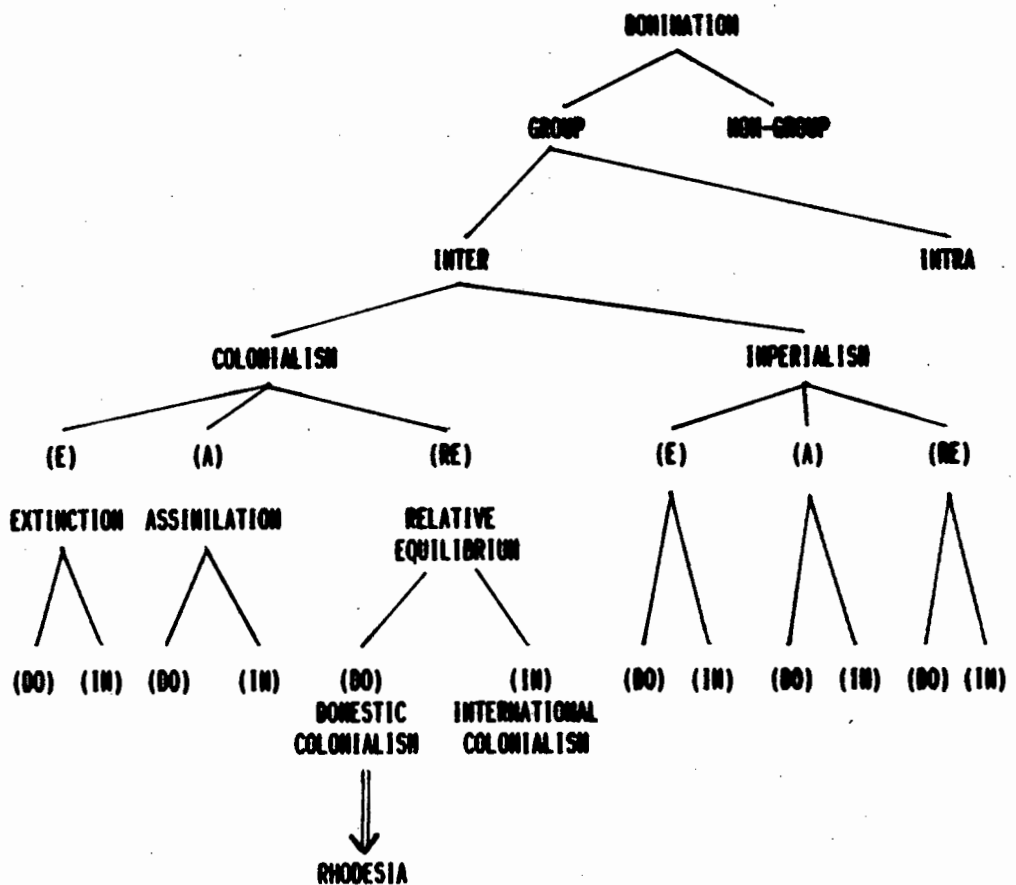
Group

Cultural
Homogeneity

Settlers

Relations

Stage of
Political
Development



Source : Horvath, 1972, p48.

Having identified colonialism as a form of intergroup domination, Horvath postulates three initial types of relationship which could occur between groups under either colonial or imperial domination. These are extermination,

assimilation, or relative equilibrium. Finally he argues that the stage of development of the political units involved in the colonial or imperial enterprise is crucial in that, "at least since the rise of the nation-state in Europe, the political status of the people in question has been seen as relevant to the morality of domination" (ibid. p48). As will be seen this is an important issue in the Rhodesia case. The argument is extended by assertion that domestic colonialism and imperialism are not fundamentally different as forms of exploitation or suppression or as cultural processes from international colonialism and imperialism (Horvath, 1972). For his purposes domestic imperialism is defined as that form of intergroup domination that occurs within the confines of a recognised autonomous political unit (polity) while domestic colonialism differs only in that permanent settlers from the colonial power participate in the domination process. This dichotomy too, will have relevance in later discussion of political change in Rhodesia.

Horvath's attempt at definition and classification of particular types of domination have been criticised for a number of reasons including:

1. That much of his terminology is imprecisely defined. For example, what exactly is meant by "assimilation" and "equilibrium"? Does "domination" refer to a political power relationship or could it be economic? What constitutes "settlers in significant numbers"? Thus it lacks clear and objective measures by which all users would come to the same conclusion. The categorisation is thus difficult to apply to specific cases.

2. That it is explicitly non-theoretical despite the fact that construction of a definition itself implies a theoretical framework. Indeed, "the utility of definitions is based upon, and measured in terms of, a theoretical framework" (Jacobson, 1972 p51). Marxists regard such definitions as superficial perspectives which are only

derivative reflections of underlying processes. As an extension of this:

3. That there is no attempt at explanation of the processes whereby the categories postulated come to exist. For instance there is no discussion of the ways in which domination occurs or of the motivating goals or institutional organisation of the dominating powers.

4. That it is ideologically based upon the conceptions of Western-capitalist culture. Frank (1972) argued that it is the political attitude and perspective of Western scholars which fails, or is not willing and able, to come to grips with colonialism, imperialism and the political, economic, and socio-cultural structure and process of the society that requires and generates them. To him Horvath's work is a "method-ideology that pretends to analyse reality by forgetting its holism, disregarding its concreteness and denying its history unlike the holistic, concrete, historical methodology of Ribeiro (1970) which leads to very different, scientifically much more acceptable, and certainly more realistic results" (ibid. p51).

5. That it tends not to differentiate between control of territory and/or behaviour. "The ubiquitous contemporary form of neo-colonialism in which the behaviour of formally independent governments is partly controlled by the trade networks and the diplomatic, economic aid, intelligence, military and financial institutions of the wealthy industrial nations would presumably be classified by the model as international imperialism. Unfortunately this does not get us very far because it is so elementary. The model stops at the point where interest begins" (Southall, 1972 p54).

Notwithstanding these criticisms Horvath's typology does provide an initial conceptualisation of colonialism within which the Rhodesian case may be considered.

To understand the development of European immigrant societies that evolved from distinct cultural origins, Hartz (1964) posited the idea of a *socio-political fragment* of the parent society which provides further insights into the nature of the colonial problematic. The theory of "fragment" stresses the European connection and continuity in the political thoughts, structures, behaviour and policies of migrant societies while emphasising that settler societies are not mere microcosms of the parent society.

In this view colonial society does not replicate the same class structure of the integrated European parent society. It derives from a small segment of that class structure. Thus, *ab initio*, it exhibits and fosters uniformity of response and consensus in relation to the social and physical environments of the colony to the degree that the ideas of a limited class spectrum become an entrenched ideology. New social forces and ideas encounter continual resistance from the small, conservative (and sometimes reactionary), emigre group.

"When a fragment escapes from an integrated European parent society, it escapes also from the central class confrontation of the integrated European context. Competitive challenges to the fragment's social existence do not exist in the new situation where a natural "relaxation" and expansion occurs in social attitudes and behaviour - when it perceives challenges to established norms and values, it tends to resist them totally, lacking the European society's capacity for compromise with, and adjustment to, them." (Schutz, 1972 p8).

Introversion promotes and leads to a group identity which ultimately may be expressed in national aspirations and the acquisition of national characteristics. This idea is consistent with Hartz's concept of a group "congealing" into a nation. Later immigrants do not constitute a new fragment but are obliged to adopt the social ethos of the pioneer settlers.

Being modern in its time and place, a fragment's basic or fundamental ethos can only be understood in its historically

specific context. Significantly, this ethos is affected by the particular motivation for emigration. For instance economic or material ambitions might generate different values and attitudes than do political, religious or ideological motivations. Thereafter the ideology and behavioural patterns of the fragment are moulded by interaction and adjustment to the particular phenomenal and operational milieux obtaining. The means of economic subsistence for example may be largely determined by the physical environment while the development of the social relations of production is largely predicated upon the nature of earlier encounters with the indigenous and colonised group. Hartz echoes Horvath's formulation when he observes that cultural, linguistic, ethnic and racial differences are usually too great for assimilation or amalgamation to occur or even for a socially co-operative relationship with indigenous inhabitants to develop. Conflict is thus a norm.²

Recognising that the theory of fragment applied more nearly to territories settled by Europeans up to the mid-nineteenth century Hartz refined the concept by introducing the "quasi-fragment" defined in terms of the fragment to describe "more recent colonial ventures in which the settlers were never so proportionately numerous, politically/military autonomous or culturally congealed so as easily to achieve the social and political ends postulated in the fragment process" (ibid. p11).

An extended quotation from Schutz (ibid. p12-15) provides a succinct description of the quasi-fragment which, it will be argued, more closely approximates the Rhodesian condition than does the full fragment concept:

"The quasi-fragment is defined in terms of the fragment because it is, again, a migration of a fragment of the European "revolution". But the

² While this could be said to apply to the African experience, the history of Latin America might appear to call these assertions into question.

quasi-fragment is an imperial imposition. In quasi-fragment societies the fragment is ultimately rejected, expelled or modified, but though it does not determine the ethos of the society it has a powerful impact upon it. Unlike the established fragments, the quasi-fragment's very existence is always dependent upon the official sanction and support of the colonial power. And, as Rosecrance puts it, "When that official support wanes or disappears, the quasi-fragment must compromise or yield. It may continue but not in the same manner". Nevertheless the quasi-fragment has, during its tenure, a massive social impact. Like the true fragment it aspires to transform its society, to create a new mode of existence within it. And also, like the true fragment, it projects a much more striking image than its European parent. Again, as Rosecrance puts it, "It is not accidental that the 'very, very, British' are found in colonial situations. The freedom to be British in an untrammelled sense of the term is more available in the colonial context, at least initially, than in Britain itself." (Rosecrance, 1962 p20)

But there are crucial distinctions. The proper fragment aims to install a new way of life, to determine and to reconstruct an entirely new society and to reorganise, repress, or liquidate the indigenous or non-Western peoples present. It is not content merely to occupy the commanding heights of a colonial territory or an established order. Rather it wants to be that order. The quasi-fragment, having greater dependency upon the colonial power and less control of policy over the indigenous peoples, is not so confident of the achievement of that end. They are aware that, regardless of their evolving differences with the home country, they lack the coercive power for taking charge in their new territory.

One of the most forceful effects of the quasi-fragment's presence has been the revolutionising impact it has had on the indigenous inhabitants. Western analysts have often focussed upon the impact of modernisation, but have neglected the actual dynamics supplied by the resident quasi-fragment. This dynamism is, in fact, more direct in its application to the native peoples than is the dynamism directed by one fragment toward another in a dual fragment situation.³ But in

³ Dual fragment situations are held to occur when 'discontinuous spurts' of a particular cultural group establish in a territory on a separate and autonomous basis from other culture groups (British colonists co-

response to this transforming impetus of the quasi-fragment, the indigenous inhabitants begin to form national movements in order to achieve their own social determination. Thus one nationalism actually sets off another and this, in turn, can further intensify the first quasi-fragment nationalism.

But because the quasi-fragment lacks the coercive power of the proper fragment, it must yield to the indigenous inhabitants, and either return to its parent land or else remain a subordinate minority group in its new territory. Thus the quasi-fragment not only revolutionises the indigenous peoples but in doing so it diminishes its own status. Moreover the national peoples' movement, unlike the quasi-fragment, is a hastily conjoined conglomeration of different tribes, peoples, and even primordial nations. Soon after the exultant moments of their independence, they may find their own efforts at national union rather short-lived. As Samuel Huntington (1966 p409) has perceptively noted, while newly independent, former colonial territories may be "old societies and new states", the typical fragment societies are "old states and new societies".

Once the colonial power accedes to the demands of the national peoples' movement, a remarkable reversal takes place. The quasi-fragment perceives itself as being stabbed in the back by its parent. The intensity of its revulsion generates a determination that may appear to be no less than that of the nationalist peoples. The crucial variable then becomes: who is actually in power at the time the colonial power formally accedes? If the nationalist movement has the reins of power formally turned over to it by a ruling colonial government formally and informally representing the dominant power, then the quasi-fragment must either recede into the background or else pack up and leave. But if the quasi-fragment itself may have exhibited many of the qualities of the single fragment and, most critically, has *de facto* control of the government, then the intense struggle becomes three-cornered. The quasi-fragment turns upon both the aspiring nationalists and the betraying home country with equal fury. The nationalists find themselves with the choice of either knuckling under or else embarking upon some form of guerilla movement. And the home

existing with separate Dutch and French groups in South Africa is an example). In this situation the earlier fragment could not dominate or assimilate the migrants because they were officially sponsored and supported and, to a degree, geographically diverse.

country finds itself either falling victim to internal dissension or else having its quasi-fragment dependents declaring a unilateral independence from them.

In addition, the quasi-fragment, in its panic and hurt, begins to turn on itself, something that could not happen while under the aegis of the parent country, but something that does happen to the single fragment when it feels its ethos threatened by an external and somehow incomprehensible event. The withdrawal of the home country, and the quasi-fragment's commitment to repression of the nationalist independence movement, create divisions that begin to affect the social fabric of the quasi-fragment itself. In its increasing fear of further betrayal from all sides, it begins leaving nothing to chance. And soon it exhibits authoritarian tendencies that resemble more those of the nationalists after independence than of the home country. The quasi-fragment, at this point, begins to base its own legitimacy on the claim that the indigenous nationalist alternative is one fraught with authoritarianism, repression of rights and liberties, and the negation of all those attributes propounded by the home country which it, the quasi-fragment, regards as inviolable. But in its state of extreme fear and concern for fragment preservation, the quasi-fragment begins openly to demonstrate similar traits of political insecurity.

Finally, the quasi-fragment tries to justify its actions in the name of protecting the national peoples from their self inflicted acts of extremism. Thus the quasi-fragment remains the child of the parent after all, for the ruling minority cannot admit that it is cutting its ties with the home country because the latter is supporting the nationalist aspirations. Neither can it admit that it is repressing the indigenous movement solely for its own political survival in its new home. But rather the quasi-fragment retains the reason for involvement given by the home country itself: to prepare the national peoples for their own, self determined, 'civilised' existence.

The above abstraction attempts to reveal contemporary European colonial/settlement processes in terms of the fragment theory. As an ideal type, no concrete case can be identified which totally matches this description. However, the variables presented can furnish some basis for

analysing a concrete case which does at least resemble this type".

As presented here, fragment theory provides a conceptual framework that facilitates the organisation of case studies of particular situations and also accommodates the application of different social theories explaining the nature of individual colonial societies. The process of colonisation hypothesised in the theory of fragment has domination, conflict, and changing social values as pervasive themes. The particular socio-economic characteristics of the colonising group, their motivation for migrating, and the particular circumstances of their interaction with their physical environment, with the dominated sub-group, and with the metropole are important determinants of the emergent political and space-economies of the territory. Conflict and struggle create a dialectic through which different group ideologies crystallise. Ideological and behavioural change towards resolution of this continuing tension occurs both within groups and between groups. Much of this change, particularly the overt actions of the dominant group and the responses of the subordinate group, tend to be 'undirectional' in that they are directed towards maintaining the interests of the dominant group. However, other significant effects of colonialism require discussion.

In settler colonies the exercise of domination was accompanied by a variety of 'secondary' consequences, many of them unintended and unwanted. The newly created capitalist economy superimposed upon established traditional economies required an assured (and preferably cheap) supply of labour. A variety of institutions and coercive mechanisms were established to this end. These included the imposition of taxes to draw indigines into the cash economy, the establishment of labour bureaux, policies to dispossess people of land to compel them to seek paid employment, and forced labour. Other strategies, including the control of education, the limitation of job opportunities and access to skilled training, and the regulation of trading practices

were designed to eliminate effective competition and to perpetuate the colonists' control of the economy, while at the same time creating a domestic market through the expansion of the wage economy.

The denial of equal opportunities to subordinate groups and low wage structures served to entrench a 'cycle of poverty' in which the poor were unable to save and invest in the economy in order to acquire a progressively higher standard of living and those things necessary to participate effectively in a modern capitalist cash economy. A debate now exists between liberal and radical analysts as to whether denial of access to the means of production and the progressively entrenched income disparities suffered by the subordinate group were functional or dysfunctional to the growth and expansion of the capitalist economy (Wolpe, 1972; Yudelman, 1975).

In the earliest phase of colonisation in cases where racial-cultural distinctions were powerfully present, class formation became inextricably associated with race. The bourgeoisie and key technocrats belonged to the dominant race group, thereby minimising class distinctions within its ranks, while the subordinate race group was largely confined to the proletariat. Race and ethnicity are therefore not necessarily neutral variables (Davies, 1986 p4). Initial cultural differences which were readily identified with physiological differences contributed toward the creation of racial prejudice in the dominant group. Furthermore, the perceived social pathology of the subordinate group (notionally 'clearly demonstrated' by their collective poverty and apparent inability to achieve) reinforced prejudice. The process led to the creation of racial stereotypes identified with their relative positions in the economy. This situation was exacerbated by an insidious sense of 'insecurity' among the dominant minority group occasioned by great (and often growing) numerical disparities between the groups.

The relative significance of race and class in the colonial social formation has proved a contentious issue (Posel, 1983). Individually the concepts 'race' and 'class' have each generated considerable theoretical analysis and debate. The works of Parsons, 1964; Bottomore and Rubel, 1969; Cox 1959; Van den Berghe, 1967, are cases in point. It is strongly evident from the literature that in the context of the realities of colonial stratification, the concepts cannot easily be separated in theory. Whether defined in terms of 'economic status' or of 'structural relationships', class strata can be identified within both dominant and subordinate colonial groups. However if, and when, individuals from both groups possessed a similar relationship in terms of their access to, and control of, the means of production, they did not necessarily possess a common bond nor a consciousness of a shared situation. Nor did they necessarily enjoy equal status within the society. Thus however defined, a single class almost never existed across race groups.

Over time, class ascription by the dominant group increasingly became a function of race while race differentiation became increasingly subject to social prescription. Van den Berghe (1967, p9) concluded that race assumed a social dimension whereby physical criteria ('phenotypical and genotypical traits') came to possess a social relevance. This relevance derived from circumstances in which cultural and economic attributes became inextricably linked to biologically inherited physical traits. Noel (1968, p163) extended this argument by subsuming race under ethnicity when considering the phenomenon of social stratification. In a context of continuous group contact he considered that stratification required conditions of ethnocentrism, competition, and differential power. Ethnocentrism reflected in-group glorification which was expressed in terms of mythology, condescension, double standards of morality, economic exploitation and the practice of endogamy. In Noel's view, competition occurred for such scarce resources as land or

power. The terms of the competition were to be seen in (a) regulative values; (b) structural opportunities, or barriers, for upward mobility; and (c) relative adaptive capacity of the groups. Differential power was, however, regarded as the key to 'racial' stratification. Noel's contention that 'competition' occurred over such scarce resources as land and power understates the case. It fails adequately to capture the sense of deprivation, the intensity of antagonism, and the fervour of political reaction generated by the processes of land alienation and the denial of power among the subordinate group.

In similar manner Cox (1959, p344) conceived of race as being a special aspect of class which was the consequence of European exploration and colonial domination in a world-wide capitalist system. Proletarianisation of labour occurred in terms of the subjugation of whole peoples. Thus while class stratification did exist, it was enmeshed with the race factor and a particular race group became a particular class group (in Marxist terms) although there might be great internal diversification of roles within each race group. Elsewhere Olsen (1970) postulated the concept of a 'racial class' where race and class stratification coincided. As a result of relative powerlessness the dominated group was obliged to occupy a particular position in the economic system. "Thus differential privileges and prestige enjoyed by various 'racial classes' can be seen as direct outcomes of unequal power distribution and use, whereas racial discrimination and segregation can be viewed as techniques used by members of more powerful racial categories to subordinate and control less powerful racial categories" (ibid. p30).

The causes of racism were, therefore, both structural and psycho-social. Values became associated with motives. Racial ideology became an attitudinal consequence of both the historical experience and of the productive enterprise. Characteristically, over time, ideology became entrenched in institutions and legal structures. Group differences became

the rationalisation for the plurality of all major social institutions. In a plural society where the rulers formed a culturally distinct numerical minority, the aggregate depended for its formation, unity, order, and form, primarily on the concentration and active employment of regulative powers by the ruling group. Power was exercised through the political apparatus and reflected in institutional cleavages. These cleavages ensured the exclusivity of one group and unequal social relations between groups.

In addition to primary institutional bifurcation between rulers and ruled, several secondary cultural divisions among the subjugated group would occur. In either case, in the plural society the rulers typically maintained their organisation as an exclusive corporate group collectively to secure and control the political institution on which the internal order and unity of the aggregate depended, together with their own privileges of status and opportunity. (Smith, 1969).

Dominant group bureaucrats became "gatekeepers and managers" (Knox 1982, p153), practising the practical politics of exclusion, and legitimising their actions on the grounds of 'developing' and 'civilising' backward peoples. Their Christian proselytising role also served to rationalise and legitimate the existence and maintenance of the specific operational environment. Differences and discontinuities, rather than consensus, were emphasised. "Indeed it is on this discontinuity that the basis of the state⁴ - White minority supremacy - rests. This discontinuity at no time signifies equality in differences, but is rather the social mechanism by which inequalities are maintained and incipient conflict regulated" (O'Callaghan, 1977 p12).

⁴ "State" is here used to mean a civil community having its own system of government and law regardless of its political independence.

Reciprocally the ideology of the subordinate group was shaped by domination and influenced by its structural position in the political economy affecting both between-group and within-group social relations and attitudes. The changing norms, values, attitudes and aspirations of the penetrated traditional society were also an inevitable consequence of the process of modernisation (sic) (Paden and Soja, 1970) which essentially involved the reorientation of its institutional structures, values and patterns of behaviour. These changes were brought about by an increase in the scale of human action, increasing specialisation and division of labour in the productive process and increasing societal control of the natural environment. Technological progress, secularisation, urbanisation, and increasing achievement motivation were all integral to the process of modernisation. Frequently church missionaries were the initial agents of this process in their provision of both formal and non-formal education based upon different methods of ordering and interpreting reality.

Ideological differences between the two major groups as well as the powerlessness of the subordinate group (as expressed in its inability to influence decision-making in its own perceived interests) created a dynamic tension resulting in conflict. The fact that the dominant group's working class also aligned psychologically and socially with its own petty bourgeoisie, against the aspirations of subordinate-group workers, exacerbated ethnic conflict. As Simon (1984, p503) observes, "tensions within the colonial structure generally arise from the inherent inequalities of access to resources, education, skills and the whole gamut of individual or group opportunities, even though the colonial power may coopt a limited indigenous elite to strengthen its hold".

It is important here to distinguish between real and perceived discrimination. Although real (relative and/or absolute) deprivation usually existed from the outset, it only became politically relevant once the subordinate groups perceived it, and used it as a rallying point of resistance.

In response the state contrived to divert or regulate or accommodate burgeoning conflict by devising a variety of strategies of control, co-optation and compromise. Historically these have included the separation and segregation of groups, the containment of participation in the political-economy, separate development, parallel development and different forms of power sharing. One important outcome of the conflicts generated by the frustration of individual and group aspirations was the mass mobilisation and political involvement of the subordinate group, a feature of which was growing nationalism. Growing antagonisms at times elicited a counter nationalism from within the threatened dominant minority group. Ideological positions were increasingly clarified and made explicit to inform and direct political challenges.

The preceding discussion has highlighted the social relations and ideologies that arise from the colonial political economy. The motivation for colonial settlement *ab initio* defined activity patterns and also the spatial manifestation of economic and social relations. Consistent with materialist theory, the productive process is considered to underpin the superstructure of social and political relations. The superstructure and sub-structure interrelated in complex ways to produce a unique mode of production. That mode of analysis holds that colonialism is an advanced stage in the evolution of capitalism brought about by conditions in the metropole viz. increasing levels of production, a declining rate of profit, both occasioned by technological development, competition, limited market capacity and diminishing domestic investment opportunities. Colonial territories could serve both as a source of raw materials, frequently unobtainable in the metropole and, as a market for consumption commodities. Economic enterprise in colonial territories was largely confined to the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials, intermediate processing, the limited manufacture of basic consumer goods for the local market and commercial distribution. Capital, large scale manufacturing and more

sophisticated business activity were generally confined to the metropole. As a result, development theorists have argued that an economic relationship evolves wherein development in the colony is subject to imperatives generated in the metropole, and the exigencies of global capitalism (Frank, 1966; Clark, 1980; Kay, 1975; Amin, 1976; Roxborough, 1979). Put simply, the colony becomes progressively underdeveloped relative to the metropole as a result of a net unequal value of exchange of commodities and capital. Of significance here is that this dependency is mirrored in the social and economic and spatial organisation of the colony as the capitalist system is articulated through the structure of urban settlements, communication networks, productive enterprises and class relations. Significantly the traditional rural periphery and the indigenous subordinate group becomes dependent upon the initiatives of the dominant group operating as domestic capital or agents of international capital.

Fundamental to the successful prosecution of the colonial economic enterprise was the utilisation of abundant labour that would be prepared (or constrained) to work for low wages, thereby enabling enhanced levels (if not the maximisation) of the production of value and surplus value. In terms of materialist theory, this working group became a distinct class developing a consciousness of its common position in society and, in particular, of its relation to the owners of capital, and the petty bourgeoisie⁵. Conversely the stereotyped characteristics ascribed to the subordinate group proletariat by the colonists led to a set of relations that at times approached those of a caste society. Exploitation of the subordinate group occurred in that its members tended to produce surplus value in excess of the socially necessary wage. Moreover, they frequently bore the costs of the reproduction of labour by virtue of

⁵ Later attempts by the dominant group to create, through education and limited employment mobility, a coopted elite in the subordinate group has been interpreted as an attempt to diminish this class consciousness.

generating a supplementary income derived from a continuous reliance on rural support. This issue will be addressed later when the circumstances of Rhodesian colonial society are considered.

A further analytical perspective on colonialism which requires recognition in this more theoretical section and which can be used as a vehicle for later consideration of conditions in self governing Rhodesia⁶ is that of "internal colonialism" (Walton, 1975). It is held to occur when culturally or racially distinct groups are exploited within a sovereign territory. Status-group differentiation results, and frequently this correlates with ethnic or racial identity. Essentially the concept of internal colonialism derives from an epistemological rejection of dualist theory.

Dualists conceived of a distinct cultural and economic dichotomy in developing territories. In these terms, society could be divided between a traditional/primitive subsistence (usually rural) component on the one hand, and a modern-advanced (usually capitalist-industrial-urban) component on the other. These polarities were considered to be independent of one another and the major task of development strategists was to devise ways and means for the traditional component to attain the characteristics of the modern/developed component. Problems were identified insofar as they constituted obstacles to this developmental trajectory.

Critics of this view contended that the traditional/modern categorisation was both inappropriate and misleading, in that, as pure types they were not readily identifiable and, more importantly, that they were not mutually exclusive. Rather, the development status of less developed groups and regions were a direct function of their integration into the

⁶ That is, from 1923 when Rhodesia was accorded the status of a self-governing colony whose constitution was reproduced from the Charter of the British South Africa Company. (Hailey 1957, p182).

broader economy; their condition was an expression of a continuing process of being underdeveloped.

Further criticism (Williams, 1983) emphasises the domination of one culture group by another. In this view, domination stems from the differential relationship groups have to the means of production and exchange. It is in this relationship that exploitation is realised. Exploitation expresses a production relation - production of surplus labour and expropriation of this by a social class - so that it necessarily relates to class relations and cannot refer to relations between countries or regions. As a result, Walton (1975, p34) argued that internal colonialism was a particular type of exploitation and that there was a need to focus on the process of exploitation itself "rather than artificially tying the definition to the characteristics of those (cultural, racial, ethnic, class, or geographical) groups which are parties to, or victims of, the process (of exploitation). Internal colonialism becomes a particular form of imperialism insofar as it is, (1) "a historically specific form of the general process of capital accumulation occurring within the borders of a nation-state which reflects the 'underlying imperative contained within the capitalist system to accumulate capital and to do it, of necessity, on an expanding geographical scale" (Harvey, in Williams, 1983 p24) and, (2) it is based on maintaining a dichotomy between the ruling group and a subordinate group.

Much of the debate on internal colonialism as a valid concept turns upon the origins of, and perpetuation of, racial and ethnic categorisation by a dominant group and the manner in which such categorisation reflected ideology and was translated into political practice. It was Wolpe's opinion (1975) that in the unique relationship between capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production that occurred in the colonial situation, ideological and political domination was based primarily upon ethnic and racial categories and not upon relations of class exploitation (although, given the existence of a capitalist

exploitation (although, given the existence of a capitalist system, class exploitation was, of necessity, sustained, but was subsumed beneath the imperatives of political and racial domination.) Wolpe further reasoned that a similar form of capitalist relations could develop within a nation-state with ideological domination again focussing upon racial, cultural, and ethnic forms rather than class. In such cases political domination becomes colonial in general form. To be fully understood the specific nature of the colonial-type relationship has to be related to the specific mode of exploitation of the non-capitalist society. Ethnic and racial categorisation serve to occlude the underlying mechanisms of capital accumulation and would continue only as long as attempts are made to conserve non-capitalist modes of production. What occurs when the pre-capitalist mode of production is partly or totally dissolved is the subject of debate.

According to Williams (1983, p26) the question then arises, can the term "internal colonialism" still be applied when the political and ideological instances survive, but when dissolution has almost, or completely taken place; in that a new social formation is created in which the capitalist mode of production is pre-eminent, and in which the pre-or non-capitalist mode of production has been economically integrated and incorporated? The answer to this question would appear to be a qualified 'yes'. However, the continued existence of the political and ideological instances can no longer be accounted for by 'ideology' used in the weak sense of being purely superstructural and secondary, but must be viewed as a result of a process which is far more deeply sedimented into the fabric of the social formation. It is at this point that the notion of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) attains acute significance. For in contrast to ideology conceived in a weak sense, hegemony,

.... supposes the existence of something which is truly total ... which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which as Gramsci put it, even constitutes the substance and limit of common sense for most

people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience". (ibid. p37)

Imposed ethnic and racial identities enable the realisation of an ethnic consciousness and the emergence of a new hegemony within a nation state.

Thus, in an economic sense, the term "internal colonialism" was relevant in self-governing Rhodesia where ethnic and racial identity remained strong, where capitalist economic relations continued to exist and where the pre-capitalist mode of production was being dissolved. The manifestation of internal colonialism would be revealed in uneven development within the capitalist social formation, the intensification and extension of the spatial division of labour, and the growing importance of state intervention in the accumulation process.

Within the particular circumstances of the settler colonial political-economy described above, the city evolved as "the political, military, economic, religious, social and intellectual entrepot between the colonisers and the colonised" (Horvath, 1969 p76). Being a cultural artefact, both as a built form and as a functional entity, the city could be expected to manifest the historical record of the specific phenomenal, operational, and behavioural milieux in which it was located. Put differently, its structure, form and function could have been expected to have reflected the exigencies of the physical environment, the prevailing mode of production, and the complex dialectic of the norms, values, aspirations and perceptions of its constituent groups. The relative influence of these constitutive elements, in particular cases, will have imbued the city with its specific characteristics both as a physical form and an operating system.

In the context of limited domestic capital generation, which was a function of small market capacity and the repatriation of profits to the metropole in many if not all cases, the state, and importantly for present purposes, the local

state, played crucial roles in the colonial economic system. They provided many of the producer durables and components of the built environment which private capital could be expected to supply in other circumstances. They also played an important role in the application of scientific and technological innovations and in the supply of social overhead capital (eg housing, education, health, welfare, police, military administration) necessary for the growth, expansion and efficient functioning of the colonial economy.

3.2 INTRA-URBAN ORGANISATION WITHIN THE COLONIAL POLITICAL-ECONOMY

In addition to performing a number of defined roles (administrative, military, commercial, transportation and so on) to advance the colonial enterprise, functional relationships within the city evolved a unique structural organisation. This accorded with the needs, social attitudes, and political relationships of the dominant group who were in a position to determine the nature of both the phenomenal and operational environment.

To the extent that social, economic and political functions occupy space and form interactive processes or relationships, the organisation of urban space was translated into a unique physical form. In its turn, over time, the morphology of the city served to entrench, direct, and perpetuate established activity patterns. Urban planning and design also served implicitly to imbue the system with physical legitimacy. This was achieved, for instance, through architectural design, the placement of streets, squares and buildings, and the use of cultural symbols such as street names, statues and sports arenas. For example King (1977/78, p15) has observed that, "in Africa for much of the colonial period the functions of newly established centres were political, administrative and commercial, not industrial. The built environment for the 'ideal type' political/administrative capital was characterised by those buildings housing the key

institutions of colonialism: Government or State House, the Council or Assembly buildings (if any), army barracks, ... the police lines, hospital, jail, government offices, and road system, housing, and recreational space for the expatriate European bureaucracy and, occasionally, housing for local government employees".

Distinctive aspects of the role, form, and character of the colonial city have been described by, among others, O'Connor (1983), Horvath (1969), King (1976), Simon (1984) and Davies (1983). Concern with morphogenesis, that is upon the evolution of the physical dimensions of the colonial city, is not consistent with the more narrowly conceived objectives of this study however. These objectives are limited to the role of the local authority, as a central agent, in instituting, through the powers vested in it, structural and organisational change within the colonial urban system. In that context, morphological change has relevance only to the degree to which it reflects changes wrought upon economic, social, and political relationships by the local authority.

3.2.1 Significant Characteristics of the Organisational Structure of the Colonial City

Sjoberg in his essay on 'The Modern City' (1968, p456) averred that, "technology, cultural values and social power appear to be the most useful variables for predicting the changing patterns within the modern city, that is, one built upon the industrial and scientific revolution". Cultural values determined need and desirability, technology determined what was possible and social power ensured the implementation of policies, strategies and programmes towards specified goals.

Save for South Africa, the colonial enterprise in sub-Saharan Africa post-dated the "take off" of the industrial revolution (loosely placed at 1750). Indeed during this period colonialism served both as an essential element of, and catalyst for, industrial growth and capital

accumulation. The colonial city played an important facilitative role in this process. Cities of this colonial realm experienced, and reflected, a polarity between levels of scientific and technological skills, social practices, value systems and ideology. Their distinctiveness arose "from the culture-contact situations in which they occurred where the societal groups concerned had different levels of socio-economic, political and technical levels of organisation" (King, 1976 p25). Simon (1984) extended this theme suggesting that colonial cities could be defined in terms of external domination and control in a culture-contact situation. This is manifest in numerous culturally/racially determined ways, from distinctive social and class stratification and segregation to extreme variations in housing quality, modes of production, and access to the bases of social power.

Structural segregation, a fundamental component of national policy, was perhaps the most striking feature of the colonial city. While its existence was enshrined in statute, its physical expression was a function of planning decisions at the local level. In colonial societies the local authority exerted a much greater influence upon urban development, in terms of purposeful intervention to attain social economic and political goals, than its counterpart in politically autonomous, democratic societies. "In democratic societies there was invariably a conflict of interest between those who wished to control urban form and the vested interests who eschewed controls. For much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - the most rapid period of growth for the industrial city - vested interests prevailed in the competition for urban space, with the 'planning' authority performing either a negative or delaying function. In the colonial city there was rarely a 'management problem' as planning authority and vested interest were one and the same thing" (King, 1976 p24).

During this era town planning and city management had become an established practice in Europe. As a result many features

of town planning theory and practice were 'exported' to the colonies (King, 1977/78 p13). There, colonial governments possessed considerable powers to dictate the manner in which social and economic relationships developed and, ultimately, how these were realised in urban form, structure and organisation. In this way the ideals and attitudes of the dominant colonial fragment were entrenched in the formal and somewhat mechanistic procedures of planning design and implementation, executed in accordance with the wide ranging powers and responsibilities of the local authority.

In this regard King (1976, p13-14) has postulated that the modern history of 'exporting planning' to the colonial territories can usefully be divided into three phases viz.

- a) A period up to the early twentieth century when settlements, camps, towns and cities were consciously laid out according to various military, technical and cultural principles, the most important of which was military-political dominance. In certain cases ... a greater degree of strictly 'professional skills' may have been utilised.
- b) A second period beginning in the early twentieth century which coincided with the development of formally stated 'Town Planning' theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain when the network of colonial relationships was used to convey such phenomena - on a selective and uneven basis - to the dependent territories. This resulted in what O'Connor (1983) termed the "European City" in his taxonomy of the African city. This he based upon distinctive morphological features and upon different urban traditions. In his view the "European city" was established by Europeans for Europeans and the morphology of the city tended to reflect the town planning and architectural ideas of Europe. "Harare and Bulawayo were in

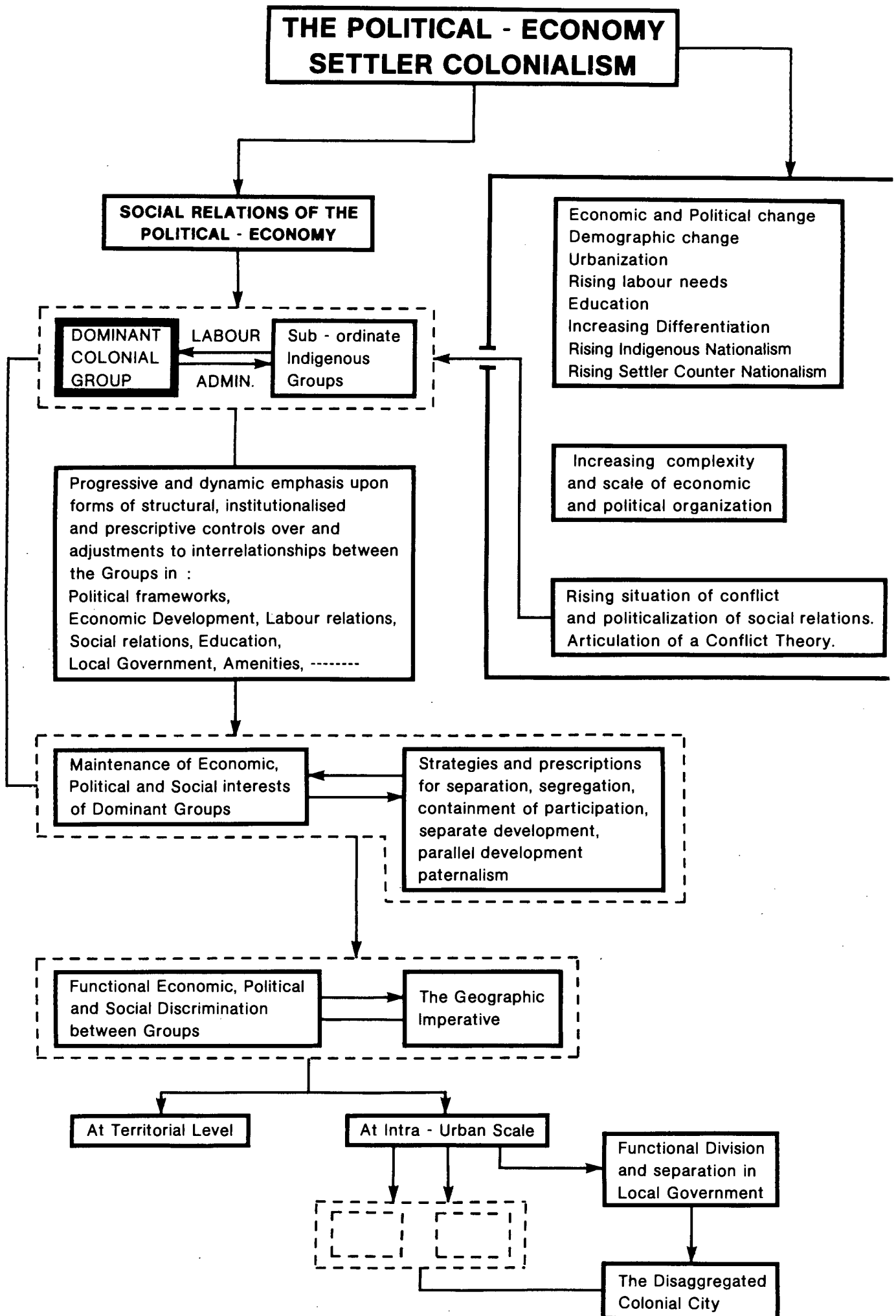
1980 still cities in which a European viewpoint continued to dominate most aspects of urban life. Each consisted of two largely separate communities with social interaction between them near the minimum" (ibid. p37).⁷

- c) A third period of post- or neo-colonial development - depending on the standpoint taken - after 1947 in Asia and 1956 in Africa when cultural, political, and economic links have, within a larger network of global communications, provided the means to continue the process of 'cultural colonialism' with the continual export of values, ideologies, and planning models.

It is taken for granted that, in all three periods, the traffic of ideas has been largely unilateral.

Davies (1983) developed a graphic model of city formation within the colonial political economy which turns upon this theme of the power structure of colonialism and of conflict resolution (Fig. 3.2). Persistent features are strategies and prescriptions for racial separation and segregation, and for the containment of dominated indigenous groups in order to maintain the economic, social and political interests of the settler group. In the context of the development of the colonial city the concept 'power structure' must be expanded beyond the relationship of the colonial elite vis-a-vis the indigenous population to include the relationship of the settler colonial elite to the metropole and the relationship

⁷ The rationalisation of O'Connor's taxonomy was the expression of morphological features which evolved from different urban traditions. However, it is possible that an additional type should be identified in terms of these criteria. The layouts and townscapes of towns like Harare and Bulawayo conform more closely with the long established and distinctively evolved South African city (Davies, 1981) exhibiting many features (scale, density, architecture, and town plan) essentially foreign to the European city.



of the local authority to the central government within the colonial territory. This is because, over time, relative dislocations can occur in these relationships. For instance, as indicated earlier, the ideology of the colonial fragment or quasi-fragment might come into conflict with that of the metropolitan power, thereafter resulting in reactionary behaviour which, *inter alia*, is reflected in policies propounded, and at times pursued, by colonial governmental authorities. Similarly, material disadvantages, unequal opportunities, and preclusion from decision-making frequently resulted in growing nationalism within the indigenous Subordinate Group which, in turn, elicited attempts at subjugation or accommodation within the city by the settler authorities. Social separation, geographic segregation and co-optation of class fragments of the Subordinate Group are but three examples of conflict accommodation within the colonial political-economy.

Davies argued that the net effect of strategies directed towards the containment of integrative forces and Subordinate Group aspirations was "negatively to discriminate between race-class groups in functional terms to contain access to employment, income, housing, amenities, education and training, trade unions, and political participation among other factors" (*ibid.* p2). Importantly, these goals are reflected in geographic space and in government practice both at the national and intra-urban level. The functional and spatial organisation of activities falling within the purview of the local authority itself became an integral component of the colonial endeavour. In local government practice the elements of the process of intra-urban organisation are likely to be evident in:

1. The promotion of separate administration and financing systems including the formation of a separate municipal department to control and supervise the affairs of the Subordinate Group.

2. Land tenure constraints that control and inhibit the accumulation of land capital by the Subordinate Group and that, in a crucial way, determine much of the structural and organisational framework of the city.
3. Land-use regulations. Qualitative and quantitative differentiation in the supply of such amenities and facilities as housing, health, education, water, electricity, recreation and transportation.
4. Constraints on political participation and the creation of inter-calary institutions to contain rising political aspirations of the Subordinate Group and permit interaction between the groups.
5. The promotion of separate local government systems.

In time, the geographic reality of segregation, separation and separate development, the physical manifestation of settler colonial policy and the exercise of power, become a geographic imperative entrenching and perpetuating social attitudes and relations, activity patterns, and the future morphology of the city. This occurs because the physical separation manifest in geographic space creates and emphasises cultural differences which further enable functional discrimination to be justified. Western (1985, p38) observed that racial separation broadcast an unambiguous message about domination and the maintenance of a minority's privilege. The segregated city has been fundamental in the development of 'categorical relationships', the stereotyping of one race and its behaviour by another (King, 1976 p17). In addition the urban residential land market is affected through investor perceptions of 'desirable' and 'less desirable' locations which, in most instances, correlate with proximity to low income, Subordinate Group housing. This reflects Dominant Group expectation of spillover of social pathologies.

It is apparent that, given its legal authority to plan, control, and regulate, the local authority became, from the outset, a pivotal agent in the development of the structure, form, and functioning of the colonial city in Africa. While conceptions of what was possible were constrained by current technology, planning ideals reflect the complex interplay of history and practical experience. In the colonial context the settler fragment brought with it the "mental baggage" of principles, normative values, attitudes, and practices developed within the parent society (and frequently within a more narrow class stratum of that society). As a result the development of the colonial city was a function of a directed process of planning conducted under the aegis of the local authority. The expression of this planning was compatible with the societal attitudes obtaining within the settler group but also reflected a heritage of values and prescriptions derived from the metropolitan 'hearth'. "The material objects men create are not in and of themselves things men learn What they learn are the necessary precepts, concepts, recipes and skills, the things they need to know in order to make things that will meet the standards of their fellows We must recognise that any cultural artefact, once created, may become the model for the creation of other artefacts, the idea of it being added to the body of standards in the culture". (Goodenough, 1971, p18-19).

Social relations and social attitudes are thus embodied in physical form and spatial usage which then, retroactively, serve to confirm and legitimate the perpetuation of the system. They also serve to condition and reinforce social perceptions and attitudes both between groups and within groups. On the one hand, the Subordinate Group is not only limited in its range of options and social and economic mobility. Its demonstrable lack of power, and even of ability to influence the conditions of life, as well as the geographic and environmentally different circumstances in which it is located,, all serve to erode its self-esteem and implicitly to confirm a self-image of relative inferiority.

On the other hand, and by the same token, the Dominant Group is reinforced in its perception of superiority.

CHAPTER 4

SETTLER COLONIALISM IN RHODESIA

The foregoing discussion focusing upon the general characteristics of the development and expression of social relationships and attitudes within the colonial political-economy provides a conceptual framework for examination of the Rhodesian case. This does not presume to constitute an exercise in historiography but is rather a review of themes drawn from a limited range of a much wider historical literature on Rhodesia. As such it is designed to provide an awareness of the psycho-social conditions influencing the nature and distribution of municipal goods and services in Salisbury under White minority rule. Implicit in the discussion lies an awareness that, on the one hand, human agency and human volition are important explanatory variables in historical reconstruction, while, on the other hand, individuals featuring as conscious actors become agents of social relations and are subject to supra-individual constraints thereby emphasising the role of metaphysical structures in the evolution of societies (Wilmot, 1983). One major thesis underpinning this analysis is that, to a large degree, social relations and government decision-making (at both national and local levels) are a consequence of the original motivation for settlement of the territory that was to become Rhodesia; ".... the key to Southern Rhodesian politics is the basis on which the European population has come to be there". (Leys, 1958 p290). Another is that social norms and values, once established, tend constantly to be reasserted and entrenched by the conditions prevailing within the operational and phenomenal milieux.

In terms of Horvath's typology, Rhodesia could be classified as a form of colonialism (Fig. 3.1) in which a White, modern industrial-capitalist group (nominally British) achieved,

and maintained by various means, dominance over traditional Black cultures for nearly 90 years (1890-1979). During this period group relations conformed to his categorisation of relative equilibrium (as opposed to assimilation or extinction), notwithstanding on-going intergroup conflict ranging from armed revolt to industrial strikes.

The motivation for the colonial penetration of Rhodesia is succinctly captured in the aphorism, "God, Greed and Gold". The formal settlement of Rhodesia in 1890 was the culmination of earlier penetration of the territory by hunters, missionaries and explorers, eminent among whom were such names as Livingstone, Moffat, Selous, Colenbrander, Baines and Speke.

Christian missionaries had a major impact upon the African population by introducing values already professed by the majority of White settlers, and imbuing them with the implied sanction of an omnipotent being. Conversion was the first aim of the missionaries but they also believed strongly in their task to liberate the people from slavery and the 'cruel despotism' of their leaders in order to bring peace and prosperity to the territory. To this end they saw no anomaly in the permanent settlement of the territory and the subjugation of the Africans under White rule. Indeed, "the difficulty of making converts and the dependence on Lobenguela's¹ goodwill persuaded the missionaries that what was needed was a change of government. It is not surprising therefore that they accepted the Chartered Company² as the political means through which freedom would come" (O'Callaghan, 1977 p139). Ranger (1968, p140) has argued that,

"the impact of missionary endeavour on life in Rhodesia was probably proportionately greater than in the case of any other African colony: Missionaries opened up contacts with the local

¹ Paramount Chief of the N'debele nation.

² The establishment of the British South Africa Company is described below.

African³ peoples more than half a century before European settlers arrived to exploit the economic and strategic potential of the land. Missionaries played a vital part in the negotiations which led to the victory of Rhodes in the competition for a concession. Missionaries took the first steps in establishing a working relationship between settler and African based on the acceptance of common moral and religious principles. Moreover, even before there was any framework of central government in the territory, much less a system of educational administration, missionaries were busily engaged in the provision of schools for both Europeans and Africans".

Such education was crucial in initiating the process of modernisation (Paden and Soja, 1970; Bernstein, 1971) or socialisation of the workers which was itself later indirectly to provide a reason for conflict between Black and White and between class fractions within the Black group.

The 1890's was a period of great political ferment in southern Africa and the zenith of British global imperialism, a time when the 'sun never set upon the Union Jack' and when the mills and factories of Britain were creating an ever-expanding demand for raw materials. This global industrial, mercantile, and military ascendance was both cause and effect of a strong patriotism and national conviction in the superiority of British culture which was viewed widely as a civilising force. Consistent with the objectives of capitalism, expansionism was accepted policy, the imperial ideal and the quest for economic gain common cause. (Lockhart and Woodhouse, 1963; Kiewiet, 1937; Wrench, 1958; Phimister, 1975; Utete, 1979; Bierman and Kossler, 1980; Verrier, 1986).

The European partition of Africa during the 1884 Berlin conference emphasised that the 'Dark Continent' was the last land mass available for colonial occupation. The goldfields

³ The term 'African', 'Native' or Black can be used interchangeably. Each has had currency and general acceptance at different times. Where appropriate, usage here is related to historical period.

of the Witwatersrand lay in the Afrikaner South African Republic (the Transvaal) but it was thought that similarly rich seams would emerge at the northern rim of the mineral rich geosyncline of the Bushveld Igneous Complex. Germany had control of South West Africa and Tanganyika (Tanzania) while the Portuguese occupied Angola and Mocambique. Each had imperial ambitions. In the mind of Rhodes, Prime Minister of the British Cape Colony, a danger existed that either could execute a 'diagonal' link-up to block any further British expansion to the north. His imperialist dream of building a rail line to link the Cape with Cairo and to 'paint much of Africa red' on the map would thus evaporate:

"Having read the histories of other countries, I saw that expansion was everything, and that the World's surface, being limited, the great object of present humanity should be to take as much of the World as it possibly could". (Vindex, 1900 p7).

Rhodes was also concerned to contain Boer expansion and to secure a base for further northward expansion.

The colonial occupation of Rhodesia was special, however, in that it was initiated and pursued from South Africa and not from Britain, a circumstance that had far-reaching implications for subsequent events in that territory. Chanaiwa (1981) has argued that Rhodes was in a position to marshal the powerful influence of an oligarchy of Cape financiers and businessmen in support of his imperialist goals. He thereby obviated the need to enlist the formal support systems of the British government in colonial adventure that could yield 'awkward' international consequences. Though numerically small, the oligarchy had full control of the strategic raw materials, of the means of production, of the marketing system and of the media in South Africa, as well as full bureaucratic interpenetration of both colonial and metropolitan administrations whose political and economic roles merged at all levels. It was driven by a desire to promote colonial expansion, the achievement of supremacy over the Transvaal Afrikaners and

the establishment of an economic monopoly which would guarantee an outlet for its capital and manufactured goods, and provide a source of strategic territory, raw materials and labour.

The British South Africa Company (BSA Co) was created under Royal Charter, and a private Pioneer Column and protective police force was assembled in order to accomplish their designs. The goals, structure and activities of the British South Africa Company, the Pioneer Column and the Company administration were all economically oriented. Economic expectations gave rise to the Rudd Concession, the Victoria Agreement and the Anglo-N'debele war (see below). (ibid. p205). However, Chanaiwa (1981) was not arguing that the British and Cape governments and the pioneers were 'mere dupes' of the oligarchy, emphasising that, "Both the metropolitan British and the colonial public believed in Anglo-Saxonism and its accompanying racism and sense of mission. They both believed that British technology, laws, religion and morals were priceless gifts to the peoples who came under British rule" (ibid. p206).

The Pioneer Column comprised 196 settlers chosen from well established Cape families⁴ selection was based upon possession of one or more of the wide range of skills and expertise considered necessary to ensure the viability of the incipient colony. The ethos of the group was influenced both by its motivation for emigrating (a Company promise of 3 000 acres and 15 mining claims each) and by the earlier experiences of the Dutch in treating with the 'kaffirs'⁵ and with mastering their physical environment.

⁴ This was in anticipation of the possibility of having to bring influential pressure to bear upon the British government for support, should plans go awry.

⁵ Use of this pejorative is intended as being both historically accurate and an indication of prevailing race attitudes. The term 'Native' was used in more formal circumstances and preceded later usages such as 'African' and 'Black'. It was removed from legislation in the late 1950's.

"The men who occupied Southern Rhodesia were undoubtedly influenced by the cultural climate of their age, their attitudes and actions were patterned in accordance with the dominant assumptions about the human race and about culture, religion, and morals. In the case of Southern Rhodesia the colonists were primarily cultural transplants of colonial South Africa, especially the Cape Colony. They thus transferred to the new colony the colonial institutions, attitudes, and habits, and especially the racist stereotypes of the Africans which, in turn, explains some of the injustices and irrationalities that have characterised the African Administration of Southern Rhodesia". (ibid. pv)

Conflict between Natives and settlers can be traced back to the signing of the Rudd Concession (1888). In it Lobenguela agreed that he would not enter into any treaty or correspondence with any other state, nor would he sell or alienate any of his territory "without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa". Although exclusively a treaty for mining rights, Rhodes used the Rudd Concession as the legal basis for occupation of the territory. He also contrived to buy a hundred-year land concession (for £30 000) from a German financier, E A Lippert, whom Lobenguela had hoped to manipulate against Rhodes. "Rhodes and the Company knew well enough that the Rudd concession gave them no power in the land other than to enter it and dig for gold. Even Lobenguela was unlikely to be so foolish as to give more. Nor had Rhodes been so foolish as to ask for it. Getting what Lobenguela was prepared to give, he could take the rest without asking" (Gibbs, 1955 p71-72). Settler alienation of land, encouraged and assisted by the Company (Cokorinos, 1984), was rapid and extensive: By August 1894, 5,4 million acres had been occupied by Whites and by March 1899, 15,6 million acres had been alienated of which 9,276 million were owned by private companies (Mutambirwa, 1973).

Growing demand for labour on the mines and farms was not met by sufficient and regular supply. In response the Company imposed a hut tax of 10 shillings in order to draw Natives into the cash economy and to oblige them to work for a cash

wage. Direct coercion and contracts through labour bureaux were also mechanisms employed to ensure the flow of labour (Ranger, 1967).

War with the N'debele in 1893-94 and later insurrections, the Mashona and N'debele rebellions in 1896-97 (the first 'Chimurenga'), were ascribed to Native grievances over land alienation, taxation, and labour-related issues.

"As a result of the 1896-97 African revolt, the British Government became aware of the uncontrolled activities by colonials. The 1895 Jameson raid also proved what the unchecked ambitions of Rhodes and the agents of the Company could do. Consequently, in 1898 the British Government issued an Order-in-Council to define its position and policy and to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Southern Rhodesia by creating a Legislative Council. In issuing the 1898 Order-in-Council the British Government felt it would be better able to protect the land and political rights for Africans⁶. It was on this assumption that the Order-in-Council called upon the Company to set aside land (reserves) which would be occupied exclusively by Africans. The 1889 Royal Charter affirming the Rudd Concession of 1888 had limited the Chartered Company's activities to mining. Yet nine years later the British Government gave the Company powers it had earlier denied it" (ibid. p40).

In its undertaking of 1898 the British government in effect reneged upon the provisions of the 1889 Charter which had vested control of all land in the Native Chiefs. The 1898 Order-in-Council conferred powers over land upon the settlers excluding only land set aside as reserves. In so doing the metropole undermined its own ability to control the process of colonial expansion; its trusteeship of the

⁶ The franchise to qualify as voters for the Legislative Council (4 elected members, 5 nominated by the Company and the Administrator as Chairman with casting vote) was nominally non-discriminatory and Africans who satisfied the qualification (*viz.* occupation of building valued not less than £75; ownership of a mining claim; or a cash income of £50 per annum; provided the applicant could write his/her name, address and occupation) could register. The qualifications were raised in 1912 to a cash income of £100 per annum or ownership of property with a valuation of not less than £150.

Natives yielded to colonial White self-interest. (Chanaiwa 1981 p207) The most important change was the creation of what eventually became almost a separate administration in charge of the Native population. A Commissioner's Proclamation (No 29 of 1898 - The Southern Rhodesian Native Regulations) specified the powers of the administration when dealing with Natives; provided for the establishment of officials of government who would eventually become the nucleus of a the Native Department; defined the powers of Native Commissioners, some of whom were granted judicial powers, and defined the duties of Messengers, Chiefs and Headmen. The regulations vested all political power in respect of Natives in the hands of the Administrator and Legislative Council. These provisions were modified from time to time, but the basic structure remained the same. The legislative pattern and concepts sustaining this form of administration were still applied in 1978 (Palley, 1966).

Thus the class homogeneity of the original British-South African quasi-fragment with its culture consensus, its shared privations of armed conflict against the indigenous peoples, the apparent physical and cultural differences between the two groups, the White sense of mission to convert and civilise the Natives and to develop the land, and the eventual acquisition of effective executive autonomy, all contributed towards the 'congealing' of the quasi-fragment into a unit with a shared identity. This was reinforced by a continuing sense of insecurity,

"the fear of being swamped by the Africans led the Europeans to develop and maintain policies intended to keep Africans at a distance educationally, socially, economically, and politically. The settlers practised policies of exclusion. To give up or share privileges with the Africans was thought to be detrimental to the interests of the White race. Small and struggling as the European population was, to have allowed the Africans to compete for jobs with the Europeans would have reduced wages and would have lowered the European standard of living. Thus the high level of European living depended on preventing black-white competition". (Mutambirwa, 1973 p15)

These factors contributed to a process of 'congealing' in the settler community and to an emerging nationalism first expressed in 1923 when the settlers voted against incorporation into the Union of South Africa. Growing nationalism was thereafter reinforced by patriotic unity in meeting the exigencies of World War II. The formal dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963 contributed further to the process which reached a climax in 1965 with the formal, unilateral, Declaration of Independence. Domination, separation and the imposition of values were fundamental to the operational environment of the settler quasi-fragment.

Frequently this domination was articulated through intermediaries or inter-calary institutions. Thus, in rural areas the Chiefs and the Rural Councils were answerable to a White District Commissioner. In the urban areas Native 'locations' were the responsibility of White 'Location Supervisors' but at a later stage provision was made for Township Boards and Advisory Boards in order to placate Black demands for representation in the decision-making process. These will be discussed in greater detail when the issue of citizen participation in Harare is considered. However, as inter-calary institutions, they neither represented the maintenance of former indigenous cultural traditions, nor did they function primarily as local government does in an integrated democratic society.

The roles of the District Commissioner and of the Township Supervisor were ambivalent. On the one hand, these officers were agents of White society. On the other, they represented the apex of Black society with Chiefs and nominated leaders subordinated to their authority. The social and economic structure that evolved defined the relationships of race and class groups. White domination remained central to the lives of all Blacks. Social separation of the race groups was a norm adopted from long-established practice in South Africa. Segregation in geographic space, also a component of South African life,

was formalised with the creation of 'Native Reserves' and the establishment of 'Locations' for workers in the town.

Consistent with Fragment Theory a burgeoning counter-nationalism was a significant Subordinate Group response to continuing domination and the perpetuation of race consciousness. Throughout Rhodesian history Black nationalism came into conflict with the White colonial elite. It found its greatest expression in urban-based trades unions and political parties many of which were banned and subsequently reconstituted under other names.⁷ Invariably the leadership of such parties was drawn from an emergent, educated Black middle class elite. Many leaders were detained in terms of emergency regulations, imprisoned, or went into voluntary exile prior to the conclusion of the 'liberation war' (the second 'Chimurenga').

While class stratification did exist (Biermann and Kossler, 1984), class consciousness was weakly expressed and tended to be subsumed under insistent racial categorisation. It is important to recognise the interpenetration of class and race cleavages as a single reality, that is, the conflation of race and class in functional terms. This argument was developed earlier when addressing the general issue of social stratification within colonial social formations in general. Discussing the situation in South Africa, with which strong parallels may be drawn, Posel (1983, p61) is of the opinion that class relations,

"have been constituted in part along racial lines; that is access to ownership and control of the means of production in the country has itself been a racial issue. Thus the formation of an African bourgeoisie for example, has been *structurally distinct* from that of the White bourgeoisie given the presence of manifold politico-legal barriers on the acquisition and accumulation of capital by

⁷ These included the Reformed Industrial & Commercial Workers Union, the British African Voice Association, the Rhodesian African National Congress, the City Youth League, the National Democratic Party, the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, the Zimbabwe African National Union, the Peoples' Caretaker Council, and the African National Council.

Africans within South Africa. Likewise we cannot fully make sense of the structural (i.e. objective relational) position of the African working class qua class without taking account of their race as the basis of what some revisionists have called the "ultra-exploitability of Black Workers" (Johnstone, 1976 p20-22), that is the use of extra-economic coercive measures to facilitate a supply of ultra cheap labour for White capitalist enterprise".

Elsewhere Patel (1979, p28), discussing the position of Indians in the social formation of Uganda, reasserts the theme stating that,

"the proletarianisation which Marx refers to assumes a uni-cultural or uni-racial situation, so that race consciousness is false consciousness, or that race will be so meaningless that class consciousness will ripple over and make redundant race or cultural barriers. This is difficult to see in, say, South Africa and certainly did not take place appreciably in Uganda because Indians were not simply seen, or did not see themselves, as a class and therefore, in part, class did not appreciably exist in the Marxist sense; the dividing, perpetually relevant factor was race. One may speak of class stratification in Uganda but this was so intertwined with the race factor that a particular race group came to be seen as a particular class group even though there was great internal diversification of economic roles in each race group, of Europeans, Indians and Africans. Indeed class stratification peculiarly, at least in common perception, was not only coincident with race stratification but the latter was seen as more relevant than the former."

The same circumstances may be said to have applied in Rhodesia.

The manner in which different modes of production have been articulated within a single space economy, and the debates related thereto, are germane to the present discussion (eg. Forbes and Thrift, 1984; Crush, 1980; Foster-Carter, 1978; Taylor, 1979; Forbes, 1980; Bedford, 1980). In this idiom the interface between race, class, and conflict in Rhodesia has been identified by O'Callaghan (1977). According to his analysis, race is taken as the primary variable and class relations are considered secondary to, even derivative of, racial conflict. In his analysis O'Callaghan posits,

however, that two types of class society existed in Rhodesia. One, reflected in the attempted consolidation of the authority of the Chiefs, had its origin in pre-colonial society. The other in the capitalist economic structure. Such class conflict as existed, occurred within each system. While in Rhodesia the pre-colonial system was subordinate to the colonial capitalist system, its continuity in structure depended in large part upon the support of the dominant White group. He describes the situation thus (ibid. pl0-11) :

"In both situations, different political organisations and different modes of production co-existed, although in the present one 'coexistence' in no way implies 'separation' but rather penetration by the dominant mode of production with the preservation of a subsistence sector as part of the peculiar nature of the Rhodesian economic structure and, as we have seen, the maintenance of 'traditional' political forms by the white minority government.

..... Class conflict does exist, but within each major segment, being most acute among the Africans in the conflict between the incipient modern political elite and the traditional elites. As in other colonial territories, it is these modern elites that are in direct confrontation with White political elites, and which are most likely to be found in leadership positions in the emerging nationalist movements. But besides this confrontation there is conflict in the urban areas between an African workforce, somewhat disorganised because of official and non-official White policy towards trade unions and White employees. This conflict is either merged into the nationalist movement or erupts in seemingly incoherent individual acts of criminality. There is also conflict over land - a conflict that is over the continued confiscation of African land, as over the nature of African urbanisation. A cheap, mobile labour force is ensured by laws governing Africans living in the towns, while the unavailability of land and the continuing impoverishment of African rural areas force Africans to leave the land in search of work. This conflict over land has continued throughout the years of colonial and settler rule. But it has become more acute as the incorporation into a money economy and the unviability of African rural areas have increased. In each of the cases cited above the conflict is ultimately between the Africans and White settler control.

The White group is itself not monolithic, being divided between the 'liberal' upper middle class and the White petty bourgeoisie. However, since the nature of a plural society supposes not a united non-racial bourgeoisie controlling the State apparatus but the State controlled by a racially defined segment of that bourgeoisie, this means that political conflicts are over which section of the White group will control power, i.e. the 'liberal' upper middle class or the petty bourgeoisie. The conflict is not a class one, since upper middle class and petty bourgeoisie do not form distinct strata in opposition to each other but rather a continuum with considerable upward mobility for the petty bourgeoisie, particularly with reference to their former status in their country of origin. Both the upper middle class and the petty bourgeoisie depend on African subjugation for their political and economic privileges. But in the case of the upper bourgeoisie, this is not incompatible with restricted mobility for 'educated' Africans, hence the elaboration of a restricted franchise. In the case of the petty bourgeoisie, it is the 'educated' Africans who threaten their position, hence their more extreme demands for a state on the South African nationalist model - itself the reply of the Afrikaner small farmer and the White working class to both British capital and African pressure.

As in any plural society, 'class consciousness' in any sector of the population is extremely weak and is not likely to exist as long as the conquest State continues. In this sense then, the basic cleavage is between the 'settler' group and the conquered, since the 'liberal' upper middle class is not strong enough to impose a non-racial class structure on its petty bourgeoisie, while the incipient middle class of Black Rhodesia remains debarred from either political power or any important accumulation of capital."⁸

⁸ Terminological confusion can result from O'Callaghan's usage of 'Middle Class' and 'Petty Bourgeoisie'. Nowhere does he define the terms nor does he provide examples of specific social types or employment categories that could be ascribed to each. It would appear that he interposes two paradigms, one deriving from neo-classical economics and/or Weberian sociology, the other from Marxist analysis. 'Middle Class' seems to encapsulate the notion of income levels, access to material possessions and/or the status and privilege ascribed to these by members of society. Examples here might include company directors, branch managers, upper echelon university staff, highly paid personnel in research and development, and

As observed earlier, emphasis on racial differentiation and ensuing conflict over representation and access to power constituted the essential elements leading to the emergence of a Black nationalist movement.

Within the White group political conflict was later to emerge concerning the rate and scale of Black integration into the White political economy. One faction advocated a policy of more vigorous advancement in terms of employment, job mobility and access to political power (for example the qualified franchise and limited parliamentary representation) of a Black middle class. An antipathetic faction held to a stringent implementation of 'separate development'. At no stage prior to 1979 were such fundamental and sensitive issues as total integration in schools and residential areas entertained by the ruling White hierarchy.

Thus far an attempt has been made to consider aspects of Rhodesian history in terms of Fragment theory and the general conceptual analysis of the colonial social formation presented earlier. The argument developed holds that the Rhodesian settler society constituted a numerically small and culturally cohesive group (i.e. one characterised by uniformity and consensus) that exhibited a continuity of political thoughts, social structures, policies and behaviour from its parent British Cape Society. As such it was modern in its historical context of social and economic development. With time it became a product of its origins and historical experience. The conviction concerning

professionals of different kinds. Alternatively, 'Petty Bourgeoise' would appear to conform with the Marxian conception of an individual's position being defined in terms of the production process. Here the petty bourgeoisie would constitute those small producers and owners of capital who use no more than their own, or their family's labour in the process of production. Examples here might be small farmers, manufacturers of consumer goods, and producers of services. However, extensive debate exists within Marxist literature concerning the 'boundary controversy' and precisely where individuals can be located within the social formation. See, for example Meskins (1986).

culture superiority, the perception of being a civilising force, the missionary Christian ethic, the imperialist design, the opportunities for immediate gain, the realities of contact with the indigenous Africans, and the imperatives of the physical environment, all contributed toward the development of a particular value system which became the enduring basis of a distinctive ideology.

Racial conflict, relative isolation, and effective independence from the metropole caused the settler society to 'congeal' into a national unit based upon an internally consistent ideology which served to inform its continuing domination over the numerically more numerous and culturally alien indigenous Native society. This ideology was legitimised and constantly reaffirmed by a system of policies and coercive practices and was reflected, *inter alia*, in racial separation, segregation and a corpus of discriminatory legislation designed to protect and perpetuate settler dominance and privilege. Reciprocally, it became the touchstone for the identification and evaluation of problems and the source of their solution. Race consciousness overshadowed class consciousness as a generator of conflict. Indeed many essentially pragmatic or parochial issues producing conflict were ultimately reduced to a racial common denominator (i.e. that which makes comparison or agreement possible: Chambers' Dictionary). As a result of racial segregation, Whites glibly succumbed to the fetishism of space whereby the structure of spatial relations became an autonomous determinant of historical and human action separate from the structure of social relations that generates it; the surface manifestation of social divisions was taken for the divisions themselves. (Tabb and Sawyers, 1978). Again consistent with Fragment theory, the class ideas of the parent society were an important underpinning of national ideology, "frequently presenting a more striking image than its parent" (Schutz, 1978 p12). Later the quasi-fragment was to present determined resistance to new forces and ideas in the face of perceived challenges to its identity.

At this juncture it would be apposite to restate the purpose of this chapter viz. to provide an appreciation of the socio-political domain in which local authority activity occurred in Salisbury prior to 1980. In part this requires recognition that executive decision-making was informed by a particular ideology that, although seldom articulated and only implicitly acknowledged, was nevertheless endorsed by the vast majority of the White population. It further requires recognition that many of the enduring values within that loosely defined system of beliefs can only be understood with reference to the country's history and to the unique nature of the colonial mode of production. The value system assumed importance in that it constituted an integral part of the operational milieu. In other words it became part of the everyday situation in which people pursued their lives, consciously and unconsciously expressing their values in their own behaviour and experiencing them in the behaviour of others. In addition the value system impinged upon the psychological or perceptual realm of decision-makers. Their policies and decisions in turn, fed back upon both the operational and behavioural environments to create, at any time, the reality of the geographic system.

As the population of Rhodesia expanded, and its social and political system became correspondingly more extensive and complex, domination, separation, and segregation on a national scale were a continuing feature of Rhodesian settler colonial society. These processes were embedded in numerous laws and maintained by both an extensive White bureaucracy and by social conventions. The trends are captured by Kinloch in his book, "The Dynamics of Race Relations : A Sociological Analysis" (1974), and are identified for every decade of the country's social and political history following penetration and settlement. The chapter headings of that book succinctly capture the sequence of significant events and serve to emphasise the

theme of Black nationalism and the move to armed conflict.⁹ They also provide a structuring device within which to identify the most influential and highly resented discriminatory legislation that pervaded national life. Kinloch's headings and a synopsis of this legislation follows.¹⁰

THE 1890'S : CONQUEST, LAND ASSIGNMENT, LABOUR EXPLOITATION AND RESISTANCE

- The Master and Servants Act of 1891 effectively turned Africans into 'short-term slaves' by specifying a fine or imprisonment should a worker default on a contract, fail to obey a lawful command of his/her employer, work "carelessly" or demonstrate belligerence. Employers were entitled to administer corporal punishment for misdemeanors.

The Town Management Ordinance No. 2. of 1894 provided for the establishment and regulation of African townships.

THE 1900'S : LABOUR EXPLOITATION, CULTURAL CONTROL AND REBELLION

- The Pass Laws Act of 1902 required that Africans at all times carried a 'situpa' or 'pass' specifying their place of origin and current domicile. Failure to do so meant imprisonment. If found without a pass in an urban area an individual could be forced to quit his work.

⁹ A corollary of Black resistance, not suggested in the chapter headings but a theme which will be addressed in more detail when considering citizen participation in local government, is that of White attempts at containing Black resistance and accommodating grievances.

¹⁰ The extent of institutionalised discrimination in Rhodesia is well documented. See, for example, Palley, 1970; Austin, 1975; International Commission of Jurists, 1976; Clarke, 1977; Riddell, 1981; Hitchens, 1979; Utete and Munahmu, 1979; Passmore, 1966; Plewman, 1958; Quenet, 1967.

- The Urban Locations Ordinance of 1905 conferred responsibility for the affairs of urban Natives upon municipalities.

THE 1910'S : CONTROL, SEGREGATION AND NATIVE MOVEMENTS

THE 1920'S : TRUSTEESHIP, THE RESERVE MODEL, AND NATIVE INDUSTRIAL ACTION.

- The Native Tax Ordinance No. 21 of 1904. Tax was increased from 10 shillings to one pound per hut and ten shillings for each polygamous wife.
- The Native Urban Locations Ordinance No. 4 of 1906 made the Governor responsible for establishing urban locations in which Africans seeking work or visiting town should reside exclusively, except for domestic servants who could reside on their employers' property.

THE 1930'S : DEVELOPMENT OF TWO SOCIETIES AND RISING NATIVE DEMANDS

- The Land Apportionment Act of 1930. In terms of the Act, Africans could not buy land outside defined "African Purchase Areas" thereby effectively preventing African occupation in the 'European' area unless employment was guaranteed by Whites in that area.
- The Public Services Act of 1931 prevented all except Whites from joining the civil service except as teachers or nurses.
- The Native Passes Act of 1932 reinforced the design of the Pass Laws Act.
- The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 restricted Native apprenticeship, access to skilled work and the formation of trade unions. "Not only did the Industrial Conciliation Act guarantee White control over scarce skills by preventing Africans from learning, it also instituted the practice of paying, 'The rate for the job' (also identified by the slogan, 'equal

pay for equal work'). Since it was highly unlikely that any European employer would wish to pay a Native the same wage as a European, the Native was guaranteed unskilled, poorly paid work" (Bowman, 1973 p41).

- The Native Registration Act of 1936 required Africans in towns to carry a pass, in addition to the 'situpa' when seeking work or visiting. An employer had to register a service contract with the authorities.

THE 1940'S : URBANISATION, PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIVE STRIKES

- The Consolidated Land Apportionment Act of 1941 and an amendment in 1945 entrenched and refined the conditions of the 1930 Act. The 1941 Act also made it obligatory for local authorities to establish residential areas for Africans in their areas of jurisdiction.
- The Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 enabled the Governor to proclaim a 'Native Urban Area' for the accommodation of urban Africans, thereby extending methods of urban control.

THE 1950'S : WHITE PATERNALISM, PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIVE NATIONALISM

- The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 denied Chiefs their customary right to allocate land. While owned land could be sold it could not be subdivided. Each family was limited to a maximum of five cattle and eight acres of land and any person not farming in an approved manner could be dispossessed of his land. Urban dwellers lost the right to rural land.
- The African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1951 "compelled" employers to provide free accommodation for Native workers

either in licensed private premises or in a Native township" (Passmore, 1966 pl). It also granted local authorities borrowing powers for "setting aside, establishing, equipping and maintaining any Native township and of making adequate provision for the erection of houses or huts for the accommodation of Africans and their families" (Act No. 20 of 1951, sect. 45).

- The Native Beer Act of 1953 controlled the brewing and sale of traditional beer as well as the manner in which profits were used. Municipalities could levy a tax on beer sales.
- The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 was amended. Trade Unions had to be organised vertically to separate branches racially and voting was calculated on the basis of acquired skills.

THE 1960'S : WHITE AND BLACK NATIONALISM, SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND NATIVE TERRORISM.

The African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1966 obliged employers to accommodate their African servants. Restrictions were placed upon the admission of Africans to private schools and upon the staging of multi-racial sports events at government schools. Employers had to pay a rent allowance for employees, below a specified wage level, whom they did not directly house; private premises such as domestic employees' quarters had to be inspected and licensed; local authorities were obliged to fix rents and service charges and to charge different classes of occupants according to their means; certificates of occupation had to be issued to residents; African Advisory Boards and Employment Bureaux had to be established.

- The Municipal Amendment Act of 1967 empowered municipalities to segregate recreational and sporting facilities. The Act did not permit the accommodation of any dependents or of any person not directly employed by the owner of a property and made it the owner's responsibility to ensure that the Act was adhered to. In effect this meant that even if a man and his wife were employed and accommodated on 'European' premises, their children could not live with them. (Davies, 1975 p301)

- The Land Tenure Act of 1969 established that the main urban areas fall within the 'European Area'. Thus, before establishing an African Township, a local authority had to apply for the declaration of land as an 'African Township Area' in which an African could own, lease or occupy land. Otherwise no African could occupy land in the European Area unless employed there and living in authorised accommodation at his place of work. Provision was made for ownership or occupation of land in a few non-racial or 'grey' areas. (United Nations, 1978 p114). In concrete terms this meant, for example, that an African lawyer, doctor or priest employed by a White owned firm or institution would have to get a special permit to continue his/her profession in an European area. Moreover since attendance constituted occupancy anything from cinemas to concert halls could be affected. (O'Callaghan, 1977 p217)

- In 1969 a new 'Republican' constitution came into effect. Of 66 seats in the House of Assembly, 50 were reserved for Whites (defined so as to include Asians and Coloured). The remaining 16 seats were reserved for Africans equally divided between Chiefs' nominees and elected members. The provision was calculated

on the "basis that racial allocation of seats reflected contributions to the national exchequer by way of racial contributions as individual income tax. With African membership at 16/66ths of the total membership, and African individual income tax contributions well below this proportion (in the vicinity of 2-3 per cent of all such receipts), there exists no feasible prospect that these mechanisms would provide for African majority rule, let alone "priority" in the foreseeable future" (United Nations, 1978 p9).

THE 1970'S: WHITE NATIONALISM, BLACK TERRORISM AND INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATIONS.

- The Municipal Amendment Act of 1971 empowered government to cede administration of African townships to local authorities. Government would retain responsibility for standards of administration, services and accommodation and for social policy.
- The Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1972 stated that Africans were not permitted to drink in 'European Area' bars (and vice versa) after 19h00 on weekdays, 13h00 on Saturdays, and not at all on Sundays.
- The Land Tenure (Swimming Baths) (Prescription of Occupation) Regulations of 1972 decreed that public swimming pools constituted occupation for purposes of the Act and therefore attendance became subject to control by permit.
- The Rhodesian Government Notice No 657 of 1972 laid down conditions under which Africans were allowed to take up residence in certain Townships. Regarding visitors, no persons could occupy premises in an African Township for more than 48 hours unless he or she was a registered

tenant or lodger, a dependant of the tenant, or a property owner.

- The Vagrancy Amendment Act (No 51) of 1972 empowered the authorities to remove undesirables (the indigent) from urban areas. Squatters were forced out and forced to seek jobs on White farms or in the Tribal Trust Lands.
- The Deeds Registration Act Amendment of 1972 enabled property owners intending to establish a Township or to subdivide land to apply for registration of restrictive conditions of title and thereafter evict persons in contravention of the restraining clause. The Act replaced the controversial Protection of Owners Property Bill designed to protect property values by excluding Coloureds and Asians from European residential areas.
- The Urban Councils Act (No 12) of 1973 *inter alia* stipulated that African Townships should be economically independent in their administration and servicing.
- The African Beer Act (No 39) of 1974 guaranteed the municipal monopoly of the provision and sale of African (or traditional) beer and directed the use to which profits could be put (for instance, half could be apportioned to a revolving fund for low-cost housing). The balance was available for specified educational, health, and welfare services, some of which required the relevant Minister's approval. The eventual cost of these services ultimately affected the real wage of Africans.

Embedded in this general review of the extension and intensification of discrimination in Rhodesian society is the thread of differential access to resources at all levels including the intra-urban scale which is the central focus of this thesis. Entrenched discrimination was particularly

evident in marked inequality in the distribution of resources, and inequity in potential access to opportunities based on race-related criteria. In the political sphere Blacks were largely unenfranchised and ill-represented on critical decision-making bodies. In employment there existed marked wage and pension disparities; for a long time Blacks were precluded from forming unions and those that were established were segregated; they were also denied the opportunity for skill acquisition in apprenticeship schemes. Less was paid per capita on Black education, facilities were inferior to those for Whites, the qualifications of teachers were lower and percentage attainment levels fell below those of the White group. Housing and living conditions were demonstrably inferior to those experienced by Whites and Blacks frequently did not possess residence rights or choice of accommodation. Physical and social mobility was severely constrained. Recreation facilities were more limited, and invariably, of lower quality than those available to the White group. Simon (1983, p33) observed that, "It is from these inherent inequalities and patterns of discrimination that tensions within the colonial structure arise. It is important here to distinguish between real and perceived discrimination. Although real (relative and/or absolute) deprivation usually exists from the outset, it only becomes politically relevant once the subordinate groups perceive it and use it as a rallying point of resistance At the same time, one must guard against the self-defining approach that the only real or true elements are those popularly perceived ('the problems')".

The causes of racism in Rhodesian society were both structural and psycho-social. Over time these became mutually reinforcing. An original consequence of colonial motives and historical circumstance, racial prejudice became entrenched in a system of largely unquestioned values which were used to rationalise and legitimise the dominance of the White elite. Cultural differentiation became a justification for the social separation of the two major groups - White social attitudes indicting Blacks variously

as immoral, incompetent, unstable, unreliable, unpunctual, lazy, inherently stupid, non-technical, and lacking 'civilised' standards, were developed into stereotypes. The role of the state in perpetuating this situation was decisive : A United Nations report identified this, noting that,

"the minority is able to make use of the state system - at central, local and provincial levels - to foster a system of privilege and inequality which severely damages African economic and social interests. It is vital, in this connection, to appreciate the extent, form and impact of state control and involvement in the economic system.

Fiscal and revenue policies, as well as investment decisions by central and local administrations and parastatal organisations, have created or reinforced privilege and inequality.

Further, in seeking to achieve these ends the minority has used the state to direct and determine labour conditions in spheres under its control in a way which has led to enormous disparities in wages and incomes as well as conditions of work between Whites and Africans" (United Nations, 1978 p133).¹¹

The last two decades of settler rule in large part demonstrates Fragment theory. The famous "Winds of Change" speech by Sir Harold MacMillan in Cape Town in 1960 presaged

¹¹ This is not to suggest that an immutable system was supported by total consensus within the White group. Societies such as the Capricorn Africa Society, the United Club, the Inter-Racial Association, certain churches, individual politicians, and even political parties (e.g. the Central Africa Party under the leadership of Sir Garfield Todd and the later United Federal Party (UFP)) were committed to better race relations and, to varying degrees, greater Black political participation. However, in the main, White citizens, bureaucrats and politicians discounted their advocacy. In the 1962 general election rejection of greater racial integration in the polity and the society was given formal expression when the conservative Rhodesia Front (RF) gained 35 A Roll seats (White voting constituencies) to the UFP's 15. (Lemon, 1978) Thereafter the RF did not lose a single seat in any general election prior to independence. Black attitudes to such 'liberalisation' could be summed up in the cliché "too little, too late".

the decision, in principle, of the British Government to accede to the liberation national peoples' movements in Rhodesia and other colonies. The quasi-fragment perceived itself as being 'stabbed in the back' by the parent and an intense three-cornered struggle ensued, one episode of which was the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U D I) made by the Rhodesian Front government under the leadership of Prime Minister Ian Smith in November, 1965. Increasingly that government exhibited authoritarian tendencies to quell Black counter-nationalist dissent and to nullify divisions within its own social fabric. It justified its actions "in the name of protecting the national peoples from their purported self-inflicted acts of extremism" (Schutz, 1978 pl5) and in terms of its goal of preparing the national peoples for their own, self-determined, "civilised" existence (ibid. pl6).

Unsuccessful negotiations were conducted between the Black nationalist Patriotic Front and the Rhodesian government in Geneva in 1976. In 1977 an Anglo-American constitutional settlement was rejected. In the context of escalating war, Smith eventually signed an agreement with Black leaders Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and Chief Chirau in March 1978 constituting an interim government, pending elections. Elections followed in April 1979 and the Government of National Unity of Zimbabwe - Rhodesia, with Bishop Muzorewa as Prime Minister, was installed on 1st June, 1979. Whites were guaranteed 28 out of 100 seats thereby enabling them to constitute a 'blocking mechanism' on crucial aspects of legislative change.

To the leaders of the Patriotic Front, Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo, whose banned parties had not been permitted to contest the election, the election results were regarded as invalid. In their opinion Whites still retained effective power and the Black members of parliament were mere 'puppets' -

"the constitution was so devised that every single instrument of power except Parliament, remained under White control. In the civil service, the

defense forces, the police and the judiciary, qualifications were imposed which meant that few Blacks would reach a position of authority for years to come, and those who did would be outnumbered by Whites. By law, a majority of members of the Public Service Commission had to be senior civil servants with at least five years experience in their posts. Similar rules applied to the defence Forces Service Commission, and the Judicial Service Commissioner" (Meredith, 1979, p354).

In the period of the transitional government (1979) the operational milieu of Harare changed little. Elements of structural change did, however, emerge. The restriction on Blacks living in the formerly 'European' suburbs was formally removed as was discrimination against Blacks frequenting hotels, restaurants, theatres, swimming pools and cinemas. The restrictions had in fact not been formally enforced for at least a year. Because many Whites were leaving the country (Table 4.1) more Blacks obtained employment in lower status occupations in commerce and industry and the public service, though few advanced to higher status positions.

Table 4.1 Rate of White Emigration 1965 - 1978

EMIGRANTS	ARTISAN EMIGRANTS 1972 - 1978
6 837	
7 561	280
5 594	464
5 063	535
5 232	634
5 238	971
4 713	1 057
4 562	1 028
6 846	
7 982	
9 242	
13 013	
14 556	
16 467	

Source: Rhodesian Government Digest of Statistics, 1982.

NOTE:

1. African emigrants were not included until April 1978.

2. Many residents claimed they were leaving for less than twelve months but did not return. According to the Central Statistics Office, this constitutes a "significant omission" in the data.

Black employment mobility was nevertheless on the increase. By 1981 when a national manpower survey was conducted, the percentages of skilled and semi-skilled Blacks exceeded those of Whites in a variety of occupations (Table 4.2)

Table 4.2 : Skill and Racial Distribution by Occupation 1981

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP	SKILLED		SEMI-SKILLED	
	BLACK%	WHITE%	BLACK%	WHITE%
Professional, Technical and Related	9	7	11	1
Administrative and Managerial	1	2	-	1
Clerical & Related	16	14	42	15
Sales	17	20	35	9
Service	19	5	70	2
Production and Related Workers; Transport Equipment Operators	25	8	62	3

Source : Government of Zimbabwe 1981 p74.

By the end of 1982, 47 per cent of all artisans in training were Black as compared with 45 per cent Whites.

In February 1979 all African townships then in existence under the Land Tenure Act became Local Government Areas and in July the first Area Board election was held in the Harare Township of Mufakose. (The nature of Area Boards is the subject of later discussion). The crucial Land Tenure Act which had hitherto ensured the segregation of Blacks was repealed. Economic criteria, i.e. access to housing, however, served to constrain the relaxation of formal segregation. The new constitution, while nominally liberating Blacks, served to protect and perpetuate White interests. Qualifications were specified for career advancement in the civil service, the defence forces, and the judiciary. The effect was to mitigate against rapid Black employment mobility and to confine their power base. Black advancement into positions of real authority in White

owned commercial and industrial enterprises was even slower. Although race discrimination was legally abolished, other mechanisms constrained Black access to important amenities and facilities.

"The education system was divided up so that admission to former White government schools, located entirely in former White areas, was based on a strict zoning formula which permitted only parents living in the school's neighbourhood to send their children there. Fees for these schools were raised, some by as much as 300 per cent ... Hospital services were also divided into high fee and low fee categories. The overall effect was that only the few Blacks who could afford to buy a house in an affluent suburb and send their children to a neighbourhood school were entitled to join the White way of life" (ibid. p355).

The compromises of the transitional government were viewed with scepticism, "the pot of gold - legality, ceasefire and the removal of sanctions - did not materialise. The world still looked upon Salisbury with scorn, or at best suspicion. Was the Bishop really in charge? The Patriotic Front said no, he was a mere figurehead just like the Queen in Britain. As Joshua Nkomo put it, 'the other fellows may reign but Smith will rule'. Was Ian Smith, the Minister without portfolio, the Minister with all portfolios? Had the curious Zebra-like constitution which Smith had engineered really stalled the true advent of African authority?" (Moorcroft, 1980 p228). Many thought so.

A further constitutional conference was convened at Lancaster House in London in September 1979 with the Patriotic Front in attendance. At the conference the 'bush war' was concluded and a new constitutional order was devised and agreed upon in an atmosphere of deep mutual suspicion. In the negotiations the Patriotic Front was obliged to compromise their earlier ideologically based demands and to accept a variety of safeguards for the White populace. In effect the state apparatus was maintained through the continuance of the structures of state security (the army, airforce, police and prisons), the judiciary and the public services. Many Blacks were disillusioned with

In Geneva, when asked what kind of Rhodesia he wanted, he (Mugabe) replied, "What I am saying is that we are socialist and we shall draw on the socialist systems of Mocambique and Tanzania. One cannot get rid of all the trappings of free enterprise. After all even the Russians and China have their petit bourgeoisie. But in Zimbabwe none of the White exploiters will be able to keep an acre of their land" (Smith et al, 1981 p253)

Further evidence of ZANU's commitment to a form of Marxism and of the reason for White trepidation, is obtained in the transcript of the Party's Political Programme (Nyangoni and Nyandoro, 1979 p250-252) : "Like other oppressed peoples we face three basic and fundamental contradictions in our country which must be removed and destroyed root and branch. They are:

- (a) the presence of a settler society of 234 000 White people who are an integral part of White capitalism that seeks to exploit and oppress the five million indigenous Africans and to prevent them establishing a truly socialist state. This is part of the global conflict of the forces of capitalism and socialism ..."

"The Zimbabwe African National Union has joined hands with other progressive forces in Africa, Asia, Latin America and in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to confront and fight the forces of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism, and settlerism in Zimbabwe".
"The Party may,

- (h) apply scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism to the objective and subjective conditions in Zimbabwe" (ibid. p252)

"State power will be used to organise the economy for the greatest benefit of all citizens and to prevent the emergence of a privileged class of any kind An important factor in

class formation is the ownership of property. Property values play a large role in politics and social values of capitalist societies. In the existing system in Zimbabwe, ownership of property and the maintenance of high values is used as a major political, economic and social barrier between the settlers and the indigenous Africans. In a free, socialist, independent and democratic Zimbabwe, property as a commercial and exploitative factor will be abolished." (ibid. p258)

Most Whites were apprehensive of, and anticipated, radical change in the structure and institutions of society consequent upon the accession to power of ZANU - PF. Such change would have implications for, *inter alia*, employment opportunities, ownership of property, taxation and the redistribution of wealth, the quality and availability of education and health services, crime, the administration of justice, housing, transportation, the nature of the news media, patterns of recreation, and the provision and maintenance of public services. Many of these could, in different ways, be expected to be reflected in the form and activity patterns of Harare. By logical extension, given that town planning and municipal by-laws formalise the cultural ideas and values of the dominant group, urban management by a Black City Council in ideological sympathy with the ruling party and controlling urban policy and municipal outputs, could be expected to manifest change. As already established it is towards the study of change in that specific context that this thesis is directed. The topic is taken up in the substantive chapters that follow.

As a preface to the main theme of the thesis and to provide a geographical context, the following chapter reviews the growth and development of Salisbury as a colonial city to create a baseline from which subsequent analyses of the changing geography of public authority practice in public finance might be undertaken.

CHAPTER 5

COLONIAL SALISBURY : ASPECTS OF ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter constitutes a geographic backdrop to subsequent analysis of local authority activity. It is a geographically and historically specific case located within the preceding, more theoretical discussion of the nature of the city within the colonial political-economy. As such it is designed to provide the wherewithal to obtain familiarity with the more important socio-economic characteristics and physical dimensions of Salisbury insofar as they impinge upon, or reflect, the functioning of the municipality. More particularly it establishes the *status ante bellum* of the degree of inequality that existed across the city in terms of selected social, and especially economic, parameters and of the distribution of goods and services by the municipality. By so doing it will facilitate identification of discriminatory structures and practices in the colonial city which later became the foci of Black disaffection and, consequently, the foci upon which future strategies for change would concentrate. Because it is directed towards themes relevant to the central analysis, it is brief, and, of necessity, largely descriptive. Its theoretical penetration is limited to the degree that it refers to earlier analysis of city form within the colonial political formation and is able to locate Salisbury in that context. For the reader concerned with a broader interpretation of the nature of the city, reference should be made to the book by Kay and Smout (1977) which, under a single cover, "does embrace many of the more important aspects of Salisbury's geography and provides a balanced introduction to the urban region as a whole and to some of its principal problems" (ibid. pvii). The present chapter draws extensively from

this work and also from the reports of planning consultants commissioned by the City Council to develop a metropolitan guide plan (City of Salisbury, 1973 and 1977). Other useful thematic studies include those of Kay (1974); Hardwick (1974, 1978); Tanser (1965, 1974); Seager (1977); Probert (1976); Kileff (1970, 1975); Christopher (1970); Smout (1972); Zinyama (1978); Van Hoffen (1975); Teedon and Drakakis-Smith (1986); Mazambani (1982); Chavanduka (1972); Harvey and Beaumont (1978); Davies (1986).

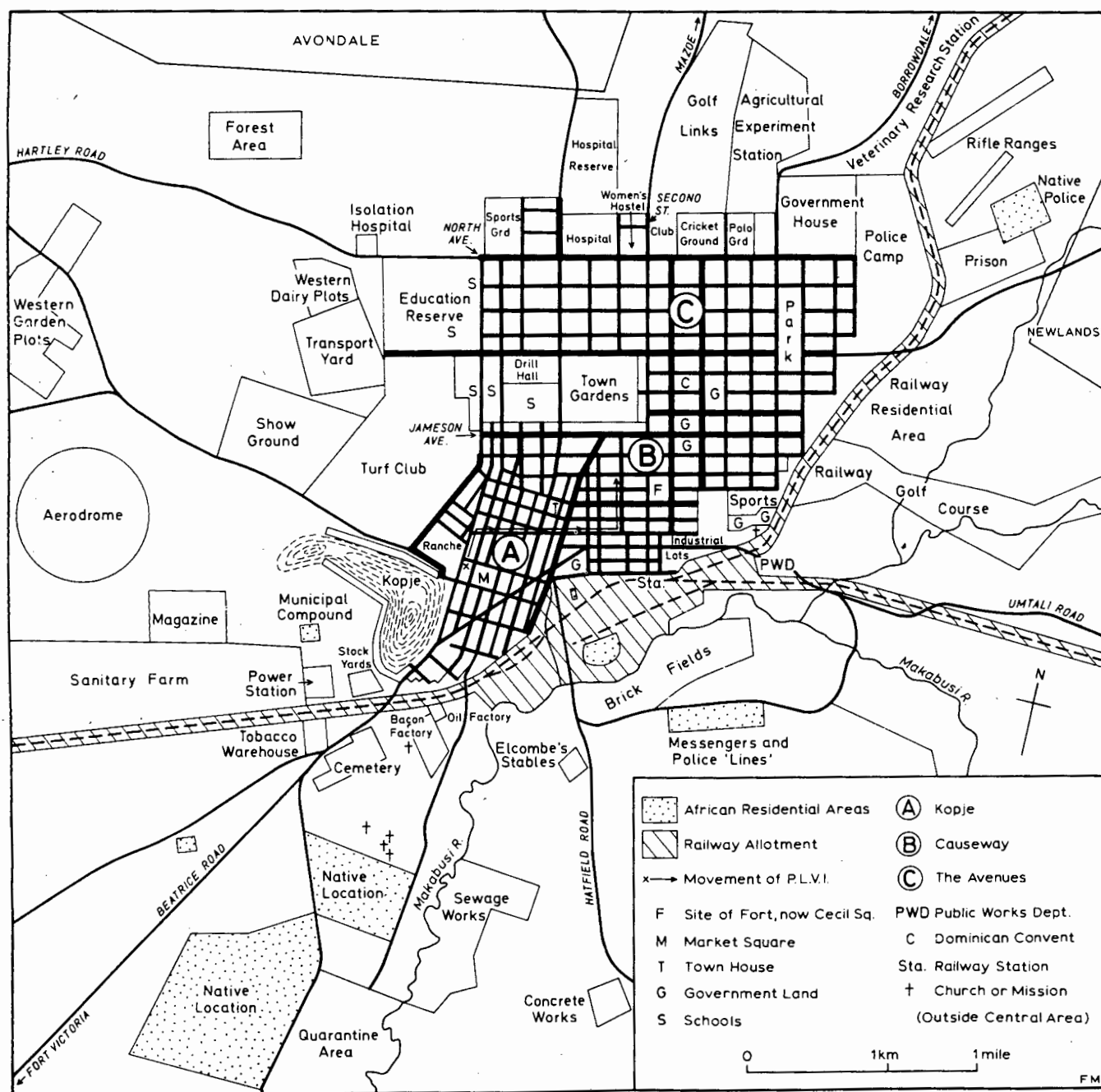
The Pioneer Column of the British South Africa Company comprising 200 selected settlers and an accompanying force of 300 armed police, all under Major Frank Johnson crossed the Macloutsie river from Bechuanaland (Botswana) into what was to become Rhodesia, in June 1890. Not having solicited right-of-passage through the territory of the powerful, highly militaristic N'debele nation from Paramount Chief Lobenguela, it elected to follow a more circuitous route through the domain of the more peaceable Shona tribes. Having established bases at Fort Charter and Fort Victoria the Column raised the Union Jack at Fort Salisbury in September 1890.

The first settlement of Salisbury comprised a military fort and a few administrative offices located on the site of the present Cecil Square. Any colony with imperialist designs, by its nature must seek to impose the dominance of the colonising group. The fort and garrison symbolising the military underpinning of the colonial enterprise and its coercive potential is thus one of the first morphogenic elements of a primary colonial settlement to emerge. A miscellany of primitive mud and thatch dwellings and commercial premises were clustered at the base of a small hill known popularly as the Kopje. A 'vlei'¹ separating the Fort complex from the Kopje cluster was bridged by a stone causeway which was to lend its name to the former area. Two separate street layout plans were surveyed for the Kopje and

¹ A vlei may be described as a shallow water body. It frequently forms a salt marsh in the dry season.

FIG. 5.1

EARLY SALISBURY INCLUDING PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE TOWNLANDS UP TO 1930



Source : Christopher, A.J., : Early Settlement and the
Cadastral Framework (in Kay and Smout, 1977)

Causeway areas in 1881. Draining of the vlei in 1894 permitted the Kopje and Causeway grids to become linked. The long axis of the vlei became Kingsway. Variation in the design and orientation of the two grids resulted in an awkwardly asymmetric plan configuration with different sizes and shapes of blocks and erven at their interface (Fig. 5.1).

Not yet one hundred years old, Harare (Salisbury) is essentially modern in its development. From its inception Salisbury was a planned town, its initial layout and design being informed by late nineteenth century planning principles drawn most immediately from South Africa but, more generally, from Britain and Europe. These principles included land use separation, single detached houses on large plots, low densities, wide streets, and the locational and functional dominance of public squares and public buildings. Consequently Salisbury was characterised by broad tree-lined avenues, a great visual dominance of 'the country in the city' through the emphasis on well-tended gardens (made possible by abundant Black labour), and low residential densities (Fig. 5.2), and ready access to work places and recreation facilities².

² Christopher, (1984, p73) ascribes the verdant suburban panoramas and more generally, the planned design of the city to principles derived from the Garden City ethic which had gained currency during the same period in England through the efforts of Sir Ebenezer Howard (the site for the first town, Letchworth Garden City, was acquired in 1907). Any direct conceptual diffusion is disputed however, since many of the morphological features of Salisbury can be traced to much older 'English' towns in South Africa whence the settlers had originated. Moreover, while a prime motive of Garden Cities planning was to create a self-contained town, Salisbury was, *ab initio*, and of necessity, self contained. It was inevitable that the aims and objectives inherent in the Garden City concept and the strategy responses developed from them would greatly have influenced a rapidly expanding body of planning theory. By the same token, extensive cross-fertilization occurred from other innovations and ideas contributed by practitioners outside the Garden Cities movement. What made the Garden City unique was that it was conceived and developed as an entity utilising widely accepted principles toward the attainment of a particular goal.

MINIMUM STAND SIZES IN THE LOW DENSITY AREAS

(as per Town Planning Scheme 1977)

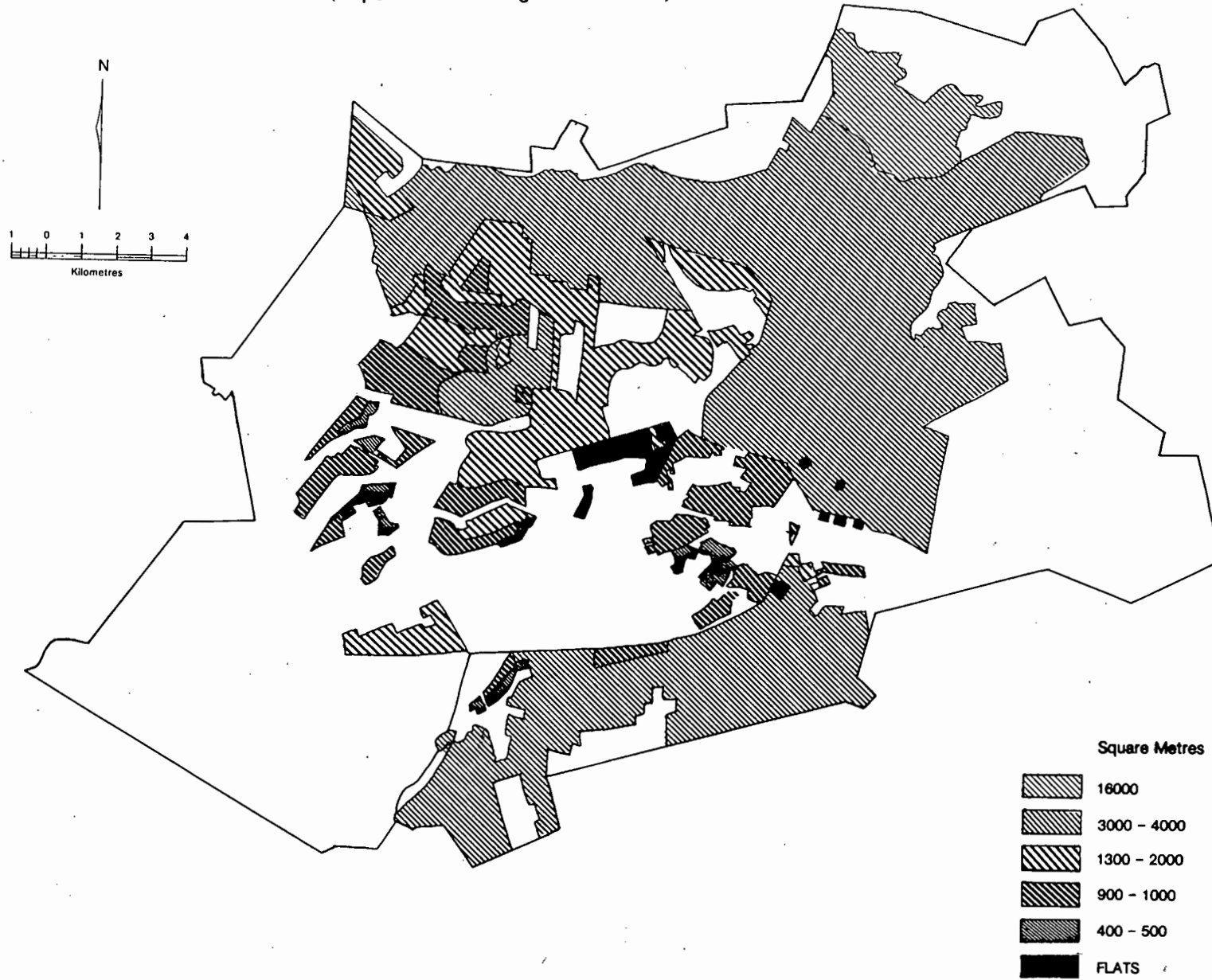


FIG. 5.2

Source : City of Salisbury, 1977 The Provision and Control of Open Space and Recreational Uses in Salisbury, City Engineer's Department, May, p14.

In 1899 a railway line from Umtali had been laid along the southern perimeter of the town grid forming a barrier to residential and commercial expansion. The railway encouraged industrial functional linkage and the establishment of the industrial estates of Workington and Southerton in the south-western sector of the town. Industrial expansion subsequently led to the extension of the industrial sector to Willowvale and Aspindale Park. Later planned industrial estates were laid out in the south-east quadrant at Graniteside and Beverley (Fig. 5.3).

A second intra-urban industrial location factor was the availability of African labour in the nearby 'location' (township). Africans seeking employment in the early settlement of Salisbury gravitated towards a locality which had initially been occupied by Chief Neharava in the early 1890's. Others lived in 'kias' (small outhouses) on the properties of White employers. However, from the inception of Salisbury no area had been reserved formally for Black occupation in what was conceived and developed as an urban settlement. In 1907 formal control of that African settlement was assumed by the local authority. Called the 'Old Location' it was to expand into the township of Harari (now Mbare) (Fig. 5.3). It contained rented Council-built houses and hostels for single workers. In keeping with South African and British colonial traditions, the location was entirely segregated from the White residential areas with the railway line and Makabusi river forming a barrier between it and the rest of the town.³

Low residential densities were also a direct result of the physiography of the site and of the historical reliance of the settlement upon ground water for much of its domestic water supply. The site of the earliest settlement lay south-west of a watershed from which flowed a series of seasonal headwater streams, tributary to the perennial

³ Thereafter provision of land was "made on an ad hoc basis for African needs as they were recognised" (Kay and Smout, 1977, p21).

Hunyani river some 20 kms to the south. The seasonal streams provided an irregular and unreliable supply of water. As a result water was initially obtained from two springs located in what is now the Central Business District (CBD). Many households augmented their water supply through the use of rainwater tanks and boreholes. In later years entire suburbs were supplied with reticulated water systems based on groundwater sources. (e.g. Highlands, Greendale, Waterfalls and Parktown).

Sewerage disposal in many of the suburban areas was dependent on septic tanks. The danger of seepage and the contamination of groundwater sources in large measure necessitated the planning of large residential plots and was a critical factor determining the characteristic low residential densities of the city. A minimum plot size of $4,000\text{m}^2$ was imposed upon most residential extensions north of the city centre⁴. Whenever a subdivision of several erven was proposed, minimum requirements in terms of access and the provision of open space had to be satisfied (Kay and Smout, 1977, p21).

The city's specifically colonial *raison d'être* was reflected in, and symbolised by, the administrative function. Prominent locations in the central city were reserved for the national Parliament and the Supreme Court which abutted Cecil Square, the original parade ground and the site of the pioneer flagstaff which was retained in place. Elsewhere, as the settlement grew, the Governor's residence, the Drill

⁴ Today almost all of the city's water is drawn from Lake McIlwaine dam which was built in 1954. The recently completed Darwendale Dam also on the Hunyani river, is designed to accommodate future demand. Most of the city is now connected to a water borne sewerage system the construction of which was facilitated by the ability to utilise gravity flows in all but two areas where pumping is necessary. "Factors of relief have had little effect, therefore, on the layout of the main sewage disposal system and consequently, sewage flow has not, as yet hampered residential development. The character of areas which lacked mains sewage disposal at the time they were developed, however, has been affected by this fact" (ibid. p12).

HARARE

(SALISBURY TO 1982)



Hall, the Army barracks, the Police Camp and, later, the Senate building and government administrative office blocks were all located in close proximity adjacent to the commercial core of the city (Fig. 5.1). Their collective presence constantly reaffirmed the primary settler purpose of politico-administrative dominance.

The British South Africa Company (BSA Co), which held a Royal Charter to occupy and administer the territory and to conduct trade in the name of the British Crown, had reserved extensive tracts of land around the central Kopje and Causeway grids. These "Townlands" (or "Commonage") were held against future contingencies and in the short term were used to supply firewood, farm produce, building stone, and bricks. It was common practice of British colonial administrations to provide towns with land that extended well beyond the boundaries of the initial small settlement. These "townlands" were in the nature of a land capital endowment in anticipation of future growth. They were, at the same time, able to fulfil other commonage uses.

In February 1901 the Company granted 20 000 acres of commonage to the municipality, which had been established in 1897 to regulate the affairs of the town. Over the years the municipality released large areas of Townlands on the northern outskirts of the town for various public uses. These included schools, sports clubs, hospitals, the Botanical Gardens, the National Archives, the Police Camp, and an agricultural research station and a horse-racing track. Municipal public parks were also developed. Immediately west of the town additional land was dedicated to the agricultural show grounds and, much later, the Queen Victoria museum, the Queen Victoria library and additional municipal offices (Figs. 5.1 & 5.3). The alienation of municipal land for these particular activities and institutions, the importance afforded them, and the manner in which their architecture, purposes, and practices were alien to the indigenous culture emphasised, by implication, the ascendancy of foreign (anglophile) attitudes and values

over those of the indigenous inhabitants. In toto the developments also inferred the permanence of settler occupation.

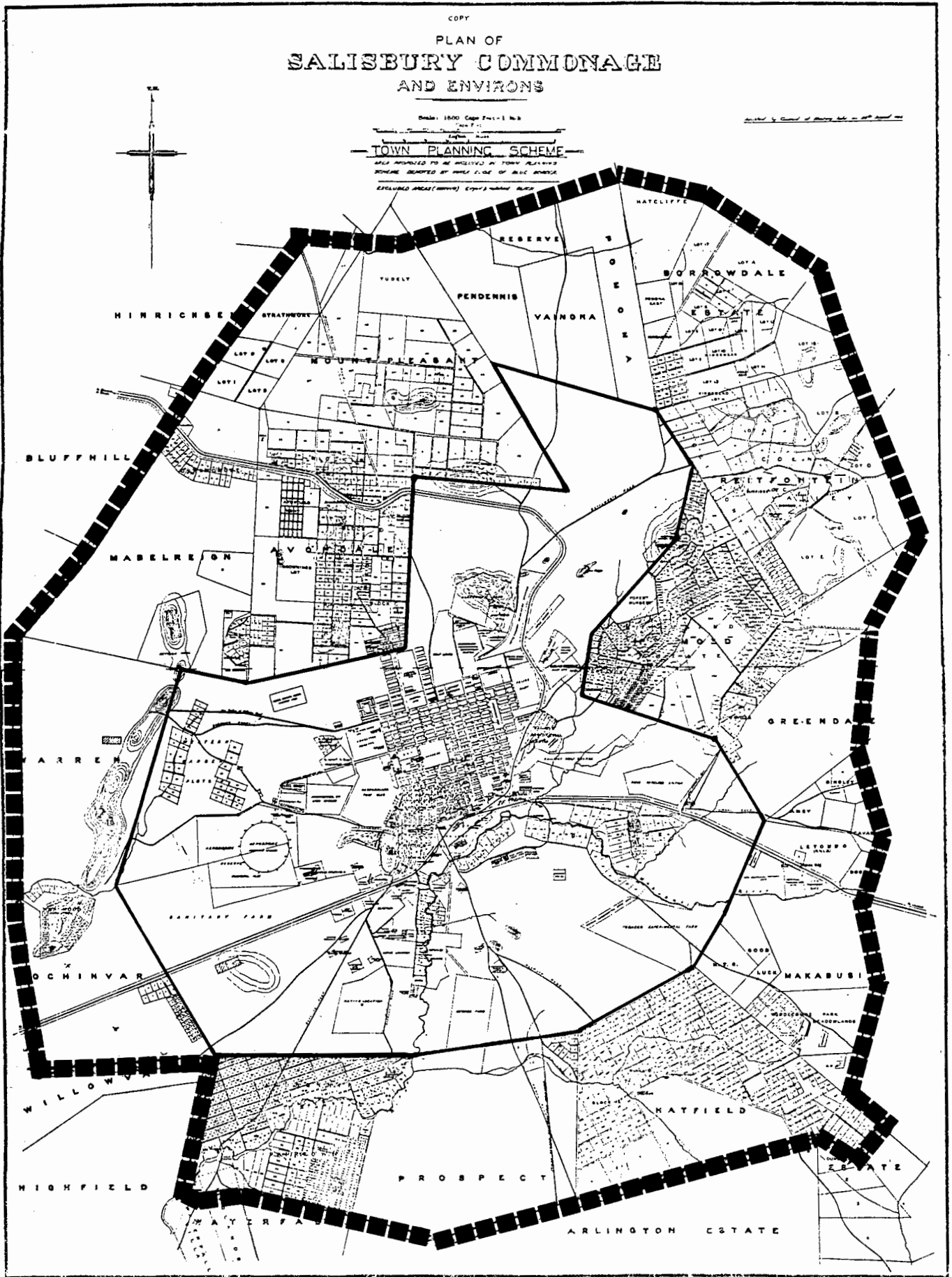
Street names tended to ignore Black history being generally anglophile when alluding to places and personages (e.g. Tweed Road; Trinity Road; Reigate Road; Leamington Road; Queensway; St Andrew Road; Prince Edward Street; Churchill Ave.,). Others referred to significant characters in Rhodesian colonial history (e.g. Moffat, Selous, Colenbrander, Rhodes, Beit, Coghan, Baines, Jameson, Pauling). A statue of Cecil John Rhodes and a mounted Gattling gun used during the Mashona rebellion dominated two important street intersections in the CBD. In combination they acted as symbols of dominance reaffirming White hegemony.

Streets in the Black townships, on the other hand, carried names reflecting African culture, a circumstance which must, if even partially, have reinforced the perception of separateness between the groups⁵ (e.g. Dzwewe St; Chaminuka St; Tapfumeyi St; Samuriwo St; Chinamora St; Dumbujena St; Mhlanga St.)

King (1977, p15) had observed that, "in Africa, for much of the colonial period, the functions of newly established centres were political, administrative and commercial, not industrial. The built environment for the 'ideal-type' political-administrative capital was characterised by those buildings housing the key institutions of colonialism, Government or State House, the Council or Assembly buildings (if any), army barracks, the police lines, hospital, jail, government offices and road system, housing and recreational space for the expatriate European bureaucracy and, occasionally, housing for local government employees". While it is apparent that Salisbury, in large part, conformed with this general model, it is disputed that the

⁵ This is not to infer however that there was any cynical intent behind the attribution of place names in the different areas.

FIG. 5.4



Original Commonage boundary

Greater Salisbury. Adopted by Council 28 August, 1935.

scheme for the location, layout and institutional provision of these "colonial phenomena" can be explained by dependency theory as King suggests. In the context of colonialism, the theory of dependent capitalism (Friedmann and Wulff, 1976); Frank 1971; Foster-Carter 1974; Kay 1975; Peet 1980) is most appropriately applied to analysis of the process of underdevelopment consequent upon the penetration of capital on a national scale. While the reflection of dependent relations between metropole and its peripheral dependency are reflected in the national space economy and the social relations of the colonial territory, the link between intra-urban morphology and global capitalist relations becomes tenuous.

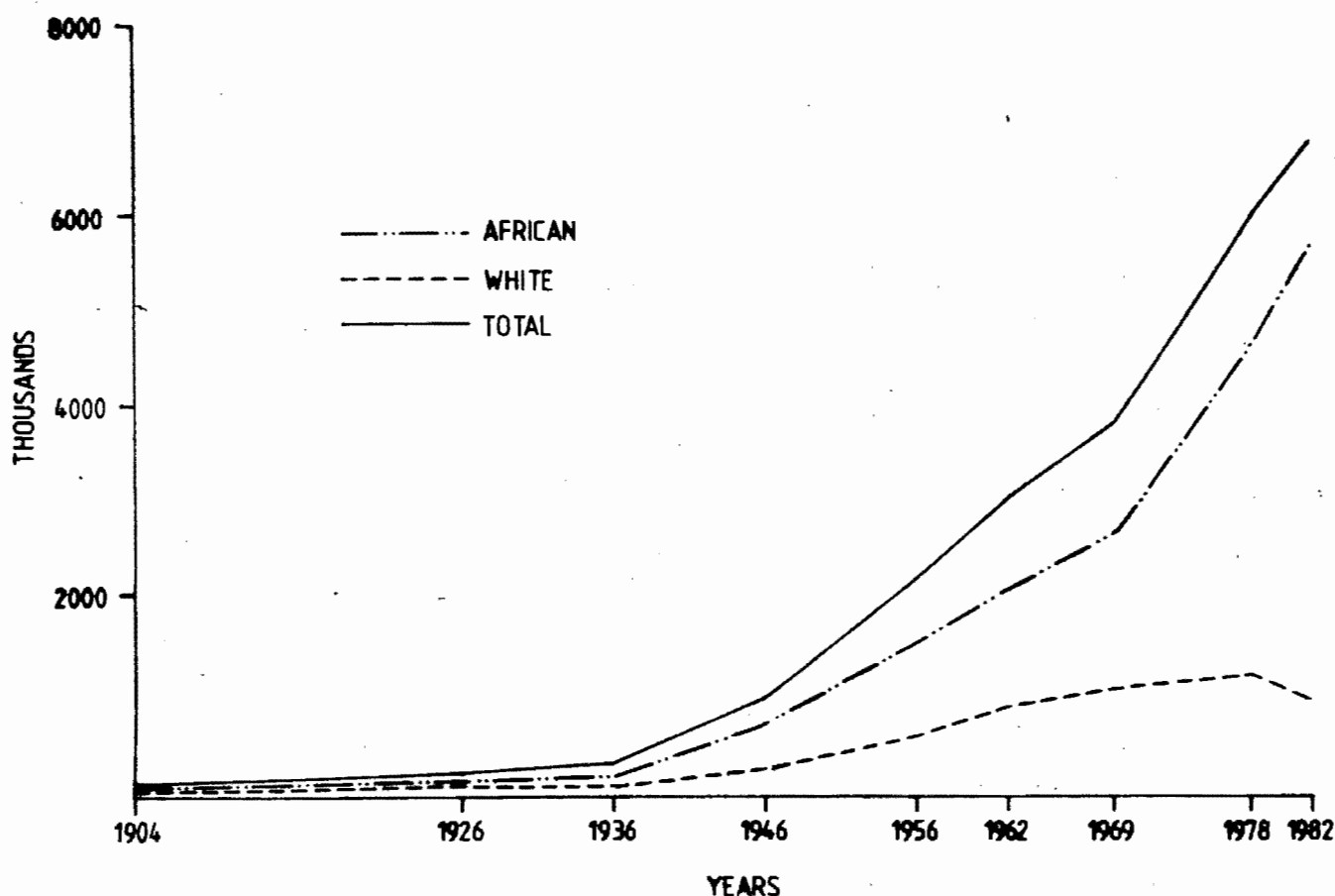
Land owned by the BSA Co immediately adjacent to the CBD was also released for residential development as demand dictated. "Early growth in Salisbury was thus concentrated within the Kopje and Causeway areas, which represented an island of development separated from the adjoining farmlands by a lake of undeveloped townlands" (Kay and Smout, 1977, p16).

While land remained available within the central city grids, the municipality greatly restricted the release of Townland space for residential development. "Partly by direct control over the use of land and partly by placing a high reserve price on land in the Townlands, such development was forced further afield into the surrounding farmland. The first substantial sub-division into smallholdings had occurred by 1920 on Avondale farm which lay immediately north of the hospital reserve on North Avenue (Fig. 5.4). The whole of this farm lay within 6 km of the centre of the town and, in successive stages, the whole was subdivided and sold to urbanites and property speculators. In an attempt to regularise and control such development so close to the town, Avondale was incorporated piecemeal into the Townlands and administered as a suburb. Subdivision of most other, more distant farms, however, was left outside municipal

control and remained so until the creation of Greater Salisbury in 1972" (ibid. p19).

Rapid population growth (Fig. 5.5) after World War II resulted in much residential growth and development of the Townlands but extensive open tracts were, in many instances, dedicated to non-formal recreation. Invariably these areas occupied dambos (vlei areas) which were not suitable for building. Beyond the municipal boundary many farms, previously awarded to members of the Pioneer column, in part fulfilment of contract,⁶ had never been cleared and planted. Moreover farmland was not subject to strict municipal or state planning controls.

FIG. 5.5 POPULATION GROWTH: 1904 - 1982
 SALISBURY/HARARE



⁶ Each pioneer had been guaranteed a farm of 1 500 morgen (approximately 1 250 hectares) and 15 mining claims.

That factor, together with low land prices prompted property speculation as demand for residential space in the city expanded. The attractive land on the hilly northern margins of the city was particularly amenable to residential subdivision.

Eventually a need arose to regularise and co-ordinate the essentially *ad hoc* pattern of peri-urban development that had evolved and to rationalise the provision of urban services. To this end government delimited the expanse of suburban areas into separate jurisdictions (initially called Town Management Boards). The Boards were endowed with powers below those of municipalities.

They did not, for instance, perform their own town planning, a task accorded to the national Ministry of Local Government and Housing. Nor did they possess the powers enjoyed by the city municipality to raise funds by way of external loans and stock issues. Many of their services were delivered on an agency basis by the Salisbury Council.

By the 1960's seven Town Management Boards (later called Town Councils) surrounded the Salisbury municipal area (*viz.* Greendale, Hatfield, Highlands, Mt Pleasant, Marlborough, Mabelreign, and Waterfalls). The Town Council areas were incorporated into a single jurisdiction in 1972 along with the peri-urban Rural Council of Borrowdale (Fig. 5.3). The jurisdictional context of local authority practice in metropolitan Salisbury/Harare is discussed in greater detail later.

As the capital of Rhodesia, and for ten years, of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953 - 1963), Salisbury became the principal political, cultural, industrial and commercial centre in the country. By the beginning of the U D I era (1965) it contributed 49.2% of the country's dollar value of industrial output (Government of Zimbabwe 1985). The White population increased rapidly immediately after World War II from 23 107 in 1946 to 61 930 in 1956 (Davies, 1983 p5).

FIG. 5.6

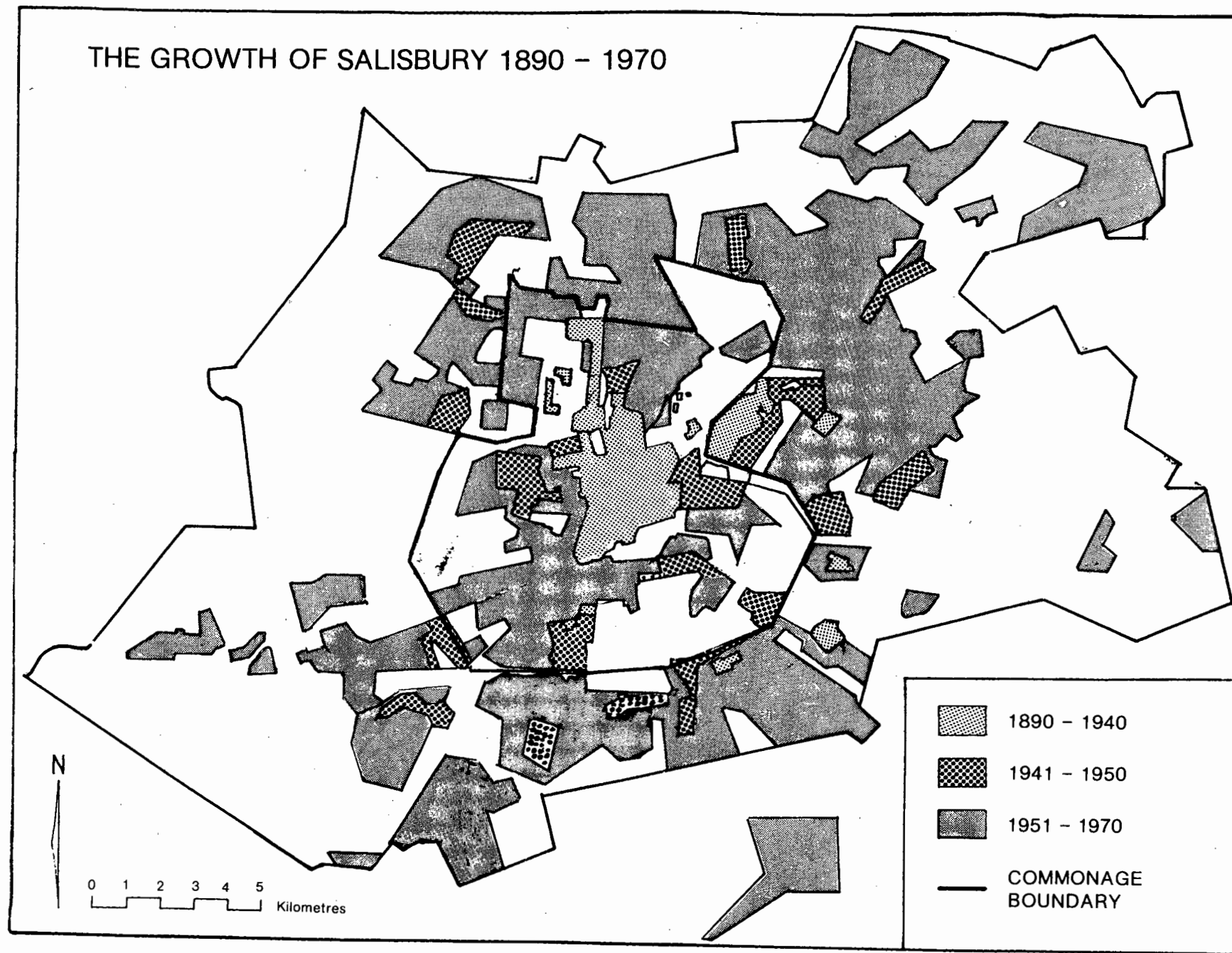


FIG. 5.6

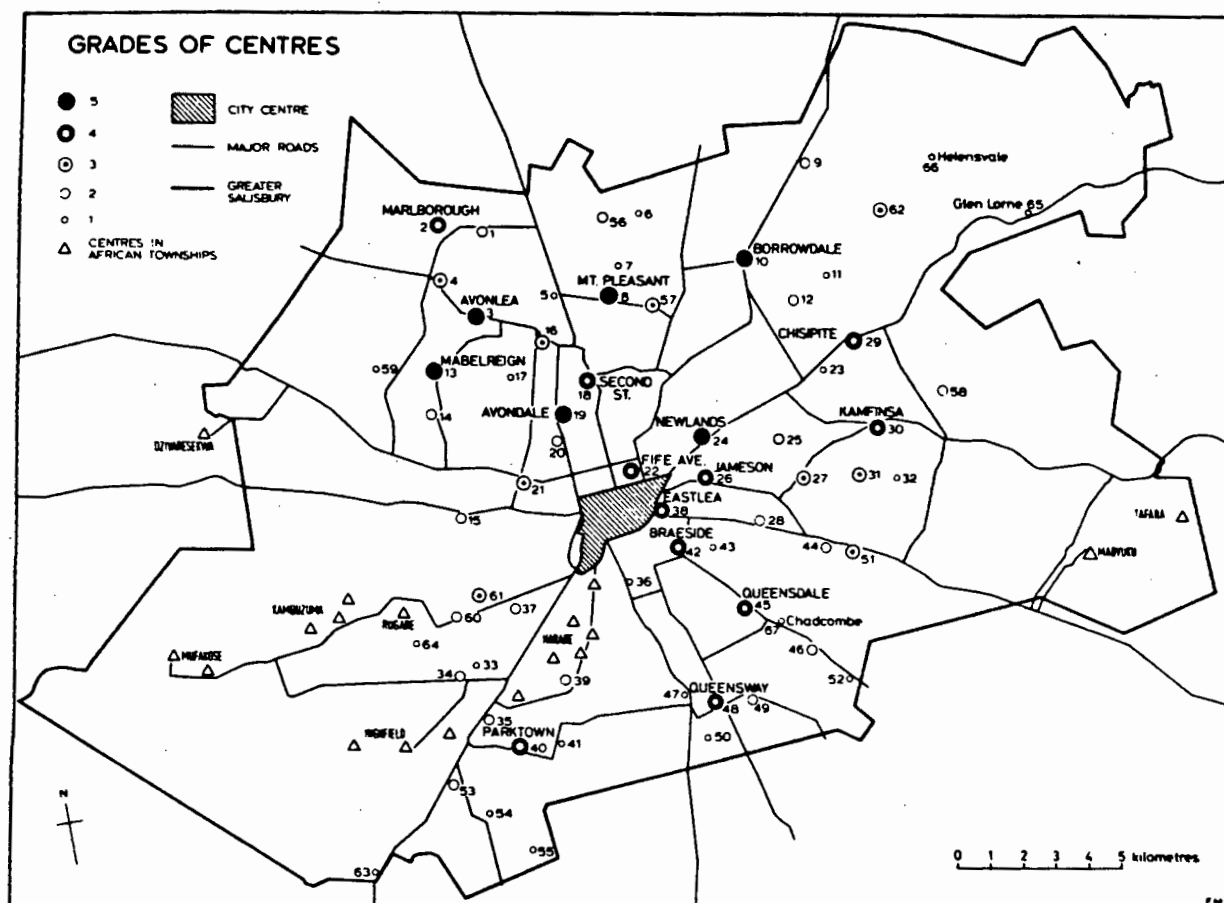
The expansion of buying power as the city's population grew, coupled with the later imposition of international economic sanctions against the minority White settler government, led to the growth and diversification of the domestic economy. Much of the growth in the urban economy was focused in Salisbury; in the case of manufacturing, for example, Salisbury contained over half the country's production enterprises (Trinder, 1977, p91).

The rapid rate of growth of the relatively affluent White population was reflected in burgeoning suburban development. Low density White residential areas sprawled rapidly taking up vacant land in the former Townland areas in a crescent extending from approximately north-west (Mabelreign and Marlborough) to north-east (Borrowdale) (Fig. 5.6). Decentralisation of the commercial activities occurred as planned shopping and business centres developed in the suburbs. The period between 1945 and 1960 saw the establishment of 44 suburban shopping centres, two thirds of all centres existing in 1978 (Fig. 5.7). The more important of these shopping centres typically contained high order speciality shops, supermarkets, legal and other professional offices, doctors and dentists rooms, bank agencies and restaurants as well as a comprehensive range of lower order retail outlets. They might also have contained such public facilities as a police station, clinic, library and municipal office. Typically these more important centres were located along, or at, the intersection of trunk roads thereby enhancing their accessibility to a dispersed but highly mobile population. Lower order, neighbourhood centres typically were located to enhance convenience for markets with lower thresholds. The White population in the suburbs was well served by a variety of retail opportunities in terms of range, quality, and location.

A quote from Kay and Smout (1977, p37) conveys something of the character of an upper income White suburb of Salisbury and may be contrasted with a later description which attempts to capture the living environment of a Black

FIG. 5.7

HIERARCHY OF SHOPPING CENTRES IN SALISBURY - 1977



Ref. No.	Centre	Ref. No.	Centre
Grade 5 centres			
24	Newlands	35	Houghton Park
19	Avondale	20	Kensington
13	Mabelreign	9	Crowhill Road
10	Borrowdale	60	Lytton Road
8	Mount Pleasant	37	Southerton Ind.
3	Avonlea	28	Clyde
Grade 4 centres			
40	Parktown	44	Msasa Road
45	Queensdale	1	Marlbrough
22	Fife Avenue	46	St. Patrick's Road
30	Kamfinsa	56	Pendennis Road
29	Chisipite	12	Ballantyne Park
18	Second St. Ext.	53	Tait Crescent
26	Jameson	58	Mandara
38	Eastlea	Grade 1 centres	
42	Braeside	6	Northwood
48	Queensway	17	Strathaven
2	Marlbrough Town	23	Lewisham
Grade 3 centres			
62	Greystone Park	5	Ashbristle
27	Rhodesville	47	Caledon
51	Beverley	54	Cheviot
16	Avondale West	11	Rolfe Valley
21	Belvedere	50	Logan Park
57	Groombridge	55	Midlands
4	Bluff Hill	36	Arcadia
31	Greendale	32	Athlone
61	Workington	59	Tynwald
Grade 2 centres			
34	Lochinvar	7	Quorn Road
15	Marimba	33	Southerton
14	Meyrick Park	41	Montgomery
25	Glen Roy	52	Park Meadowlands
39	Ardennie	63	Lyndale
49	Hatfield	43	Hillside
		64	Cedrella
		65	Glen Lorne
		66	Helensvale
		67	Chadcombe

not classified

Source: Kay and Smout (1977 p74-75)

township. Here 100 hectares of Mount Pleasant containing 157 detached houses and 12 flats in two blocks belonging to the university has been isolated:

"No property is less than 4 000m² in extent, while several stands cover larger areas. Evidence that the suburb contains some of the more affluent of Salisbury's citizens is provided by the 85 swimming pools and 23 tennis courts on private property. Houses are brick and tile with plastered and painted exteriors, and often face-brick and stone are used to provide contrasting wall textures. Chimneys attest to the cooler winter months, while iron burglar bars on opening windows provide some protection from petty thieves. Except for some older homes ..., all are single-storey structures and commonly contain two or three living rooms, three or four bedrooms, and two bathrooms. Double garages are a common feature although many persons are content with a carport in a dry climate which does not cause rapid deterioration of motor bodies. Other outbuildings may include garden sheds or swimming pool changing rooms, while near the rear of each property are the small quarters providing accommodation for two or three domestic servants. Some of the larger homes on more extensive grounds may possess stables and quarters for up to six domestic servants. In terms of ground area covered, these homes are large so that, with attendant outbuildings, paved driveways, swimming pools, and perhaps a tennis court, quite a considerable proportion of the acre plot is built over. Surrounding gardens are, however, still generous and provide an attractive colourful setting which can, unfortunately, seldom be seen from the road as brick and concrete walls and high hedges proclaim residents' desires for security and privacy".

The particular suburban tract described also contained a shopping centre and a small civic centre housing the original Town Council. Elsewhere in the suburb are found school buildings and their adjacent playing fields and a sports club with tennis courts, bowling greens and a licensed club-house.

A growing Black population also significantly influenced the functional organisation and morphology of Salisbury. Much of the influence of that population, however, was passive or indirect. Indeed it reflected the impost of White

planning for the Black population rather than inputs that arose from Black initiatives.

Although data specific to urban areas is not available the national census shows that illiteracy amongst Blacks was high (80 per cent) for the country as a whole. Whites, by contrast, had achieved a 100 per cent literacy rate. Though conditions in the city are likely to have been more favourable, Black illiteracy there is likely to have remained high.

Table 5.1 indicates the Black/White employment distribution and wage differentials in key sectors of the economy in 1968.

Table 5.1 : Employment Distribution and Wage Differentials
by Race Group in Selected Economic Sectors -
1968

ECONOMIC SECTOR	Per cent Employed		Wage Ratio	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Agriculture	40,6	4,2	1	: 12
Manufacturing	11,8	17,6	1	: 7
Finance	0,36	6,23	1	: 5
Health	1,04	3,14	1	: 4
Public Administration	3,54	11,58	1	: 8
Construction	5,12	6,64	1	: 7
Transport & Communication	2,28	10,41	1	: 5

Source: O'Callaghan, 1977, p86.

Statutory regulations prescribed where Blacks could play sport, against whom they could compete, where and what type of liquor they could drink in public, what public facilities they could enter or utilise and whether or not their families could reside with them in the city. Inevitably many of the social structures based on racial differentiation, found expression in the physical fabric of the city and in particular, in the distribution of those

things that, on aggregate, contributed toward the welfare status of the city's residents.

Strictures were imposed upon Black influx into the city under such legislation as The Africans' Identification and Registration Act of 1957, the Rhodesia Government Notice (No. 657 of 1972), and the Vagrancy Amendment Act (No. 51 of 1972). Notwithstanding such constraints, the Black population had increased rapidly from the mid 1930's (Fig. 5.5) as people, particularly men, sought to supplement meagre incomes in the rural areas by cash employment in an expanding economy⁷. Despite the vigorous efforts of Council officials to limit and control their growth, many squatter settlements became features on the urban fringe (Patel, p84). Highfield township was established and administered by Government in 1934.

The demand for land and housing to accommodate this burgeoning low income population became acute. Black urbanisation necessitated the creation of additional townships. Legal provision was made for the siting of these in proclaimed "European Areas" under the Consolidated Land Apportionment Act (No. 1 of 1941). Thereafter township developments were planned to extend as a wedge to the south and west, adjacent to the railway line on less desirable residential land. They were administered variously by government, peri-urban town councils, the Salisbury municipality and a Statutory authority (the Rhodesia Railways) before consolidation of Greater Salisbury in 1972.⁸. Between 1950 and 1978 six major townships with a

⁷ Arrighi (1973) has argued that the Black influx of job seekers into the urban areas was impelled by increasing population pressure on marginal agricultural land in the Tribal Trust Lands which led to a decline in crop production. This, combined with legislation which restricted the size of individual land allotments, resulted in large scale landlessness and a drift of the dispossessed to the town.

⁸ Prior to 1972 Salisbury municipality was responsible only for Harari, Mabvuku and Mufakose. Rugare contained tied housing and was administered by the Rhodesia Railways, a

combined area of 2 590 ha were planned within the greater Salisbury area⁹ (Fig. 5.3).

At Independence the Council's Department of Community Services administered 11 Black townships and one non-racial area (Westwood). Council also provided housing for the Coloured group in Arcadia and Ridgeview and for Asians in Ardbennie (Fig. 5.3). These groups numbered 6030 and 4350 respectively in 1972.¹⁰ While much of this housing was available for purchase, Council's policy was "to accept the role of being the main provider of housing for the Coloured and Asian community of Salisbury. The apparent reasons are two-fold: first the social objectives of providing low-cost housing for a section of the community that is generally in need of such housing; and secondly, the objective of promoting the development of separate residential communities for the various ethnic groups" (City of Salisbury, 1973, p15).

In 1973 the Black townships occupied 7.2 per cent of greater Salisbury and contained 256 000 residents as opposed to the 122 000 strong non-Black population living in the remaining 92.8 per cent of the city. A further 124 000 Blacks employed as domestic workers were estimated to be

statutory authority. Tafara was administered by the Greendale Town Management Board while rentals for housing in Mabvuku were charged to the Highlands Town Management Board. All other townships were developed and administered by Government although certain municipal services were supplied on an agency basis by the City Council.

⁹ These were Dzivaresekwa, Glen Norah, Kambuzuma, Mufakose, Glen View and Tafara. Marimba Park, occupied for home ownership by Blacks in 1961 and Rugare, a tied housing scheme for employees of the Rhodesia Railways are not included in the above calculation. Westwood is somewhat anomalous. It was originally a European residential area but became a non-racial township in terms of the Land Tenure Act. When Kambuzuma was established on its borders most Whites moved away and by 1980 its population of 715 was all Black.

¹⁰ Central Statistical Office estimate.

resident in the White area (Mazhero 1976, p2).¹¹ Table 5.2 reflects the circumstances in the major Black townships at Independence in 1980.

Table 5.2 : Gross Residential Densities in the Local Government Areas of Salisbury 1980.

TOWNSHIP	No of	REGISTERED	DU/Ha	P/Ha	OCCUPANCY		
	DWELLINGS	POPULATION AREA					
Dzivaresekwa	2 899	15 000	422	6,6	34	5,2	
Glen Norah	7 003	35 600	713		9,8	50	5,1
Mbare	6 082	40 000	465		13,1	86	6,6
Highfield	8 537	62 435	716		11,9	87	7,3
Kambuzuma	2 443	16 044	259		9,4	62	6,6
Mabvuku	5 728	35 000	629		9,1	56	6,1
Mufakose	7 500	48 900	454		17,0	108	6,5
Tafara	3 304	17 793	313		10,6	57	5,4
TOTAL	43 496	270 772	3 971		11,0	68	6,2

NOTE: DU/Ha = Dwelling Units per Hectare

P/Ha = Population per Hectare

The figures do not include singles accommodation in hostels and singles quarters.

SOURCE : United States Agency for International Development, 1981 p31.

Each township was planned according to the planning precepts and technology obtaining at the time and in conformance with the White planners' perceptions of the needs of Black inhabitants. Housing types and urban layouts reflected governmental responses to the rate and scale of urbanisation and to official policies obtaining concerning the permanency of Black occupation in nominally White urban areas. Housing quality was an index of the ability of low income families

¹¹ The numerical predominance of Blacks domiciled in the nominally White suburbs is reflected in an Index of Segregation of 0,5585 computed from 1969 census data. When computed for the entire city the extreme spatial segregation of the races is reflected in an Index of 0,8678.

to pay for what they received through the rental system. Rents and service charges in turn enabled the Local Authority to recoup capital and service costs.¹² Cost was an overriding consideration as each State township development had, by law, to be self-financing. Accordingly the range and type of housing provided was expected to accord to a rental level that individual families or single workers could afford. The mechanisms of housing delivery during the colonial period will be discussed in more detail below when the provision of public goods and services is examined in greater detail.

Smout attempted to capture something of the general ambience or 'feel' of Highfield township :

"Rows and rows of small rectangular homes produce a dreary monotony, little broken by vegetation or other colourful features. Houses consist of two or three rooms of brick or concrete block with iron or asbestos roofs. A small cooking alcove, sometimes communal in semi-detached houses, is provided. Toilets are normally free-standing structures at the rear of properties, often serving two adjacent homes. The economic status of residents is apparent not only in the stark simplicity of the small dwellings but also in the use of property surrounds where the growing of vegetables or the keeping of chickens supplements meagre family incomes. Little or no money is spent on non-essentials with regard to properties and, as the great majority of Africans in the townships do not own their own homes, many houses lack adequate upkeep. This is particularly noticeable in the older townships where some blocks of houses approach slum conditions. The general aspect of residential stands in the townships is thus unattractive. Buildings are often unpainted or in need of repainting. The ever-present red dust from the mostly unpaved streets and sidewalks coats the exterior surfaces and adds to their drabness. A few houses, however, possess clean and well kept exteriors and stand in very neat surrounds offering a marked contrast with adjacent properties". (Kay and Smout, p39).

¹² The system of Township financing and limited cross subsidisation from the White sector will be discussed fully in a latter chapter.

Planned shopping centres conceived and distributed as functional hierarchies but with a limited range of functions existed in all townships. For instance in 1969 Harari, with approximately 7 000 households, possessed one major commercial centre which contained 21 service and retail functions, 7 neighbourhood centres containing on average 8 different functions and isolated single function outlets (ibid. p82). These centres provided such low order functions as butchers, food shops, general dealers and the retailing of clothes, bicycles, shoes and second hand goods.

Typically, services would include hairdressers, photographers, dry cleaners and repair of watches, shoes and radios. The Council provided premises on a freehold basis, on 99-year long-lease or monthly tenure. It also provided covered stalls in planned markets. The range and type of commercial undertakings in the townships in 1974 is detailed in Table 5.3.

It should not be inferred however that because of their common designation as "shopping centres" the system of retail outlets in the White and Black areas of the city was comparable. Centres differed markedly in the respective areas in terms of scale, facilities, aesthetics, design, building quality, upkeep, social utilisation, and range and type of goods offered. In short, their general character as shopping precincts differed greatly.

Table 5.3 : Commercial Undertakings by Township - 1974

	D z i v a r e s e k w a	G l e n N o r a h	H a r i i e l d	H i g h f i e l d	K a m b u z u m a	M a b v u k u	M u f a k o s e	S t . M a r y s	T a f a r a	T o t a l
Butcher	2	2	7	29	4	3	5	4	2	58
General Dealer	4	1	25	65	9	6	7	8	5	130
Bottle Store/ Off Sales	1	1	5	2	2	1	2	1	1	16
Photographer/ Hairdresser	1		4	5	3		2		1	16
Dairy Retail	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
Snack Bar/Cafe	2		4	5	1		3	2	1	18
Shoe Repairs	2	1	4	3	2	1	1		1	15
Cycle Repairs	1	1		1	2					5
Tailor	1		1	6	1		2			11
Carpenter	1	1		2	2	2	1			9
Coal/Wood Vendor	4	1	28	10	1	4	4	12	1	65
Dry Cleaners	1	1	2	8	1	1	2		1	17
Plumber		1								1
Supermarket		1	1	1		1				4
Petrol Station		1	2	5	1	1	1			11
Stationers			1							1
Chemist			1	1						2
Restuarant			3	1						4
Hotels				1	1					2
Fish & Chips			1	7	2	1	2			13
Radio Repairs				3						3
Surgeries				4			2			6
Markets	1	2	2	5	3	1	2		1	17

Source: Director of African Administration, Annual Report 1973/74. Salisbury City Council p 9.

The weakly developed township shopping system meant that a substantial proportion of Black shopping was undertaken in the Central Business District (CBD) and, in the case of domestic servants, in the suburban shopping centres. Large bulk, high turnover outlets offering relatively lower prices such as supermarkets and some department stores were particularly well patronised. So too, were lower order

shops, frequently owned by Indians. These shops congregated in the older, cheaper land-value precinct in the south-western quadrant of the CBD and in streets abutting the railway station served to intercept Black customers commuting to the CBD.

Another related feature of the organisation of the Black townships was the existence of, and limited Council provision for, open-air retailing. Such trading was expected to be conducted by licensed vendors operating from prescribed sites. A large proportion of vendors, however, operated illegally. Because of resistance to these operators by Black businessmen on grounds of competition together with public health and nuisance concerns of municipal officials, these unlicensed traders were subject to stringent police control. As a result their locations were invariably impermanent.¹³ Important bus stops were their most common focus of concentration. However, some open air markets which grew spontaneously were afforded official status by the authorities who charged a license fee and site rent to traders.

In similar manner petty commodity producers and service traders could be found in approved council premises (e.g. the wholesalers, the chicken coop, sugar cane drums and second hand clothes lockers). Others operated on a more temporary basis upon vacant land and in the back yards of houses. Historically informal sector¹⁴ activity elicited

¹³ A sub-category of this group who, by the nature of their operations did not materially affect the morphology of the township, were itinerant hawkers, both legal and illegal.

¹⁴ Informal activity is that part of the economic system of production, consumption and exchange that is not subject to formal regulation. Frequently it operates in a complementary, or symbiotic, relationship with the formal economy and is characterised by *inter alia* unrecorded remuneration, low technology and a high incidence of entry and exit. Increasingly it is being recognised that informal sector activity provides work opportunities for poorly educated, unskilled and potentially unemployed people and can provide a valuable service to those living

different responses from local authority officials. Much depended on pragmatic economic and political considerations at any given time, changing social relations and evolving concepts concerning the development of the low income sector in Third World cities (Davies, 1978).

It is not, however, the present purpose to attempt to trace such changes in theory and praxis. Suffice it here to observe that commercial and industrial activity, both formal and informal, were dynamic elements in the functional organisation and physical fabric of the Black townships and that the City Council was a crucial agent of control determining the nature of their operational milieu.

5.2 THE PROVISION OF GOODS AND SERVICES BY THE CITY COUNCIL

In terms of Schedule 2 of the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 214 of 1973) the City Council was empowered to provide a wide range of services and infrastructure to ensure the efficient functioning of the urban system (Appendix 1). However, given the particular urban environment that had evolved within the settler colonial political-economy, both the nature and distribution of Council activities were not uniform across the city.

The low employment status and constrained economic and social mobility of Blacks resulted in marked Black/White income differentials (Table 5.1). The privileged position and high incomes that Whites commanded were reflected in the type of houses and services available to them in the proclaimed White areas of the city. These were factors that considerably enhanced the quality-of-life of the settler colonists. Conversely the Black areas were products of relative poverty being unable to attain the necessary thresholds to support an extensive high quality provision of private goods and services.

at the economic margins of society (see Bromley and Gerry 1979; Santos, 1979; Mabogunje, 1980) Santos' identification of the two sectors of the urban economy is appended (Appendix 2).

Herein lay the essential difference between the two groups : As a function of their higher incomes Whites were able to support a wide range of urban amenities and facilities. More importantly, while benefiting from the municipal supply and maintenance of such physical infrastructure as electricity, water-borne sewerage, water reticulation, street lighting, tarred roads, curbs and pavements, stormwater drainage, and traffic signs and signals, they were able to substitute private sector supply for public social services. In this way they greatly increased the range and quality of goods and services available to themselves. Blacks were excluded from consumption of many private and public goods and services either by virtue of their inability to pay or because of statutory restrictions. Conversely, Blacks were largely restricted to public authority provision of more basic goods and services.

The amount and nature of public goods and services provided for Blacks was largely predicated upon the ability of individual townships to fund them and upon the opinions of White Council officials as to need and desirability. Public authority practice concerning the mechanisms for the delivery of goods and services is addressed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Suffice it here to review significant differences in City Council activities and outputs *vis-a-vis* the White and Black areas in Salisbury. The intention, it will be recalled, is to provide an awareness of the different life experiences of the city's inhabitants particularly insofar as they were influenced by the activities of the municipality in the colonial phase of the city's history. The review also serves to facilitate later analysis of the Council's financial records and as basis for measuring post-independence change in the provision of municipal goods and services.

Twenty determinants, considered fundamental to the functioning of the urban system and to citizen welfare, were isolated in 1973 by planning consultants to the city (Table 5.4) Their objective was to rationalise information-

gathering prior to design of a structure plan and the specification of development strategies for the future growth of the city. They described these determinants as being "specific functional factors that satisfy concrete or abstract needs in the urban situation" (City of Salisbury, 1973 pl).

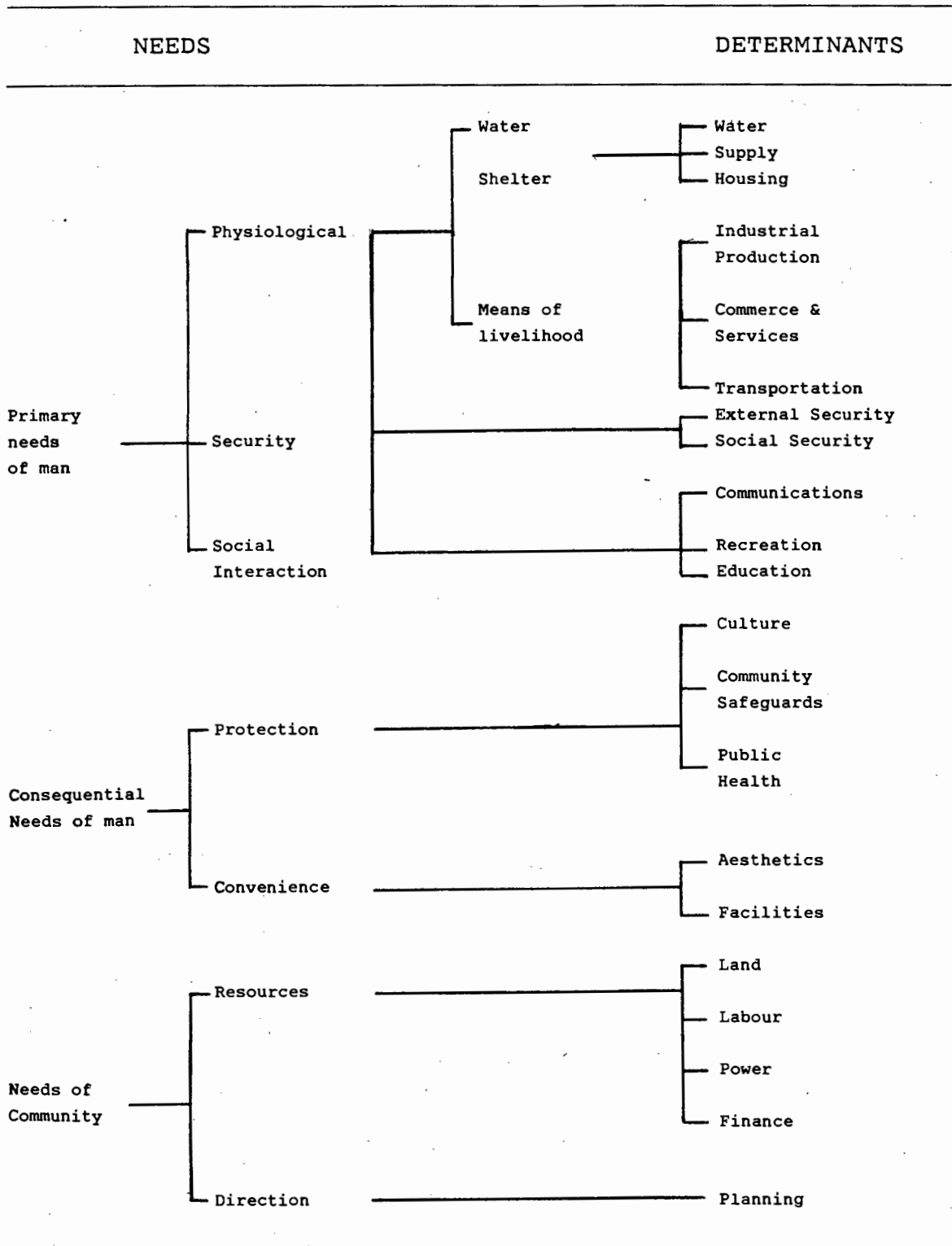
As elements of a conceptual model the determinants serve a number of functions, identified by Chorley and Haggett (1969, p24) as,

1. An acquisitive function "wherein information may be defined collected and ordered."
2. A logical function in that it "helps to explain how a particular phenomenon (here local authority activity) comes about."
3. A psychological function in that it "enables some group of phenomena to be visualised and comprehended."
4. A constructional function in that it forms a stepping stone to further theory development and analysis.

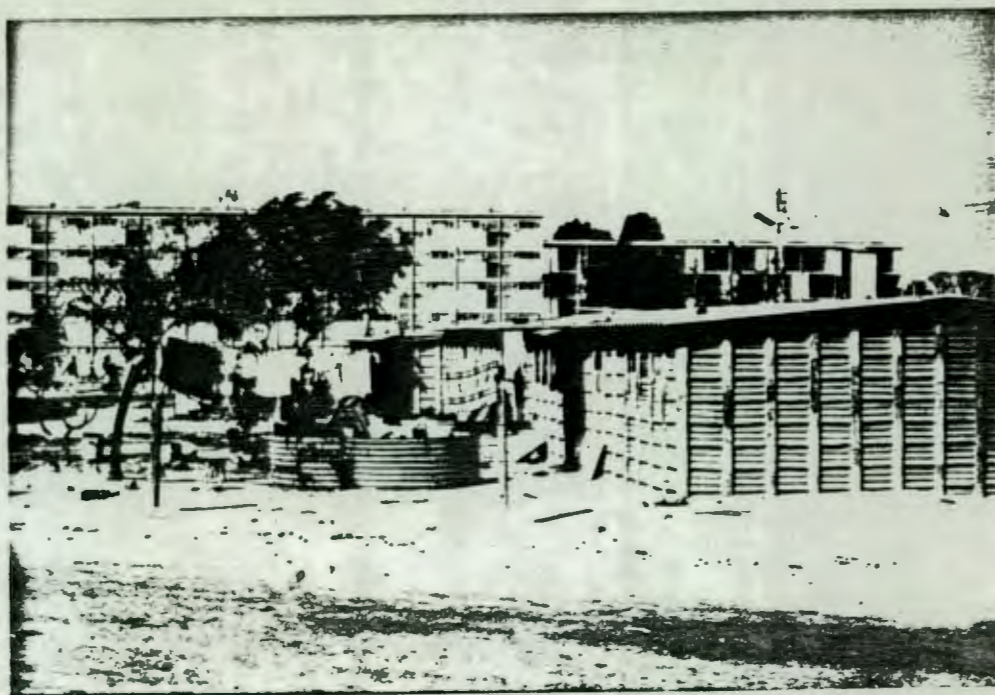
Considered differently, the determinants implicitly (but logically) help to identify, and organise for later analysis those facets of local authority practice that are germane to the present study. The rationale for the selection of parameters of change in Salisbury/Harare is discussed later in the section on research methodology.

Since responsibility for some of the determinants attaches to central government and because others are not considered as significant as parameters of change in local government finance (e.g. aesthetics, industrial and commercial activity, external security), the determinants are not dealt with item-by-item as they appear in the Table 5.4. On occasion some are conflated for convenience. While each, in its own right, could be the focus of penetrating locational and functional analysis, the purpose here is to use them as a vehicle for discussion of the nature and distribution of local authority outputs in the city at the end of the colonial period.

Table 5.4 Hierarchy of Urban Determinants

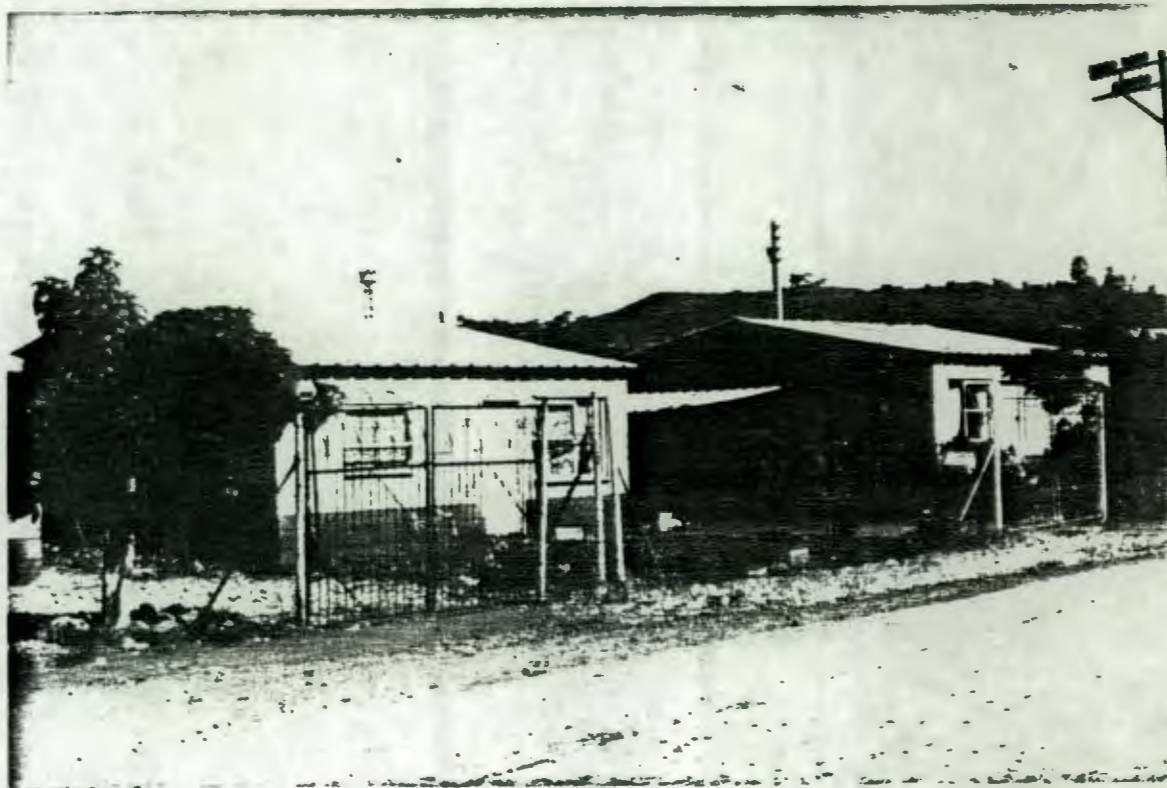


Source : City of Salisbury, 1973. Urban Plan: Situation Report of the Corporate Development Group, Part 1. Salisbury.



An example of ultra low cost housing with single men's hostels in the background.

Plate 5.2



An example of Rhodesian government- built 'standard' houses.

5.2.1 Water Supply

The entire city is served by three water purification and treatment works (viz. Morton Jaffray Works, Prince Edward Works, Cleveland Works) which draw water from four dams (viz. Lake McIlwaine, Cleveland dam, Prince Edward dam and Henry Hallam dam). The reticulation system covered the entire city with the exception of some properties in the peri-urban (Unitax) areas and in the Epworth squatter area east of the city where boreholes and wells were relied upon. Ninety per cent of households in the Black residential areas were served by water connections although, in the case of many of the older houses, these were located outside of dwellings. Single quarter hostels utilised communal water points (Hoek-Smit, 1982, p11).

Domestic consumption as a percentage of total water consumption differed greatly between the Black and White areas however. Although Whites constituted only 25,7 per cent of the City's population (1969 census), White residents consumed 43,8 per cent of the total water supply compared with 18,2 per cent by Black residents in 1972 (City of Salisbury, 1973, p7).

5.2.2 Housing

The public good that impacts most immediately upon the life experience of many of the city's residents, particularly the less advantaged, and yet one which displays the greatest differences with respect to delivery, is housing. While the provision of housing for Whites was never regarded as a responsibility of the public authorities, they were, for a considerable period the main official source of shelter for the low income Black population.

The history of the establishment and administration of separate Black townships has been described earlier. Many were established before the incorporation of Greater Salisbury in 1971 (viz. Harari, Highfield, Mufakose, Mabvuku, Tafara, Dzivaresekwa and Kambuzuma). The townships contained either Government or City Council - constructed

rental 'standard' housing (Plate 5.2), ultra low cost housing, or hostels for single workers. Standard houses were brick built, detached or semi-detached single-story dwellings consisting of a living/dining room, an internal or external-combined flush toilet, a shower, kitchen¹⁵ or partially sheltered cooking area, and one to three bedrooms.

'Ultra low cost' housing (Plate 5.1) constituted an attempt to provide structurally sound cost effective housing for those at the lower end of the income scale. Houses were constructed of standard cement reinforced with chicken-wire mesh or cement blocks with asbestos roofs and rammed earth floors. They generally comprised two rooms, washing and cooking facilities and an outside (often shared) toilet. Only the government Housing Development Services Branch (under the Ministry of Local Government and Housing) produced these units.

A unique feature of township life was the hostels (Plate 5.1). In 1971, 48 of these housed 20 000 men in single quarters. In the main, these constituted temporary migrants from the rural areas who remitted part of their wages in order to supplement rural household incomes. "Although they are physically involved in urban life, spiritually and socially they live in the reserves. They tend to be conservative, living and working and forming football clubs and burial societies with other from their home village or district. This also applies to leisure-time activities where they hold to traditional ways of singing and dancing. Association football is perhaps the only activity of Western tradition which has been solely accepted both from a participation and spectator point-of-view" (City of Salisbury, 1969/70 p14). The hostels were later recognised to produce various social pathologies and their provision was discontinued.

¹⁵ At Independence 40 per cent of all households had exclusive use of a kitchen while another 40 per cent, especially lodgers cooked in their living room (Hoek-Smit, 1982, p11).

Over time, in response to changing local circumstances, and increased knowledge concerning the problem of low-cost housing, derived both from accumulated local and international experience, planning strategies were modified. City Council policy had always been to provide low income housing on a fully cost-recoverable basis through the charging of rentals. The rapid rate of in-migration of low income people, (Table 5.5) however, meant that standard houses could not be afforded by many of the population¹⁶.

Table 5.5 Salisbury: Population Increase by Race Group
1964 - 1975

GROUP	POPULATION ('000'S)			GROWTH RATES % PA	
	1964 ¹	1969 ²	1975 ³	1964-69	1969-75
White, Coloured, Asian	94	106	139	2,4	4,6
Black	220	280	430	4,9	7,4
Total	314	386	569	4,2	6,7

¹, ² and ³ Central Statistical Office estimates
1969 National Census

Source (Hume, 1976).

Nor could supply match demand. The situation was exacerbated after 1963 by the reluctance of the central government to permit the further alienation of land, located

¹⁶ "Figures based on the recent Ministry of Local Government and Housing Five Year Construction Plan show that in 1978 15 per cent of the wage earners in Salisbury could not afford an "ultra low cost" housing solution; ... and only 15 percent could afford a "standard" 2-3 bedroom house." (USAID, 1980 pl12) Thus, were government and municipal planning, design, and costing adhered to, a "standard" housing solution could only be aimed at those above the 85th percentile in the formal wage sector of the economy. The USAID report goes on to observe that, "Nationally, in 1978, Blacks employed in the formal sector of the economy represented only 13,2 per cent of the total Black wage sector population. It is likely that a large percentage of urban households are not considered in the housing demand figures because they are dependent for their income on the informal sector of the economy".

in proclaimed White urban areas, for Black occupation. Concomitantly, government had recognised that, "intensive and rapid development of the Tribal Trust Lands, coupled with more attractive conditions for agricultural employees in European farming areas, are pre-requisites to the success of any measures to control the influx of Africans to major centres in the Country" (Rhodesia Herald, 1972). Later strictures placed upon money and manpower resources by the escalating civil war further curtailed the construction of housing. Significant consequences were high levels of house occupancy and squatting. Many houses contained lodgers, often illegally. They served to supplement rent income and frequently reflected the discharge of culturally derived obligations to kin.

Attempts were constantly made to prevent the construction of shanty settlements, the major instruments brought to bear being the Land Tenure Act of 1969, the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1951 and City Council health regulations. In combination, these proscribed the erection of dwellings on land not designated "African" or elsewhere by people who were not formally employed. It also would not permit construction of shanties under conditions that could, in any way, be adjudged to be a potential health hazard or not in conformance with existing health regulations. Unplanned squatter settlements had access to few, if any, public facilities.

An amendment to the African Registration and Identification Act in 1972 made it possible for foreign Africans to be repatriated to their country of origin. The Vagrancy Amendment Act (No. 51 of 1972) provided for the removal of indigents from urban areas and effectively forced Blacks to seek jobs on farms and in the Tribal Trust Lands.

The bush¹⁷ war served to displace large numbers of rural families who sought the relative security of the city as refugees. In response the Council made special provision for temporary accommodation in "Transit Areas". These planned areas provided for plots upon which the occupier could build whatever structure he chose, communal toilets and water supply, and tower lighting. It was intended that the transit areas would provide the opportunity for occupants to settle and eventually to accumulate sufficient funds to build permanent structures. Eventually it was suggested, the areas would be redeveloped for conventional housing.

Tentative recognition of the increasing number of families requiring accommodation and of the emergence of a Black middle class, coupled with policies directed towards greater political accommodation, led as early as 1953 to the official acceptance of the principle of limited home-ownership for Blacks. In consequence the prestigious, high income suburb of Marimba Park was established and first settled in 1961. Also as a response to political pressures a non-racial township was proclaimed at Westwood in terms of the Land Tenure Act. Once established, the principle of home ownership was gradually applied more widely in conjunction with policies designed to increase the rate of supply and affordability of housing. Kambuzuma (established in 1963) was the first home ownership core-housing scheme undertaken by Council. 'Core-housing' involved public construction of a 'wet core' (sewerage and ablution facilities and a stand-pipe) and two rooms which could be incorporated into a larger house as, and when, the occupant could afford extensions. Limited land was also made available for freehold tenure in Harari, Highfield, and Glen Norah. The first freehold tenure 'site-and-service' housing development was initiated in Glen View in 1978. The scheme is described in some detail because it represents both the

¹⁷ The civil war was fought almost entirely beyond the urban areas in the tropical African bushveld; hence the vernacular name for the conflict.

culmination of policy changes adopted by the White settler colonial government with respect to the provision of housing for lower income Blacks, and the point of departure for the new Black local authority. The description also identifies the extent of resident participation in the housing process and an indication of the quality of shelter produced.

Glen View was designed as a 'poor man's housing scheme' and was a radical departure from the rigid, relatively high standards encapsulated in model building by-laws and the earlier government architectural blueprints for low income housing. It involved Council provision of 200 sq meter plots¹⁸ with a toilet-cum-shower and a water standpipe. Stands were sold to persons earning between Z\$40-150 per month (nominal values). Purchasers, who had to be heads of families, were eligible for Council loans in the form of building materials to a value up to Z\$200.¹⁹ An owner was expected to have constructed a house with a minimum plinth area of 36 square meters within 10 years. Freehold was granted once an approved permanent house was completed and the purchase price fully redeemed.

While owners could submit any building plan of their choice for approval, Council in addition made available a choice of 12 different house designs. A feature of these plans was flexibility for possible future extensions. Residents moved on site immediately and lived in temporary shelters while construction was in progress. Previous building standards were relaxed in that second-hand materials, sundried bricks and gumpole roofing timbers could be used and, subject to satisfying inspection, homeowners could undertake their own construction. Most, however, commissioned local Black contractors who could complete a seven-room house in one

¹⁸ A relatively small number (271) 400 square meter stands were also provided.

¹⁹ After 1981, Z\$1000 cash loans were made available. Moreover a sample survey of homeowners in 1981 revealed that 77 per cent obtained further financial assistance from employers (Report of Director of Community Services to Town Clerk 20 July 1981. Unpublished).

month charging only Z\$800 labour costs. The Council encouraged private enterprise to supply building materials cheaply through bulk buying facilities and by providing depots in the township. In addition, the Council maintained an advice office and centralised administrative centre from which facilities for purchase agreements, loans, plan approval payment of charges, building inspections and building advice were available.

As a measure of the success of this site-and-service policy, when applications for an initial 7338 stands were invited, the Council received 17 500 replies and within three and one half years of inception 2973 houses with an average seven rooms had been completed. At that rate all housing in the township would have been completed within six and one half years (City of Harare, 1983). "Building standards by homeowners are generally high. The average completed house contained seven rooms and covered an area of 74m². Homeowners preferred to build with conventional brick and very few used concrete blocks or hollow clay blocks which are slightly cheaper. It is fair to say that the average self-built house in Glen View is larger and better constructed than most low cost housing built by housing authorities in Zimbabwe" (ibid. p3).

In 1975 the Ministry of Local Government and Housing sponsored a competition for private developers to design a variety of houses on 400 square meter plots. These designs were used in infill schemes in three separate areas of Highfield, one of which was a home-ownership duplex housing scheme built by Council.

The history of public authority housing delivery in Harare reflects the combination of a number of interacting and interdependent factors. These include,

1. a pragmatic response to rapidly increasing rates of population growth and urbanisation;
2. Black socialisation, and consequent changing aspirations and expectations, resulting from the urbanisation process;

3. a widening income distribution among Blacks;
4. an increasingly variable demand structure for housing types and urban amenities;
5. changing responses to political circumstances and inter-group social relations (in particular attempts to accommodate Black demands for participation in decision-making);
6. rising costs of housing construction and physical infrastructure;
7. the involvement, knowledge and experience of innovative officials many of whom were highly efficient and committed to their responsibilities.

As a result, quality of housing and level of service provision were generally high when compared with many countries in the developing world. Nevertheless, the rate of provision of housing fell far behind effective demand. In that respect, a World Bank memorandum (1980, p3) observed that,

"Prior to independence, despite limited resources allocated to the townships, standards of construction and infrastructure remained fairly high. The standards required and the low funding available, seriously constrained production resulting in less than 40 per cent of annual demand for services and facilities being met. Given prior controls over movement to the cities from the rural areas, and over squatting in the cities, any shortfall in the provision of services in the townships has led to households sharing facilities and doubling up as necessary. Consequently although high standards were officially being maintained, they bore little similarity to what was happening in reality. Major adjustments in attitudes and expectations are therefore indicated, and these may not be easy even for the new rulers".

Emphasising the magnitude of the housing backlog on a national scale, the World Bank (ibid. p5) predicted that between 1980 and 1985 more than the entire low cost housing stock produced prior to independence would have to be built

(viz. 175 000 dwelling units as against 165 000 produced before 1980).²⁰

Figure 5.8 provides a summary of the housing delivery process under colonial administration. At independence the bulk of housing stock in the Black townships was in public tenure owned by the local authorities. Tied housing owned by private sector institutions comprised a sub-category of rented accommodation for both families and single workers. The principle of limited freehold tenure was a relatively recent innovation (1953). Shelter made available for leasehold or freehold tenure included formerly rented Council-houses, aided self-help core houses, site-and-service schemes, and Council houses built specifically for purchase. The delivery of all these types depended in one way or another upon the participation of the local authority. There also existed a small proportion of homes constructed within the formal, private housing market. In the White areas, housing was provided predominantly through the private capitalist housing market and sub-markets. This included privately owned 'family' and bachelor flats for rent.

5.2.3 Industrial Production, Commerce and Services

The existence of zoned industrial and commercial areas within the formal capitalist economy of Salisbury has already been alluded to. Large numbers of Blacks derived their livelihood from employment in these sectors and most of the jobs were located in the designated White areas of the city. Council involvement with such private sector activity was limited to zoning suitable land, the provision and maintenance of physical infrastructure, and the specification and enforcement of certain performance standards.

²⁰ This projection did not include the backlog of 40 000 qualified applicants already on local authority waiting list or in-migrants neither possessing a job nor owning a home.

SALISBURY: OUTLINES OF THE COLONIAL (UDI) HOUSING SYSTEM

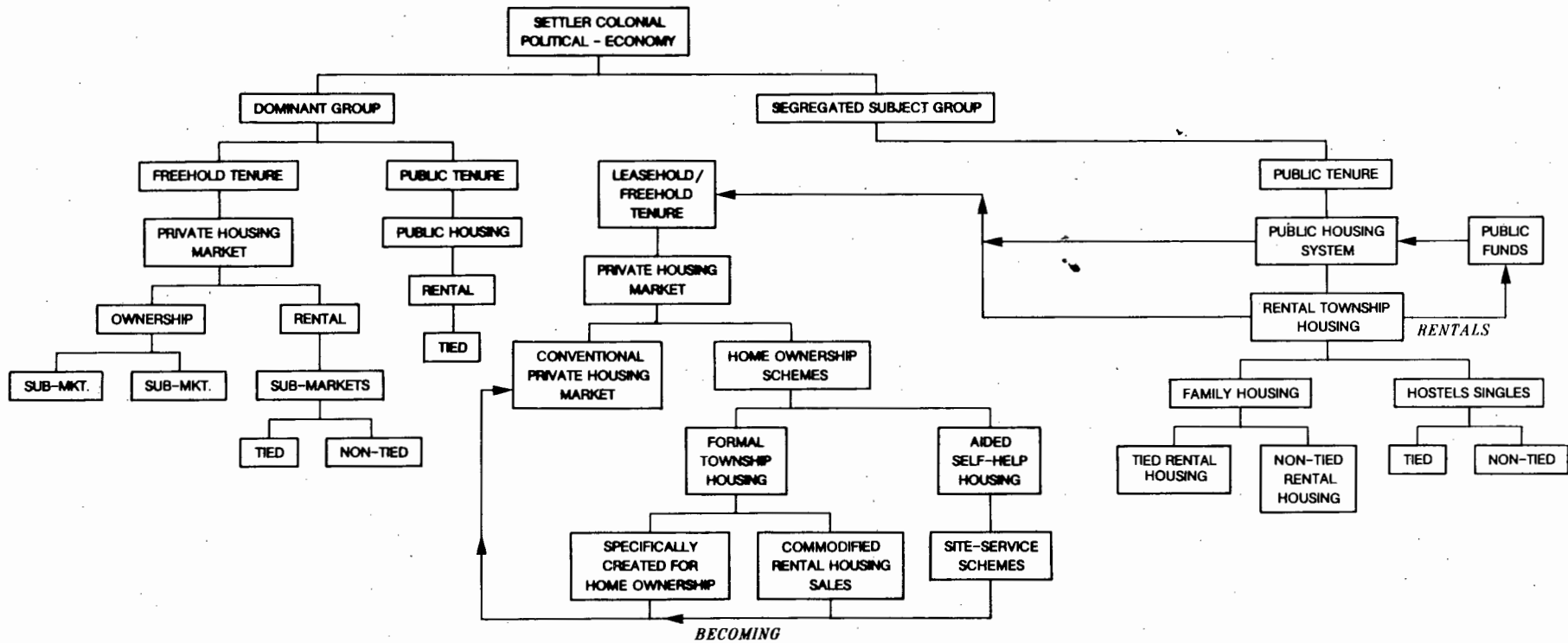


FIG. 5.8

In the Black townships the Council's activities extended to the provision of shops, covered market stalls and premises for petty commodity producers and small-scale service trades. In this respect the Council's activities were more overtly promotive of small business. Many of these facilities were rented by the municipality thereby providing a source of revenue. Nevertheless many informal sector 'backyard operators' flourished in the residential areas and were indulged, if not condoned. The Council also sought to contain and control the incidence of hawking and vending by issuing permits and licences for such activities, and, by prescribing, through regulations and by-laws, the precise manner in which they could be pursued. Hawking and vending in the White areas of the city were particularly stringently controlled. In short, the White authorities sought to create planned, formally developed and 'properly' managed urban environments which were particularly Western-ethnocentric in conception. The extent to which realities fell short of the desired standards was a measure both of the authorities' expedient acceptance of the economic survival imperatives of a culturally different, disadvantaged, low-income group where flexible alternative economic and living strategies had to be adopted and of their own inability to exert the necessary controls to prevent such responses.

5.2.4 Transportation

Public transportation was never the direct responsibility of the City Council, its role being confined to that of a facilitator of mass movement. In that respect it planned, constructed and maintained public roads, provided street signs and signals, stormwater drainage, street lighting, public parking, and bus stops and termini. Revenue derived from commercial and private motor vehicle, motorcycle, and bicycle licences accrued to the Council revenue account to offset the costs of these transport-related functions.

As a result of its low residential densities, areal extent, and distinct land-use differentiation, Salisbury was ill-

suited to cost-efficient mass-transportation. Among the more affluent White population car ownership was the norm. Multi-car households were a common occurrence. In 1978 a survey revealed that the White areas possessed 89 per cent of all registered vehicles as against 11 per cent in the Black townships (SIDA, 1984).²¹ While vehicular movement between the White areas and the central business district comprised approximately 75 per cent car traffic, cars accounted for approximately 28 per cent of movement from the Black townships. Hardwick (1977 p99-100) observed however that,

"on the other hand, the higher population density of the Townships provides a transport market suitable for movement by public services. As a result, the composition of journey-to-work traffic flows between employment locations and African and European suburbs are quite different. The former contains a considerably greater proportion of bus and cycle movements and consequently a lower proportion of private cars. In terms of passenger movements these differences are much more significant. In the case of Highfield, approximately 9 000 and 3 300 travelled by mechanical means of transport to work in the CBD and industrial sites respectively during the morning peak period in January 1971. Of this passenger flow 73 per cent travelled by bus, 14 per cent by private car, taxi and commercial vehicle and 13 per cent by cycle and motor cycle".

Bus transport was monopolised by a single private company (Salisbury United Bus Company). Levels of service, quality and efficiency were low as a result of attempts by the company to minimise costs per passenger kilometer. Bus frequencies did not match demand, particularly during rush hour, overcrowding was common, the route network was inadequate and the condition of vehicles in terms of comfort, often deficient. As a result an alternative 'pirate taxi' system was operated illegally by individuals with private vehicles in the townships. Hardwick (ibid. p101) recognised the apparent demand for such services, as

²¹ This figure includes cars, motor cycles, communal vehicles, and bicycles. It is possibly somewhat misleading in that a large proportion of bicycles were never registered.

expressed by the high rate of their use and conceded that "they did provide a valuable and perhaps necessary service in the face of inadequate bus services". Nevertheless he considered that, "apart from the question of legality, the overcrowding of these vehicles and frequent poor state of repair make private taxiing an undesirable activity" (ibid. p101). He concluded a review of Black transportation in Salisbury in the mid-1970's by observing that "despite the extent and severity of problems facing Blacks in their journey to work they have, in the past, received little attention from government or municipal authorities" who "illustrate a lack of real understanding of the problems and an unwillingness to finance real improvements from public funds".

Conversely considerable attention was devoted by municipal officials to the problems of traffic flow and vehicle parking in the Central Business District. An extensive system of metered bays was installed to increase vehicle turnover and the incidence of short-term parking. Council policy was directed also at the construction of multi-storey parking garages and the administration of open parking lots. All of these constituted sources of municipal income.

Inequality between Black and White areas in the provision of transport-related facilities by the municipality is revealed in Tables 5.6 and 5.7. Both the extent of street lighting and of tarred roads in an area are important determinants of the overall quality of the urban environment in that they contribute to the relative levels of comfort, convenience, security, amenity and general welfare of the inhabitants.

Table 5.6 Roads Tarred as Percentage of Total Road Surface by Area 1974 - 1979.

AREA	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
White	87,8	93,5	94,1	95,6	96,7	97,1
Black	34,1	34,9	36,4	38,7	38,7	46,6

Source : Annual Reports of City Engineer

Roads not tarred comprised gravelled and compacted earth surfaces ('dirt roads') which deteriorated rapidly when subjected to the heavy thunderstorms of summer. Unequal provision aside, the table also reveals a more consistent rate of improvement in the White areas, a result of an on-going programme of surfacing particularly in the peri-urban unitax areas (Borrowdale). Moreover the percentage increases in the Black areas were calculated on a much smaller base. Low residential densities in the White area zoned "single residential", demanded a considerably greater length of road construction.²² Hence in Tafara between 1977 and 1979, an increase in tarred road surface of 18,1 per cent constituted 4,9 kms of road surface whereas a 10,6 per cent in Borrowdale (between 1974-1979) constituted 14 km of road.

In absolute terms approximately 77 per cent of all electrical power consumed for street lighting was directed to the White areas (including the CBD and industrial areas). This apparent inequality, however, masks the difference in gross residential densities between the two areas. Calculated as electricity consumption per kilometer of road surface, the Black areas would appear to be marginally better served than the White areas. This is because street lighting in the White areas is delivered to the peri-urban

²² Gross residential densities in the Black areas average 12000 persons per km². In the White areas densities ranged between 120 persons per km² (Glen Lorne) to 1 700 persons per km² (Mabelreign). The area predominantly occupied by flats in Avondale reached 2 500 persons per km² (City of Salisbury, 1977 p 82).

unitax areas where street lights are very sparsely distributed while the road system is extensive.

Table 5.7 Units of Street Lighting Consumed in Salisbury by Area 1975-1979

Year	WHITE AREAS		BLACK AREAS	
	% Total Consumption (KWH)	KWH per Km Road Surface	% Total Consumption (KWH)	KWH per Km Road Surface
1975	77	4333	23	6153
1976	79	4726	21	5442
1977	76	5104	24	6756
1978	75	5022	25	7102
1979	77	6001	23	6565

Source : Annual Reports of City Electrical Engineer

Differences in residential densities are again revealed when electricity consumption for street-lighting is calculated per dwelling unit. At independence in 1980, consumption per dwelling unit in the White areas was 354 KWH compared with 51 KWH per dwelling unit in the Black Areas.²³.

The White areas were extensively served with pavements, curbs, stormwater drainage (Table 5.8) and tarred cycle tracks for children travelling to school.

²³ "Dwelling Units" here include houses and flats (Source: City Valuation rolls for White areas; Departmental memo, Department of Community Services for Black areas).

Table 5.8 Stormwater Drainage Laid by Area 1974-1979
(metres)

YEAR	WHITE AREA	BLACK AREA
1974	14 208	1 000
1975	16 049	2 588
1976	12 433	737
1977	10 148	1 321
1978	7 058	219
1979	10 424	583
TOTAL	70 320	6 448

Although little quantitative data is available for comparison, these amenities were generally deficient or entirely absent in the Black areas.

5.2.5 Social Security, Welfare and Recreation

Towards the end of the settler colonial period in Salisbury a comprehensive range of social services and facilities was available, "operated with varying degrees of skill and purpose by Central Government, the Local Authority, charitable/voluntary organisations, and private organisations (City of Salisbury, 1973 p42). Religious, educational, cultural and social welfare organisations operated extensively in both the Black and White areas of the city, usually in terms of enabling legislation and assisted by Council grants-in-aid.²⁴

²⁴ These were distributed by Council on the advice of a Welfare panel comprising the City Medical Officer of Health, the Director of African Administration, and the Treasurer.

Major recipients from the Municipal Rates Account²⁵ included the St Giles Medical Rehabilitation Centre, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Queen Victoria Memorial Library, the Queen Victoria Museum, the National Gallery of Rhodesia, the University of Rhodesia, the Salisbury Municipal Orchestra, the Rhodesia National Council for the Aged and the Rhodesian Agricultural and Horticultural Organisation. In 1978 there were a total 40 beneficiaries from the Rates Account. Many of these had long operated on a non-discriminatory or multi-racial basis. They were nevertheless, institutions that had been generated from the White cultural base of the society and were derivative mainly of White cultural demand.

The African Affairs Welfare Account²⁶ was debited with expenditure to 36 organisations operating exclusively for the benefit of Blacks in the townships. These ranged across infant day-care centres, Boy Scout associations, Women's Clubs, the Council for Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, craft centres and the Salvation Army.

Although other organisations listed as aid beneficiaries in the Rates Account were non-discriminatory, the fact that, in total they received Z\$218 896 in 1978 against Z\$44 668 listed against those organisations in the African Welfare Account, does point towards a relative bias towards the White sector in practice.

²⁵ The City Treasurer's financial organisation included a Rates Account, a major source of income for which was an assessment rate tax levied on land and improvements in the proclaimed White areas of the City (residential, commercial and industrial). Expenditures from the account were directed almost exclusively to these areas with minimal cross subsidisation to the Black areas. This account and others will be analysed in detail in a later chapter.

²⁶ Another municipal account which, as its name implies, reflected income and expenditure in Black townships. It was administered by the Councils Department of African Affairs and will also be discussed in detail later.

In the Black townships the Council was directly responsible for the provision and operation of community centres, halls, libraries, parks, sports stadia, a cinema service, child play centres and feeding schemes and swimming pools. With its terms of reference encompassing a wide and varied range of activities, the impact of the Department of African Affairs upon the daily lives of all the residents was considerable. In his annual report (City of Salisbury, 1976 p7) the Director was moved to reflect that,

"It has become customary to describe the functions of the Social Services Section as the provision and Administration of social amenities in Council's African Townships and the stimulation and interest and participation in the social, cultural, sporting and recreational spheres.

Although this covers practically everything, mere words could never fully impart the true picture and scope of the work which is done because it deals with all their troubles, fears, prejudices, hopes and ambitions. The rich variety of the work involving children from pre-school age to maturity and old age engenders a rewarding interest in those who have the welfare of all those who make up the community at heart".

That a White-controlled agency such as the Department of African Affairs could exist and could impinge so fundamentally upon the lives of Blacks in the city, clearly demonstrates the underlying disaggregation of the society and of the forces that brought that about.

Figure 5.9 graphically reflects the preponderance of Council-provided social services in the Black areas in 1978. While a greater range of services was supplied in the Black areas, the number of facilities per capita in each area indicates relative undersupply and the transgression of efficient performance thresholds.

For instance, in 1971 Council provided staff for, and administered, three Full Day Care Centres at a ratio of one facility per 98 945 people, nine Play Centres (ratio 1:11 903), four public halls (ratio 1:26 782) and two reference libraries (ratio 1:53 564). Available finance was always a

FIG. 5.9

SALISBURY: DISTRIBUTION OF
SOCIAL SERVICES 1978

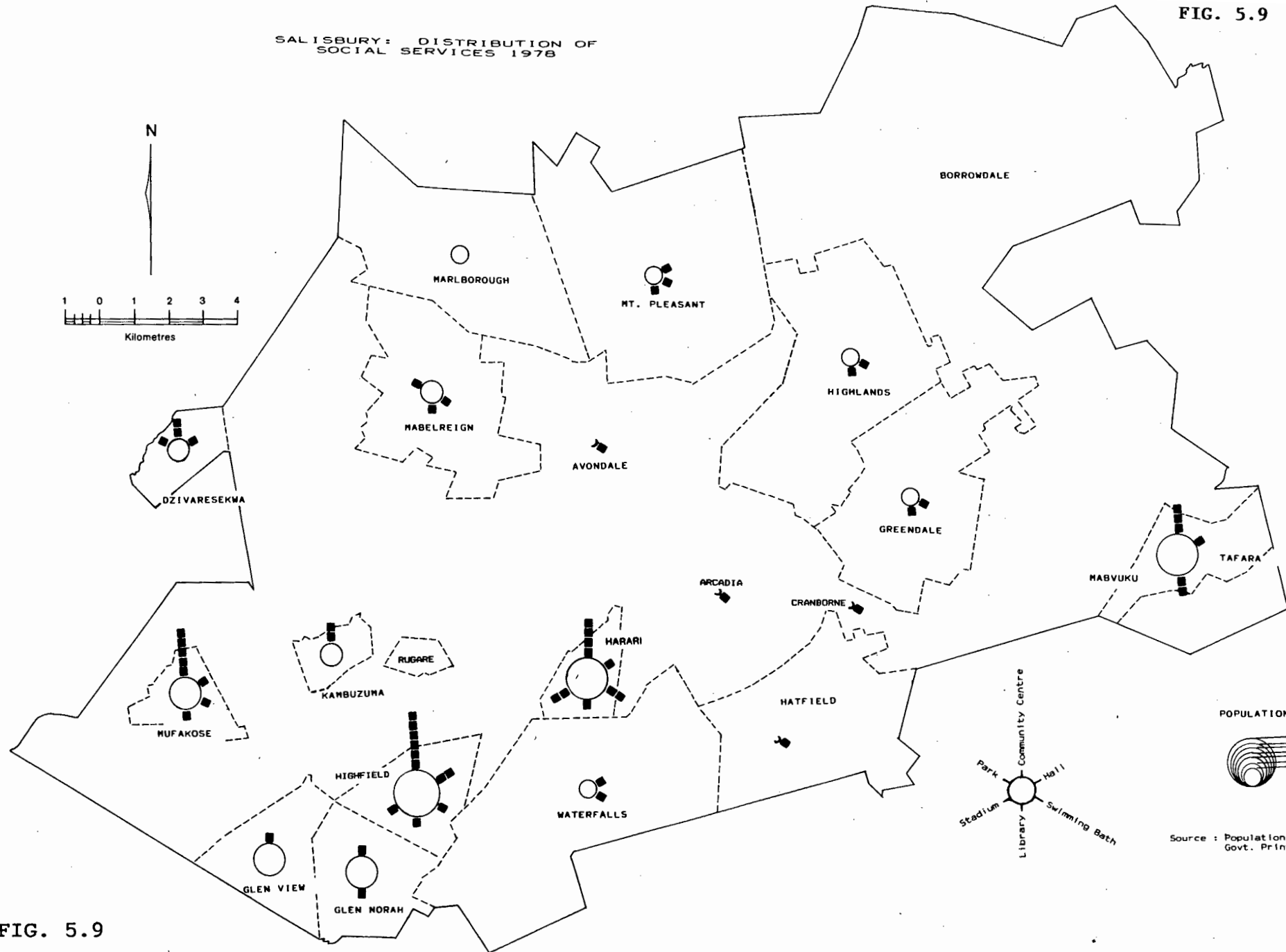


FIG. 5.9

major constraint on the provision of facilities. A subsidised feeding scheme provided nutritious meals at the Full Day and Play Centres, the St Nicholas Nursery School and the Salisbury Society for the Care of the Mentally Handicapped.

Municipal policy on library services meant that libraries in the townships served more as sources of reference material and basic education than as recreational outlets. Nevertheless this appears, at least in part, to have been a response to perceived demand. Both the colonial ethic of 'helping the natives to help themselves' and Black perceptions that the route to a better quality of life in urban society lay in education and modernisation are evident here. In 1970 the Director of African Administration observed that, "the major demand is still for textbooks, with science and English still in top places. Reading for pleasure has increased to almost 20 per cent of the total which is most encouraging" (City of Salisbury, 1970 pl2).

Other facets of active Council participation in Black welfare initiatives included:

1. A cinema circuit.
2. Arts and Crafts. An Art Centre under the directorship of a retired professional artist provided materials and instruction. One Craft Centre produced soapstone sculptures and copperwork while a second concentrated on weaving, macrame, leatherwork, crochet, printing, and candle-making. A Pottery Centre provided a kiln. Most of the production of these centres found commercial markets and it was Council's policy to develop viable projects to contain costs.
3. Boys' Clubs (for drama, voluntary work, or cultural activities, Girls' Clubs where the emphasis was more on social work than recreation (e.g. first aid, dress-making, cookery) and Womens' Clubs. In 1970, there were 23 such clubs involved in such activities as running creches, cookery, sewing, gardening, handicrafts, choral singing, tribal dancing and fundraising.

4. A Vocational Training Centre in Harari was established to develop applied skills in woodwork and metalwork.
5. Cultural Entertainment. Clubs offered drama, ballroom dancing, music and debating. Inter-club competitions were regularly organised.
6. Sport. This was the most popular outlet of active, organised recreation with spectator support being a very important complementary component. Football, netball and tennis had the highest participation rates. Other sports included athletics, basketball, boxing, cycling volleyball, weight-lifting and swimming. Council assisted by providing trained coaching staff who were also responsible for the organisation of different sports associations. A regular programme of competitions was held in all sports and, from the early 1960's many clubs participated in national, multi-racial competitions and leagues, with their members being eligible for Rhodesian national colours. This may be taken as evidence of changing White attitudes to Black demands for greater integration into the life of the country. As economic, employment and educational mobility of Blacks increased, extra-parliamentary White leadership in commercial, church and other national institutions was articulating and endorsing what they considered to be legitimate Black aspirations. This debate was the focus of much attention in the media and occurred in the context of Negro civil rights activism in the United States and growing opprobrium of race discrimination in the international community. In Rhodesia any new 'liberalising' initiatives were interpreted variously as the surrender of White autonomy, compromise, the co-operation of Black social fractions, or morally and ethically desirable actions. While Black political progress remained blocked by the Rhodesian Front, private organisations and facilities increasingly were being opened to Black participation.

With respect to sport in the White sector of society, Council provided land on long-term lease at nominal rentals

to different clubs. The construction of facilities, maintenance and organisation were, however, the sole responsibility of the members. Clubs constituted an important social focus in the White community and facilities were consequently of a very high quality. In the White areas of Salisbury for recreation, as well as for many other public goods and services, private money, facilities and organisations were substituted for public outputs. By comparison, because Council operated within a very limited welfare budget, many of the sports facilities in the Black areas were rudimentary.

The significant role of missionaries in the colonisation of Rhodesia has already been alluded to. Religious proselytising had been an important motivation for White penetration of the country. The education provided by missionaries did much to impose a foreign ideology and to influence Black values and aspirations. Their presence did much to legitimise imperialist designs and, implicitly and explicitly, they lent credibility to colonialist designs. In Salisbury, in addition to their primary function of providing spiritual guidance and comfort, churches provided important social foci. They also acted as welfare agents organising adult literacy classes, pre-school education and youth clubs. By 1974 Council had allocated 86 sites to various denominations most of which were occupied (City of Salisbury, 1974 p6). All sites were leased at a token rental with certain rights of renewal.

An important community support organisation, particularly within the hostel community, were the Burial Societies. These were constituted on a tribal basis and served to maintain links between the workers in the city and the rural community. Monies raised through regular contributions were used primarily to facilitate the burial of members (particularly in the transport of bodies to ancestral burial places in the rural areas). However, the societies also assisted new migrants to integrate into urban life by providing a social focus and an advice forum. They offered

recreational outlets, particularly tribal dancing, boxing, and football, organised social gatherings and provided formal links with tribal chiefs. Although the Council did not administer the societies in any way, they could enjoy the use of Council facilities provided they registered as Welfare Organisations. While discussing the burial societies the Director of African Administration (*ibid.* p14) revealed a telling insight into the cultural divide and social relations between many colonial administrators and the urban Black society for whom they were responsible. In his experience and perception, the burial societies, "of all forms of African social, cultural, or sporting associations ... are the most enduring because of tribal discipline manifest in the virtues of responsibility, integrity and honesty so lacking in almost every other form of African voluntary association".

Socially significant unstructured outlets for male social interaction and relaxation were the beer-halls. These were built, funded and administered by the Council-owned Rufaro breweries which manufactured traditional beer and operated as a monopoly in the townships. By 1978 there were approximately 50 beer halls in the Black townships. Much of the profits were diverted to other Council welfare projects. Directing the profits of the beer halls to fund welfare projects in the townships is further evidence of the settler colonists' policy of social and residential race segregation. Wherever possible, funds were extracted from the Black populace to pay for social and physical infrastructure in designated Black areas.

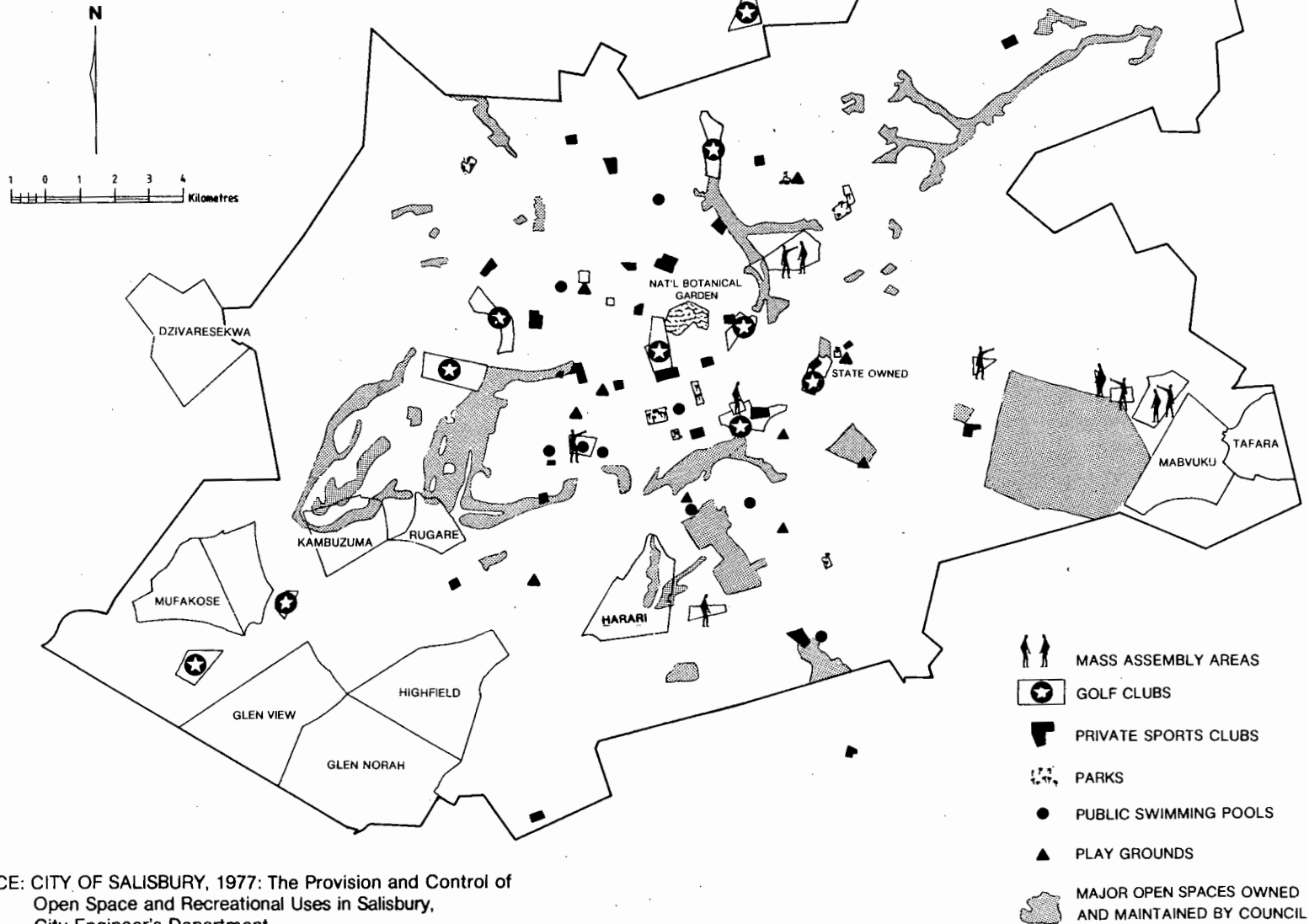
In a planning study of open space and recreational uses (Fig. 5.10) in Salisbury (City of Salisbury, 1977 p4) it was concluded that, "the overall provision of active and passive open space in Salisbury is high compared with other countries and, with the Rhodesian way of life being outdoor oriented, the demand for open space (especially active) has been high. The total open space provision for Greater Salisbury is 15,5 ha. per 1 000 population. The standard

used for present planning purposes is 8 ha. per 1000 population (the equivalent standards in Britain and South Africa being approximately 4 ha. per 1000 persons)." Significantly, despite the *de facto* erosion of racial discrimination in daily life by 1977, the study sought to establish the needs and demands only of the 'non-African' population for open space and recreation. It was still considered that the requirements of Blacks would be different and would be better addressed by the Department of African Administration's Welfare Branch.

Council maintained developed parks which provided numerous facilities for use by the public. Although by the 1970's these were open to all the citizens of the city, they were all located in the White areas and tended not to be extensively patronised by Blacks. Toilet facilities however, remained segregated until 1979. These parks included 13 childrens' play areas and local, district and regional parks (defined in terms of the geographic area of user catchment).²⁷ The Council planning study (*ibid.* pl7) observed that access to parks by low income groups was constrained by a lack of proximate open spaces. Residents of middle-income areas were best served and that group constituted the largest number of users. The high income groups had a greater provision of private recreational facilities and thus had less need of public open spaces - this is further ratified by the fact that householders with more private facilities on plots, e.g. swimming pools and tennis courts, used city parks less frequently than those without, and that the longer they had lived on their plots,

²⁷ District Parks include Central Park, Ballantyne Park the Botanical Gardens, Greenwood Park and Hillside Swan Park. The Makabusi Woodlands and the Cleveland Dam are designated 'regional parks'. In addition, the wider region beyond the municipal boundaries was well endowed with a wide range of recreational outlets of different kinds which lent themselves to day outings. Distance and cultural proclivity tended to preclude the Black populace from their usage even when rights of admission and national statute were not invoked.

SALISBURY – FORMAL RECREATION FACILITIES IN LOW DENSITY AREAS, 1977



SOURCE: CITY OF SALISBURY, 1977: The Provision and Control of Open Space and Recreational Uses in Salisbury, City Engineer's Department.

FIG 5.10

the greater the provision of their own facilities (ibid. p28).

In combination the district and regional parks contained the following facilities: A miniature railway, a band stand, a restaurant , formal gardens, aviaries, fountains, swan and duck ponds, flower seller stalls and a garden for the blind. In addition to parks, Council operated 11 swimming pools, 4 of which were located in the Black townships (one in Harari, one in Mufakose and two in Highfield).

5.2.6 Community Safeguards

Police protection and related services were provided by the national British South Africa Police (BSAP) so, beyond protecting its own facilities with guards and nightwatchmen, this facet of social security was never a concern of the Salisbury City Council. Fire and ambulance services did however fall within its ambit of responsibility. The two services were based together and operated from three stations (abutting the CBD, in Waterfalls; and in Greendale) each of which was responsible for a particular district. In toto these districts encompassed the entire city including the Black townships. Government also operated an ambulance service for internal purposes from the hospitals.

5.2.7 Education

In general, formal education was the preserve of central government although some private institutions were permitted to provide formal education within the parameters of Government policy and control. Salisbury City Council involvement was limited to non-formal and informal education by virtue of its financial contributions to libraries, the museum, the national art gallery, and different community groups.

The disparate standards of education and facilities provided for Whites and Blacks constituted an important focus of political contention for Blacks who perceived education to be a crucial element of welfare and personal development.

The Ministry of Education was divided into a Division of European, Asian and Coloured Education and a Division of African Education emphasising to Blacks the differential treatment accorded them.

Although an African child was almost twice as likely to attend school in Salisbury than in Rhodesia as a whole, 21 per cent of African school-age children in Salisbury had never attended school according to the 1969 census (City of Salisbury, 1973 p75). The reason for this is that Headmasters could not accept any child into a Government school unless the Superintendent of a township had certified that the child was either the lawful child or legal ward of a registered tenant. Thus, to the degree that Council was unable to satisfy the demand for housing (c.f. an official waiting list of 18 900 families in May 1979 (USAID 1981, p21)), it prejudiced the opportunity for education of African children. As a result, by 1973, an anomalous situation had developed in Salisbury in which places were available in schools but were not being filled because many of the populace were either illegal squatters or unregistered lodgers in existing homes.

The figures in Table 5.9 provide an indication of disparities in Black/White education in Salisbury in 1973. The data understate the level of disparity, however, and do not reveal qualitative differences in the education received by pupils drawn from different population groups. Strong qualitative differences could be identified in terms of training and qualifications of teachers, buildings, equipment, and sporting and other extra-mural facilities. For Blacks fewer schools served a school-going population over 2.5 times larger than that of Whites. Of the 51 Black schools, only 11 (21,5 per cent) were Secondary schools (as opposed to 58,8 per cent for the White population). The figures do not reveal that while no private schools existed for the Black population, the White group was served by 17. White schools were smaller, with the resulting benefits of

being more intimate while smaller teacher-pupils ratios indicate greater personal attention for each child.

The City Council provided Black pre-school play centres and encouraged, through limited financial support, pre-school education provided by voluntary Black womens' organisations. This was the extent of its involvement in school education. It did however operate a vocational training centre in Harari where students were trained in carpentry and welding.

Table 5.9 Education in Salisbury 1973

	European, Asians Coloureds	African
No. of Schools		
Primary	46	40
Secondary	20	11
Total	66	51
Estimated population of Salisbury	120 280	360 000
Estimated school-age population	34 866	72 000
No. of children enrolled	30 798	38 693
% children receiving education	88	53
Ratio schools: potential pupils	1:528	1:1422
Primary school: pupil ratio	1:381	1:863
Primary teacher: pupil ratio	1:30,54	1:37,23
Secondary school: pupil ratio	1:674	1:376
Secondary teacher: pupil ratio	1:17,49	1:22,95

Source: City of Salisbury, 1973 p78, p79
City of Salisbury, 1974 p7

5.2.8 Public Health

The Salisbury City Council was extensively involved in the fields of preventative and curative medicine. A separate Department under a Medical Officer of Health supervised,

1. a Health Inspectorate responsible for environmental control including rodent and pest control, monitoring of atmospheric pollution, and general disease control in city establishments. It also provided operating licences for certain industrial and retail functions (e.g. the processing and selling of food);
2. a Nursing Service providing primary health care, ante- and post-natal support, a family planning programme, and community care education;
3. a Health Visiting Service carrying maternity care to the home environment;
4. a District Nursing Service which extended health care to the homes of the chronically sick, the elderly and those discharged from hospital;
5. a Medical Examination Centre providing free medical and dental inspections for Black workers;
6. a Health Education Service;
7. a School Health Service which involved the screening and possible referral of school-children plus administration of regular immunisation programmes;
8. a creche for children in the Coloured suburb of Arcadia.

While the services of the Department were nominally available to all the citizens in the city, the greater proportion of its energies was directed towards the Black population who were unable to carry the high costs of substituting private for public medical attention. Central government provided sophisticated major hospital and out-patient services, an infectious diseases hospital, and a psychiatric institution. These were available to Blacks and Whites alike although in segregated facilities.

Department was responsible for solid and liquid waste removal and street cleaning. In 1973 an assessment of the service by the Corporate Development Group found that both functions were being maintained at a high level although operational difficulties were being experienced as the problem of obtaining new vehicles became more acute (City of Salisbury, 1973 p85). Stringent foreign exchange controls and international sanctions during the civil war were the cause. By inference any restriction on services would impact most immediately upon the Black community who did not possess a municipal vote.

The entire city had been articulated by a water-borne sewerage system save for subdivisions of one acre or more for which septic tanks and soakways were adequate. Although in older Black townships, some houses possessed outside (and occasionally shared) toilets, maintenance and treatment were high, services being funded by charges levied on owners or tenants of properties.

In addition to the health-related services already noted, the Council maintained six cemeteries and a crematorium. Different cemeteries existed for Black and White citizens. Spatial differentiation, according to religious denomination, occurred within cemeteries.

5.2.9 Urban Aesthetics

With its large well-nurtured domestic gardens in the White suburbs, its tree-lined streets, grass verges and impression of cleanliness and neatness, Salisbury enjoyed a reputation of being a particularly attractive city. That reputation extended far beyond the national borders of the then Rhodesia. Council explicitly encouraged this image and

consciousness of the health hazard that a poor Black population might hold for them. This too, would account for the relatively high level of health services provided for the Black population. However such a motivation should not be overstated. The professional and ethical integrity of doctors and other medical officers whose concern was the treatment of human beings regardless of race, creed, or colour needs to be recognised.

nurtured civic pride. Its Amenities Branch "developed a high standard of floral display in well-treed and grassed parks, by establishing flower beds in traffic islands and providing trees in streets". (City of Salisbury, 1973 p96). It also provided street signs, street furniture such as lights, benches, statues, bus shelters, and undertook the hard and soft landscaping of traffic islands, malls, parks and other open spaces. Grass cutting of verges and open areas was another of its functions. Revenue for these activities derived from the Rates Account and most of the energy was directed to the source of the income, the White areas. This was in accordance with the image of a desirable urban environment held by the settlers. It was not expected that Blacks would conform with these values or share the same ideals. Given the paucity of funds for developments in the Black townships, urban aesthetics was not a high priority.

As described earlier the Black areas were visually less attractive being less verdant and colourful, architecturally monotonous, frequently lacking paved streets and curbs and deficient in parks and landscaped open space. Essential grass cutting, street cleaning and refuse removal services were provided by the Council but other, more basic welfare services were deemed to place a greater demand on limited public revenue than urban aesthetics. The cultivation of flowering gardens was not a cultural norm among Blacks nor would gardens have been regarded as a priority in household budget planning.

5.2.10 Electrical Power

Salisbury City Council was responsible for the generation, distribution and supply of electricity in the municipal area. It owned and operated a power station commissioned between 1947 and 1958. After 1963, in terms of the Central African Power Act, the Council purchased all of its power in bulk from the Central African Power Corporation (CAPC). From that date the municipal power station provided

supplementary power at peak periods for which the Council was reimbursed by the CAPC.

While all residences in the White suburbs were connected to the electricity system, this was not the case in the Black areas where wood fires and kerosene stoves were extensively used. Hoek-Smit (1982, p11) established in a socio-economic survey of Black households in 1978, that 52 per cent of houses occupied by Blacks had electricity, 30 per cent cooked over kerosene stoves and 15 per cent over firewood. Many other houses possessed only a single five-amp electrical point. Table 5.10 indicates the great discrepancy in domestic power consumption between the White and Black areas for 1974/75 and 1978/79. It also demonstrates the magnitude of White domestic consumption as a percentage of total electricity consumption relative to Black domestic users. Furthermore the bulk of the commercial and industrial usage was accounted for by White-owned economic activities located in the White areas of the city.

Table 5.10 Domestic Electricity Consumption in Salisbury
(Kilo-watt Hours)

	% of Domestic Consumption 1974/75	Domestic as % of Total Consumption	% of Domestic Consumption 1978/79	Domestic as % of Total Consumption
WHITE AREAS	93.02	41.99	90.17	40.06
BLACK AREAS	6.98	3.16	9.83	4.37

Source: Annual Reports of the City Electrical Engineer 1974/75 and 1978/79.

The policy of supplying electricity for all new housing is reflected in the proportional increase in Black consumption over the period. Tariff charges were set by the CAPC but all revenue for power consumed in Salisbury accrued to the Council. Income from electricity sales constituted the

largest single source of municipal revenue funding in 1978 (37,4 per cent of the total).

5.2.11 Planning and Land

With the N'debele and Mashona rebellions of 1896/97 still remembered, the proximity of large concentrations of Blacks within the urban areas of Rhodesia had been considered a potential threat from the earliest days of the settlement. Given the necessity for cheap labour and difficulties of transportation, however, the authorities had become reconciled to the establishment of Black townships on the periphery of the City. It was a contradiction of the colonial capitalist mode of production that while the presence and proximity of Blacks in the functioning economy was a necessity, the fear of physical violence amongst other factors discussed earlier, led to the segregation of races in the city. By the 1970's the policy and practice of socio-political separation and physical segregation of the race groups was deeply entrenched and formalised in law.

The significance for the future stability of the urban system of wide political, social and economic disparities between race groups and their encapsulation in space did not elude the authorities however. Despite their eventual, albeit reluctant, acceptance of growing numbers of Blacks becoming a permanent feature of urban life, the potential dangers in their distribution were recognised.

The Chairman of the Health, Housing and African Administration Committee of Council expressed the opinion that, "We now have the situation where there are eight large African townships ringing Salisbury. What would happen if the residents became politically motivated? Salisbury would be caught in a stranglehold of strikes and mob violence". (Rhodesia Herald, 1972). Such sentiments were widely endorsed and were to influence later policy responses. As it was perceived, this problem was exacerbated by an increasing rate and scale of rural-urban influx and the

inability of the authorities to provide timeously an adequate standard of housing and services (Table 5.11)

Table 5.11 Salisbury - Population Growth Rates by Race Group 1964-1975

annum) GROUP 1975	Population (Thousands)			Growth Rates (per cent per	
	1964 (a)	1969 (b)	1975 (a)	1969-1969	1969-
White, Asian,					
Coloured	94	106	139	2.4	4.6
Black	220	280	430	4.9	7.4
Total	314	386	569	4.2	6.7

(a) Central Statistical Office estimates

(b) 1969 National census

Source : Hume I M 1976 : The Urban Challenge, Confidential Document of Director of Whitsun Foundation, Whitsun Foundation Salisbury.

By April 1979 there were 18,500 Black families on the waiting list for houses. The City Council repeatedly attempted to prevent the proliferation of squatter shanties. By-laws empowered the Director for African Administration to demolish unauthorised structures in areas adjacent to Black townships and to repatriate 'indigents' (the unemployed and unhoused) to their place of origin in the Tribal Trust Lands. The first phase of removal of 5 000 squatters occurred in March 1972. In an editorial the Rhodesia Herald (30 March, 1972) observed that shanties were being erected quicker than the authorities could deal with them and queried whether or not a vigorous housing policy would relieve the overcrowding that must be reflected by more than 18 000 applicants for married accommodation. At the same time government recognised that, "intensive and rapid development of the Tribal Trust Lands, coupled with more attractive conditions for agricultural employees in European

areas, are prerequisites to the success of any measures to control the influx of Africans to major centres in the country" (Rhodesia Herald, 1972).

Issues such as these, deriving from the historically and geographically specific circumstances of the evolution of Salisbury, reaffirmed the need for continuing planning intervention. By the 1970's with the rapid rate of expansion of the city and the incorporation of the Town Management Boards, there was a realisation that only in this way could myriad problems already experienced in the burgeoning cities of the developing World be anticipated and confronted. Only through rational integration and articulation of the urban system, consistent with locally evolved precepts and standards, could a particular type of urban environment be guaranteed. The conception of an ideal urban realm would accord with the opinions of those in political control and, more generally, with the Rhodesian settler colonial society at large.

Earlier planning legislation, including the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1933 and 1945 (as amended), provided for the preparation of planning schemes primarily in an attempt to rationalise and control peri-urban sprawl. The main thrust of the 1945 Act "was toward the control of the subdivision of property and the preparation of schemes for the co-ordinated and harmonious development of the area" (Jordan 1984 p64). A later Act, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act of 1976 reflected cognisance of the need for planning of integrated economic and physical development on a regional scale. By recognising the essential interdependence of city and region, it sought to transcend the inherent limitations of intra-urban planning schemes applied essentially *in vacuo*.

The possibility of developing new townships in the Tribal Trust Lands was an attractive option to the White government. In 1971 Prime Minister Smith remarked, "I think that gradually we must face up to the problem and see if it is not possible to divert this (Black) spending power to the

Tribal Trust Lands by the development of townships for these people" (Rhodesia Herald, 1971). In October 1971 the Salisbury City Council passed a motion prohibiting the buying and allocation of any further land within the city boundaries for the purpose of Black housing (Sunday Mail, 1971). Also in 1971, the parastatal Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation developed land for the establishment of a new industrial complex called Seki in the Seke Tribal Trust Land immediately south of Salisbury in an attempt to initiate industrial deconcentration from the city and to create local job opportunities. In 1972 Government formally adopted a policy of encouraging the development of African townships in the Tribal Trust Lands, and, in the existing urban areas, of encouraging Africans to conduct their own business in the townships (Hansard, 1972)

Directed toward, but pre-dating the 1976 Regional Town and Country Planning Act, a new regional development policy was published in 1973. Rhodesia was to be divided into ten planning regions which would incorporate the Tribal Trust Lands, hitherto excluded from planning considerations for the White areas of the colony, into the wider economy. Decentralisation of economic activity from the established urban areas was to be the mechanism employed to effect this policy.

Development goals and objectives were to be established for each region in accord with prevailing demographic socio-economic and ecological conditions. For each region, a regional planning council, on which local authorities and other interested bodies would be represented, was to be constituted. The council would, with the assistance of the government Physical Planning Department, prepare a regional plan. Within the context of the regional plan, local authorities would prepare Master Plans which would provide broad structure and policy directions. These would, in turn, provide the framework within which detailed Local Plans could be developed. Zoning and regulations would enable the City Council to control land use, densities,

building heights, setbacks, construction and performance standards, traffic flows and urban aesthetics. By-laws would empower the Council to regulate urban activities. The instruments available to the City Council to determine the city's form and functioning were thus varied and comprehensive. Planning and the exercise of control mechanisms were, and are, crucial in determining the nature and evolution of the city in accord with desired goals.

In pursuance of its policy of regional development, the government, in 1978 proclaimed a new autonomous Urban Council (later to become a Town Council) at Chitungwisa,³⁰ some 38 kms south-south-east of Salisbury. The decision was, in part, a pragmatic recognition of rapidly growing, essentially uncontrolled, dormitory settlements at Seke, Zengeza and St Mary's Mission, in the Seke Tribal Trust Land, which housed Black populations working or seeking employment in Salisbury. In part, it was also a recognition of future problems that would arise if Salisbury municipality incurred the responsibility of having to administer and finance such distant, large, low-income settlements.

To facilitate design of a Master Plan for Salisbury within its development region six alternative strategies or broad structure plans were submitted to the City Council by the Town Planning Branch for consideration. After debate the Council accepted "Strategy Six" in April 1979 (City of Salisbury, 1979). Briefly stated, the strategy required the simultaneous development of two independent satellite cities at Chitungwisa and Chinamora and a well developed communications system linking the satellites to Salisbury (Fig. 5.11). It was conceived that a vigorously implemented policy of industrial deconcentration would provide the necessary employment and income bases to ensure

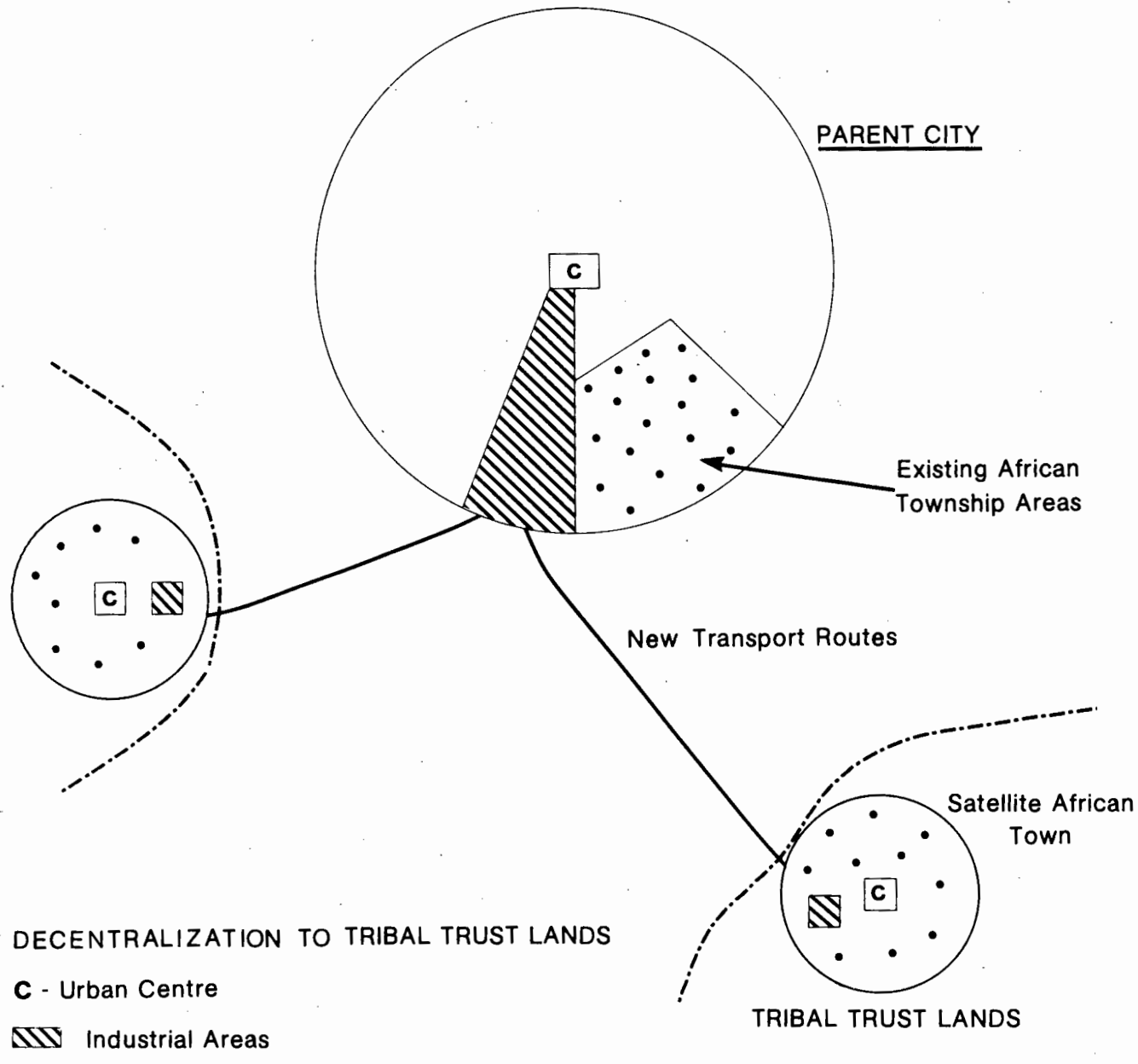
³⁰ In 1982 the population of Chitungwisa (172 556) exceeded the populations of the third and fourth largest cities in Zimbabwe, namely Gwelo (Gweru) and Umtali (Mutare).

FIG. 5.11

STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR FUTURE AFRICAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

(Adopted by City Council)

STRATEGY 6 : Satellite Towns



balanced growth and to constitute the thresholds necessary for the provision of extensive social and physical infrastructure. In essence, while being interrelated and forming a metropolitan system, each city would be largely self-contained.

The ideologically founded motive of absolving itself from the responsibility and the attendant costs of absorbing a large low-income Black component into the city can readily be imputed in Salisbury City Council's adoption of the policy of deconcentration. This was entirely consistent with the attitudes of White settler society discussed in an earlier chapter. While the overt aim of the policy might have been consistent with the broader goals of regional development, the desire to maintain the *status quo* in Salisbury, and to avoid the accretion of Black townships on the city's fringes, was apparent.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Selected aspects of the spatial and functional organisation of Salisbury during the period of White settler-colonial rule have been isolated to provide the basis for assessment of transformations that might have been initiated when the city became subject to Black management and control. The central focus of this chapter has been the role of Salisbury's local authority in determining the nature of the geographic environment and the welfare of the citizens. Important subsidiary themes included the differential treatment accorded Black citizens and the degree to which civic actions reflected the ideology of the dominant White settler group. That ideology informed problem identification, assessment of priority needs, and subsequent policy and action responses.

Insofar as it manifested the political economy of capitalist settler colonialism, the structure, form and functional organisation of Salisbury conformed with the general model of the colonial city. In addition it reflected the specific

circumstances of its own history and geography. Race discrimination became a primary determinant of social, economic, and political structures. Born of a need to establish and entrench White settler dominance over the subordinate Black indigenous population, discrimination subsequently served to reaffirm and to reinforce White attitudes and values which were the bases of behavioural norms and practices. Much of Rhodesian culture was reflected in spatial structures and physical forms which, once established, became geographic imperatives determining many facets of national life. Racial separation, segregation and inequality became pervasive features of the geographic environment.

In the city of Salisbury, the local authority has been an important agent in giving expression to the characteristics of Rhodesian society as a result of its ability to plan, to exert controls over the form and functioning of the city, and to provide public goods and services. Importantly, because of their subordinate political, economic and social status, Blacks have always been more influenced than Whites by the policies and actions of the City Council. Its functions permeated the life experience of Black citizens. To the extent that its actions generated patterns of inequality, heightened perceptions of discrimination, and became the object of grievance and contention, the advent of a majority Black Council with a different ideological predisposition, could have been expected to initiate fundamental change at least in the provision of public goods and services.

The legal jurisdiction over which the City Council presided has an important bearing upon an understanding of the geography of public finance in the city. At issue here are the geographic extent of the Council's obligations, its relationship with central government and other proximate jurisdictions, and the degree to which it possessed freedom of action. Also relevant is the distribution of potential tax income and the degree to which the electorate could

participate in urban government. The nature and extent of public participation in decision-making determines the degree to which Council is influenced by the needs of the enfranchised population. Change in political relationships would be reflected in changes in the financial transactions of the Council. It is to a consideration of the jurisdictional context of local authority practice and to the changing circumstances of citizen participation in decision making that attention now turns.

Given that the central subject of analysis in this thesis is the geography of local authority finance under changing ideological circumstances, it is important fully to understand the jurisdictional context within which the City Council operates and the financial organisation of the City Council. The following chapter addresses this issue drawing particular attention to the sources of public funds and the procedures whereby these are allocated for financing the public facilities and amenities discussed above. Another topic concerns the degree to which the Council has unfettered discretion in this regard. The discussion covers the period of past colonial transaction from 1978 to the beginning of 1985.

CHAPTER 6

THE JURISDICTIONAL CONTEXT AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

The activities of individuals and governmental institutions as well as the interrelationships between them are limited and defined by the jurisdictional context in which they occur. Law establishes the rights, powers, responsibilities and obligations of both citizen and government and specifies the spatial context in which they apply. The nature and extent of rules regulations and boundaries provide the context in which decisions are made. They also provide the means by which individuals or groups can seek to influence decisions or to change the rules, and through which peoples' access to geographic areas, land usage, or public goods and services is either permitted or proscribed. Moreover the forces and the social relations of production are, in large part constrained and directed by legal prescription. In this respect a complex interrelationship exists between the productive process and the organisation of social relations through the political system. As has already been observed, a particular type of economy elicits a particular form of social organisation and appropriate norms and values. In turn, the social relations of production provide the motivation for the specific content of formal regulations which emerge. By the same token however, once established, the form of social and political organisation influences the development of the economic system. The dialectical relationship between economic substructure and social and political superstructure produces a particular mode of production (Brewer, 1984 p 191-2).

Theoretically, in a free market economy, a person in any particular geographical location, may depart what is perceived to be an undesirable area and move to an area of his choice subject only to the ability to pay. In other

words a person can "vote with his/her feet". By similar token, groups or institutions accorded legal powers within defined jurisdictions, may exercise those powers to consolidate their position and enhance the quality of their environment *vis-a-vis* other jurisdictions. This they can do by attempting to attract land uses deemed beneficial to the community and by excluding those considered deleterious for instance. "The ability of local governments to continue to attract the utility-enhancing (sic) depends upon establishing an attractiveness gradient between their jurisdiction and other jurisdictions, an attractiveness gradient that is apparent in, among other things, tax rates, school spending and school pupil compositions. Establishing this attractiveness gradient, however, depends on the power to exclude, the power to provide services and the power to fund services from local sources. These powers are delegated to local governments by the states" (Cox, 1979 p313)

By extension it is important that individuals and interest groups within a jurisdiction should be able to influence the exercise of power in their own interest. The epithet "no taxation without representation", a rallying cry of democracy, turns upon this issue. The ability to influence power may be achieved through formally established procedures through which citizens may make representations to state officials. Alternatively it may be achieved informally, often through personal contacts or through utilisation of public communications media. American experience has been that those residents with a community of interests and who sought a particular mix of urban utilities would congregate to do so and would mobilise to influence public decision-making to achieve their ends. The distribution of public expenditure and the provision of public amenities would reflect their preferences and influence (or status). Conversely those areas revealing a deficiency in the provision of public goods and services could, by inference, be expected to display relatively lower levels of economic, social and political mobilisation. "The

ability of a neighbourhood interest group to regulate urban development to the advantage of the local turf depends, all other things being equal, on its ability to obtain public decisions in its favour The power of neighbourhood groups therefore becomes important; they must have political resources providing advantages over other neighbourhood groups ...; furthermore the degree of power a neighbourhood group has with respect to other interests vying for control of neighbourhood turf is also of critical importance" (ibid. p300). The delimitation of jurisdictional boundaries becomes important in this regard. A group can only influence effectively those answerable to it. Conversely those in control can only effect change in those areas in which they have jurisdiction. Defined powers and obligations for various functions are generally vested within jurisdictional boundaries and generally only those with particular rights within those jurisdictions would be able to induce change.

Who exercises power and for whom within jurisdictions constitutes a central theme in discourse on public authority activity. (Massam 1974; Needham 1977; Boaden 1971; Barlow 1981) Pahl (1975) conceptualises four distinct, but not necessarily exclusive, models which facilitate the dispensation of power within a city:

- 1 A 'pure' Managerialist model based on public interest theory in which civic control is exercised by professional urban managers operating in what they perceive to be the interests of the public.
- 2 A 'Statist' model in which the local authority operates as an extension of, and in accordance with, national government policy.
- 3 A 'Control-by-Capitalists' model in which real power vests with private capitalists and the public authority constitutes a co-opted elite functioning in the interests of private capital.

SALISBURY: OUTLINES OF THE COLONIAL (UDI) HOUSING SYSTEM

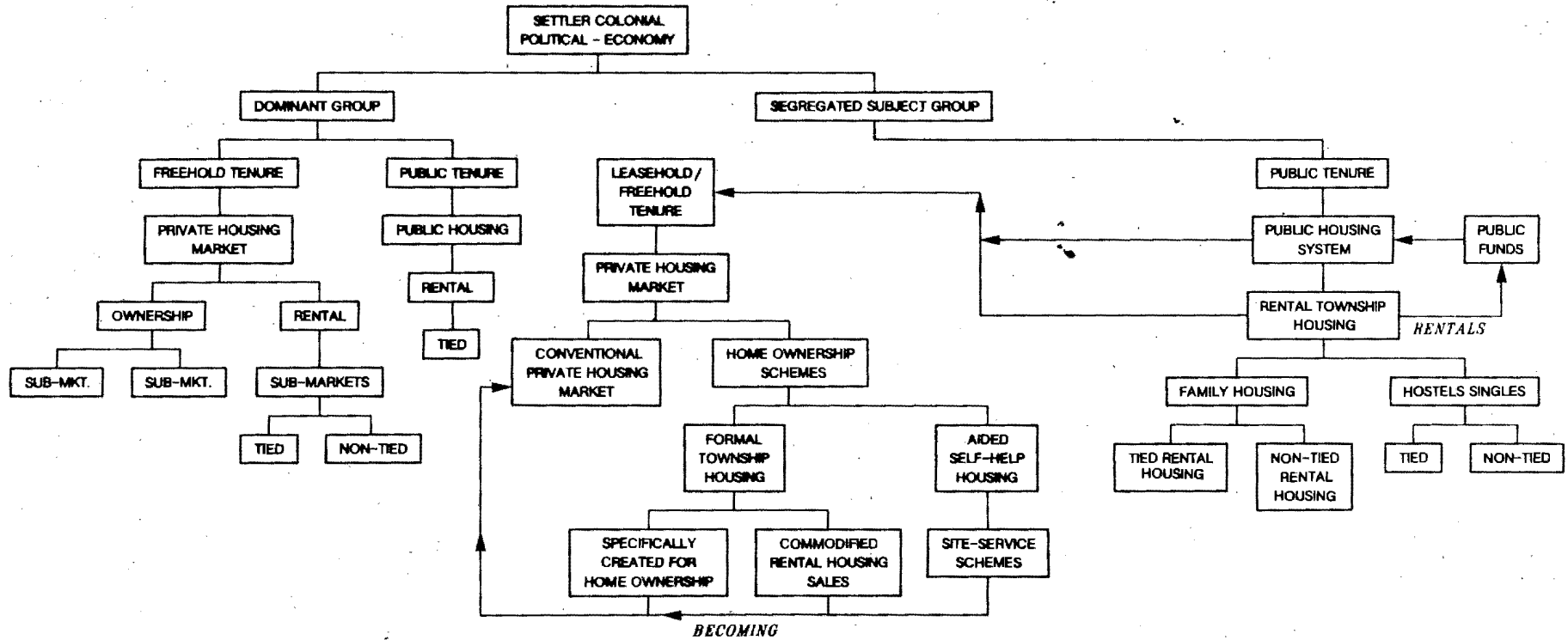


FIG. 5.8

In the Black townships the Council's activities extended to the provision of shops, covered market stalls and premises for petty commodity producers and small-scale service trades. In this respect the Council's activities were more overtly promotive of small business. Many of these facilities were rented by the municipality thereby providing a source of revenue. Nevertheless many informal sector 'backyard operators' flourished in the residential areas and were indulged, if not condoned. The Council also sought to contain and control the incidence of hawking and vending by issuing permits and licences for such activities, and, by prescribing, through regulations and by-laws, the precise manner in which they could be pursued. Hawking and vending in the White areas of the city were particularly stringently controlled. In short, the White authorities sought to create planned, formally developed and 'properly' managed urban environments which were particularly Western-ethnocentric in conception. The extent to which realities fell short of the desired standards was a measure both of the authorities' expedient acceptance of the economic survival imperatives of a culturally different, disadvantaged, low-income group where flexible alternative economic and living strategies had to be adopted and of their own inability to exert the necessary controls to prevent such responses.

5.2.4 Transportation

Public transportation was never the direct responsibility of the City Council, its role being confined to that of a facilitator of mass movement. In that respect it planned, constructed and maintained public roads, provided street signs and signals, stormwater drainage, street lighting, public parking, and bus stops and termini. Revenue derived from commercial and private motor vehicle, motorcycle, and bicycle licences accrued to the Council revenue account to offset the costs of these transport-related functions.

As a result of its low residential densities, areal extent, and distinct land-use differentiation, Salisbury was ill-

suited to cost-efficient mass-transportation. Among the more affluent White population car ownership was the norm. Multi-car households were a common occurrence. In 1978 a survey revealed that the White areas possessed 89 per cent of all registered vehicles as against 11 per cent in the Black townships (SIDA, 1984).²¹ While vehicular movement between the White areas and the central business district comprised approximately 75 per cent car traffic, cars accounted for approximately 28 per cent of movement from the Black townships. Hardwick (1977 p99-100) observed however that,

"on the other hand, the higher population density of the Townships provides a transport market suitable for movement by public services. As a result, the composition of journey-to-work traffic flows between employment locations and African and European suburbs are quite different. The former contains a considerably greater proportion of bus and cycle movements and consequently a lower proportion of private cars. In terms of passenger movements these differences are much more significant. In the case of Highfield, approximately 9 000 and 3 300 travelled by mechanical means of transport to work in the CBD and industrial sites respectively during the morning peak period in January 1971. Of this passenger flow 73 per cent travelled by bus, 14 per cent by private car, taxi and commercial vehicle and 13 per cent by cycle and motor cycle".

Bus transport was monopolised by a single private company (Salisbury United Bus Company). Levels of service, quality and efficiency were low as a result of attempts by the company to minimise costs per passenger kilometer. Bus frequencies did not match demand, particularly during rush hour, overcrowding was common, the route network was inadequate and the condition of vehicles in terms of comfort, often deficient. As a result an alternative 'pirate taxi' system was operated illegally by individuals with private vehicles in the townships. Hardwick (ibid. p101) recognised the apparent demand for such services, as

²¹ This figure includes cars, motor cycles, communal vehicles, and bicycles. It is possibly somewhat misleading in that a large proportion of bicycles were never registered.

expressed by the high rate of their use and conceded that "they did provide a valuable and perhaps necessary service in the face of inadequate bus services". Nevertheless he considered that, "apart from the question of legality, the overcrowding of these vehicles and frequent poor state of repair make private taxiing an undesirable activity" (ibid. p101). He concluded a review of Black transportation in Salisbury in the mid-1970's by observing that "despite the extent and severity of problems facing Blacks in their journey to work they have, in the past, received little attention from government or municipal authorities" who "illustrate a lack of real understanding of the problems and an unwillingness to finance real improvements from public funds".

Conversely considerable attention was devoted by municipal officials to the problems of traffic flow and vehicle parking in the Central Business District. An extensive system of metered bays was installed to increase vehicle turnover and the incidence of short-term parking. Council policy was directed also at the construction of multi-storey parking garages and the administration of open parking lots. All of these constituted sources of municipal income.

Inequality between Black and White areas in the provision of transport-related facilities by the municipality is revealed in Tables 5.6 and 5.7. Both the extent of street lighting and of tarred roads in an area are important determinants of the overall quality of the urban environment in that they contribute to the relative levels of comfort, convenience, security, amenity and general welfare of the inhabitants.

Table 5.6 Roads Tarred as Percentage of Total Road Surface by Area 1974 - 1979.

AREA	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
White	87,8	93,5	94,1	95,6	96,7	97,1
Black	34,1	34,9	36,4	38,7	38,7	46,6

Source : Annual Reports of City Engineer

Roads not tarred comprised gravelled and compacted earth surfaces ('dirt roads') which deteriorated rapidly when subjected to the heavy thunderstorms of summer. Unequal provision aside, the table also reveals a more consistent rate of improvement in the White areas, a result of an on-going programme of surfacing particularly in the peri-urban unitax areas (Borrowdale). Moreover the percentage increases in the Black areas were calculated on a much smaller base. Low residential densities in the White area zoned "single residential", demanded a considerably greater length of road construction.²² Hence in Tafara between 1977 and 1979, an increase in tarred road surface of 18,1 per cent constituted 4,9 kms of road surface whereas a 10,6 per cent in Borrowdale (between 1974-1979) constituted 14 km of road.

In absolute terms approximately 77 per cent of all electrical power consumed for street lighting was directed to the White areas (including the CBD and industrial areas). This apparent inequality, however, masks the difference in gross residential densities between the two areas. Calculated as electricity consumption per kilometer of road surface, the Black areas would appear to be marginally better served than the White areas. This is because street lighting in the White areas is delivered to the peri-urban

²² Gross residential densities in the Black areas average 12000 persons per km². In the White areas densities ranged between 120 persons per km² (Glen Lorne) to 1 700 persons per km² (Mabelreign). The area predominantly occupied by flats in Avondale reached 2 500 persons per km² (City of Salisbury, 1977 p 82).

unitax areas where street lights are very sparsely distributed while the road system is extensive.

Table 5.7 Units of Street Lighting Consumed in Salisbury by Area 1975-1979

Year	WHITE AREAS		BLACK AREAS	
	% Total Consumption (KWH)	KWH per Km Road Surface	% Total Consumption (KWH)	KWH per Km Road Surface
1975	77	4333	23	6153
1976	79	4726	21	5442
1977	76	5104	24	6756
1978	75	5022	25	7102
1979	77	6001	23	6565

Source : Annual Reports of City Electrical Engineer

Differences in residential densities are again revealed when electricity consumption for street-lighting is calculated per dwelling unit. At independence in 1980, consumption per dwelling unit in the White areas was 354 KWH compared with 51 KWH per dwelling unit in the Black Areas.²³.

The White areas were extensively served with pavements, curbs, stormwater drainage (Table 5.8) and tarred cycle tracks for children travelling to school.

²³ "Dwelling Units" here include houses and flats (Source: City Valuation rolls for White areas; Departmental memo, Department of Community Services for Black areas).

Table 5.8 Stormwater Drainage Laid by Area 1974-1979
(metres)

YEAR	WHITE AREA	BLACK AREA
1974	14 208	1 000
1975	16 049	2 588
1976	12 433	737
1977	10 148	1 321
1978	7 058	219
1979	10 424	583
TOTAL	70 320	6 448

Although little quantitative data is available for comparison, these amenities were generally deficient or entirely absent in the Black areas.

5.2.5 Social Security, Welfare and Recreation

Towards the end of the settler colonial period in Salisbury a comprehensive range of social services and facilities was available, "operated with varying degrees of skill and purpose by Central Government, the Local Authority, charitable/voluntary organisations, and private organisations (City of Salisbury, 1973 p42). Religious, educational, cultural and social welfare organisations operated extensively in both the Black and White areas of the city, usually in terms of enabling legislation and assisted by Council grants-in-aid.²⁴

²⁴ These were distributed by Council on the advice of a Welfare panel comprising the City Medical Officer of Health, the Director of African Administration, and the Treasurer.

Major recipients from the Municipal Rates Account²⁵ included the St Giles Medical Rehabilitation Centre, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Queen Victoria Memorial Library, the Queen Victoria Museum, the National Gallery of Rhodesia, the University of Rhodesia, the Salisbury Municipal Orchestra, the Rhodesia National Council for the Aged and the Rhodesian Agricultural and Horticultural Organisation. In 1978 there were a total 40 beneficiaries from the Rates Account. Many of these had long operated on a non-discriminatory or multi-racial basis. They were nevertheless, institutions that had been generated from the White cultural base of the society and were derivative mainly of White cultural demand.

The African Affairs Welfare Account²⁶ was debited with expenditure to 36 organisations operating exclusively for the benefit of Blacks in the townships. These ranged across infant day-care centres, Boy Scout associations, Women's Clubs, the Council for Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, craft centres and the Salvation Army.

Although other organisations listed as aid beneficiaries in the Rates Account were non-discriminatory, the fact that, in total they received Z\$218 896 in 1978 against Z\$44 668 listed against those organisations in the African Welfare Account, does point towards a relative bias towards the White sector in practice.

²⁵ The City Treasurer's financial organisation included a Rates Account, a major source of income for which was an assessment rate tax levied on land and improvements in the proclaimed White areas of the City (residential, commercial and industrial). Expenditures from the account were directed almost exclusively to these areas with minimal cross subsidisation to the Black areas. This account and others will be analysed in detail in a later chapter.

²⁶ Another municipal account which, as its name implies, reflected income and expenditure in Black townships. It was administered by the Councils Department of African Affairs and will also be discussed in detail later.

In the Black townships the Council was directly responsible for the provision and operation of community centres, halls, libraries, parks, sports stadia, a cinema service, child play centres and feeding schemes and swimming pools. With its terms of reference encompassing a wide and varied range of activities, the impact of the Department of African Affairs upon the daily lives of all the residents was considerable. In his annual report (City of Salisbury, 1976 p7) the Director was moved to reflect that,

"It has become customary to describe the functions of the Social Services Section as the provision and Administration of social amenities in Council's African Townships and the stimulation and interest and participation in the social, cultural, sporting and recreational spheres.

Although this covers practically everything, mere words could never fully impart the true picture and scope of the work which is done because it deals with all their troubles, fears, prejudices, hopes and ambitions. The rich variety of the work involving children from pre-school age to maturity and old age engenders a rewarding interest in those who have the welfare of all those who make up the community at heart".

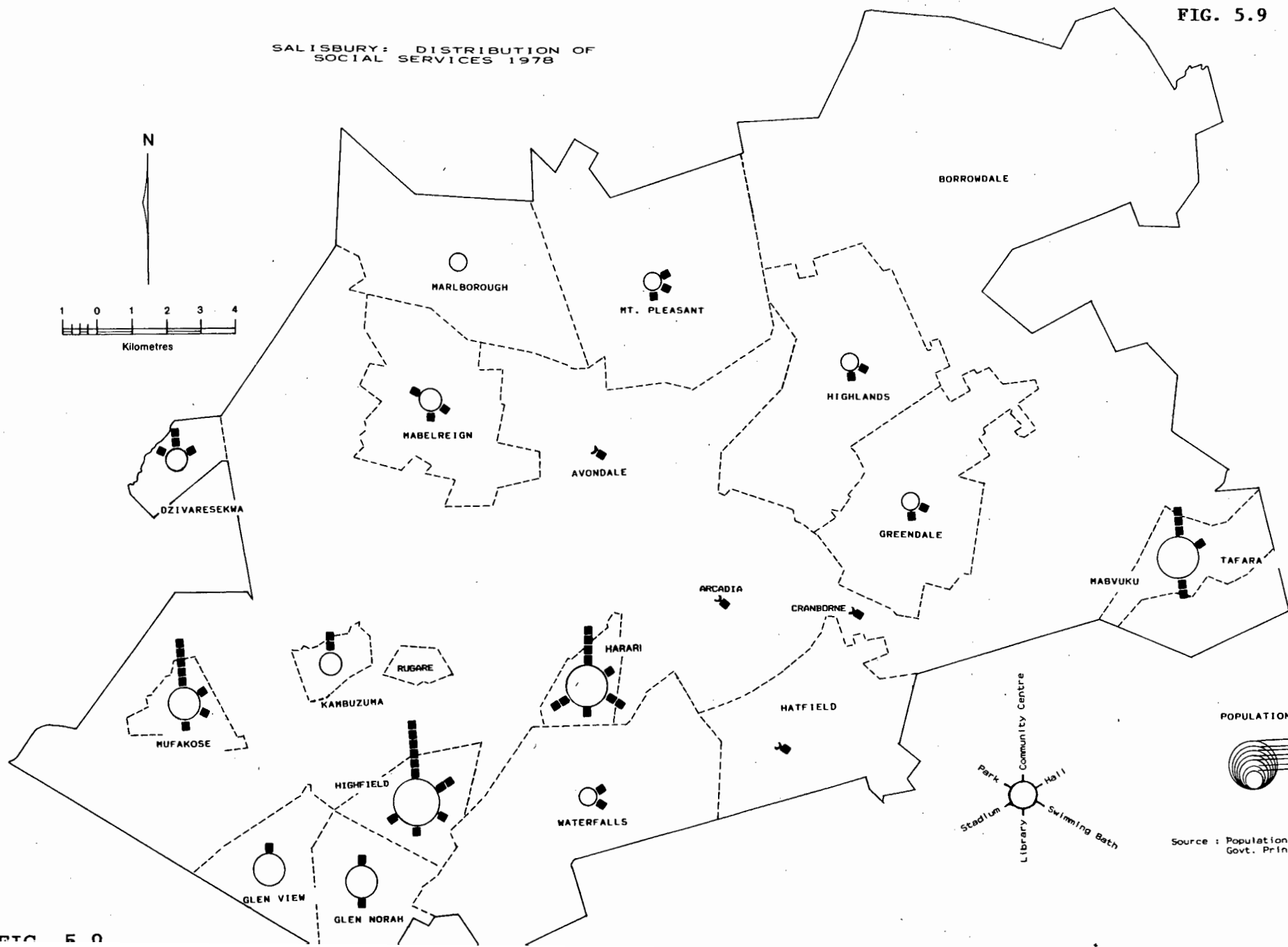
That a White-controlled agency such as the Department of African Affairs could exist and could impinge so fundamentally upon the lives of Blacks in the city, clearly demonstrates the underlying disaggregation of the society and of the forces that brought that about.

Figure 5.9 graphically reflects the preponderance of Council-provided social services in the Black areas in 1978. While a greater range of services was supplied in the Black areas, the number of facilities per capita in each area indicates relative undersupply and the transgression of efficient performance thresholds.

For instance, in 1971 Council provided staff for, and administered, three Full Day Care Centres at a ratio of one facility per 98 945 people, nine Play Centres (ratio 1:11 903), four public halls (ratio 1:26 782) and two reference libraries (ratio 1:53 564). Available finance was always a

FIG. 5.9

SALISBURY: DISTRIBUTION OF
SOCIAL SERVICES 1978



Source : Population Census 1982
Govt. Printer, Harare.

major constraint on the provision of facilities. A subsidised feeding scheme provided nutritious meals at the Full Day and Play Centres, the St Nicholas Nursery School and the Salisbury Society for the Care of the Mentally Handicapped.

Municipal policy on library services meant that libraries in the townships served more as sources of reference material and basic education than as recreational outlets. Nevertheless this appears, at least in part, to have been a response to perceived demand. Both the colonial ethic of 'helping the natives to help themselves' and Black perceptions that the route to a better quality of life in urban society lay in education and modernisation are evident here. In 1970 the Director of African Administration observed that, "the major demand is still for textbooks, with science and English still in top places. Reading for pleasure has increased to almost 20 per cent of the total which is most encouraging" (City of Salisbury, 1970 p12).

Other facets of active Council participation in Black welfare initiatives included:

1. A cinema circuit.
2. Arts and Crafts. An Art Centre under the directorship of a retired professional artist provided materials and instruction. One Craft Centre produced soapstone sculptures and copperwork while a second concentrated on weaving, macrame, leatherwork, crochet, printing, and candle-making. A Pottery Centre provided a kiln. Most of the production of these centres found commercial markets and it was Council's policy to develop viable projects to contain costs.
3. Boys' Clubs (for drama, voluntary work, or cultural activities, Girls' Clubs where the emphasis was more on social work than recreation (e.g. first aid, dress-making, cookery) and Womens' Clubs. In 1970, there were 23 such clubs involved in such activities as running creches, cookery, sewing, gardening, handicrafts, choral singing, tribal dancing and fundraising.

4. A Vocational Training Centre in Harari was established to develop applied skills in woodwork and metalwork.
5. Cultural Entertainment. Clubs offered drama, ballroom dancing, music and debating. Inter-club competitions were regularly organised.
6. Sport. This was the most popular outlet of active, organised recreation with spectator support being a very important complementary component. Football, netball and tennis had the highest participation rates. Other sports included athletics, basketball, boxing, cycling, volleyball, weight-lifting and swimming. Council assisted by providing trained coaching staff who were also responsible for the organisation of different sports associations. A regular programme of competitions was held in all sports and, from the early 1960's many clubs participated in national, multi-racial competitions and leagues, with their members being eligible for Rhodesian national colours. This may be taken as evidence of changing White attitudes to Black demands for greater integration into the life of the country. As economic, employment and educational mobility of Blacks increased, extra-parliamentary White leadership in commercial, church and other national institutions was articulating and endorsing what they considered to be legitimate Black aspirations. This debate was the focus of much attention in the media and occurred in the context of Negro civil rights activism in the United States and growing opprobrium of race discrimination in the international community. In Rhodesia any new 'liberalising' initiatives were interpreted variously as the surrender of White autonomy, compromise, the co-operation of Black social fractions, or morally and ethically desirable actions. While Black political progress remained blocked by the Rhodesian Front, private organisations and facilities increasingly were being opened to Black participation.

With respect to sport in the White sector of society, Council provided land on long-term lease at nominal rentals

to different clubs. The construction of facilities, maintenance and organisation were, however, the sole responsibility of the members. Clubs constituted an important social focus in the White community and facilities were consequently of a very high quality. In the White areas of Salisbury for recreation, as well as for many other public goods and services, private money, facilities and organisations were substituted for public outputs. By comparison, because Council operated within a very limited welfare budget, many of the sports facilities in the Black areas were rudimentary.

The significant role of missionaries in the colonisation of Rhodesia has already been alluded to. Religious proselytising had been an important motivation for White penetration of the country. The education provided by missionaries did much to impose a foreign ideology and to influence Black values and aspirations. Their presence did much to legitimise imperialist designs and, implicitly and explicitly, they lent credibility to colonialist designs. In Salisbury, in addition to their primary function of providing spiritual guidance and comfort, churches provided important social foci. They also acted as welfare agents organising adult literacy classes, pre-school education and youth clubs. By 1974 Council had allocated 86 sites to various denominations most of which were occupied (City of Salisbury, 1974 p6). All sites were leased at a token rental with certain rights of renewal.

An important community support organisation, particularly within the hostel community, were the Burial Societies. These were constituted on a tribal basis and served to maintain links between the workers in the city and the rural community. Monies raised through regular contributions were used primarily to facilitate the burial of members (particularly in the transport of bodies to ancestral burial places in the rural areas). However, the societies also assisted new migrants to integrate into urban life by providing a social focus and an advice forum. They offered

recreational outlets, particularly tribal dancing, boxing, and football, organised social gatherings and provided formal links with tribal chiefs. Although the Council did not administer the societies in any way, they could enjoy the use of Council facilities provided they registered as Welfare Organisations. While discussing the burial societies the Director of African Administration (ibid. p14) revealed a telling insight into the cultural divide and social relations between many colonial administrators and the urban Black society for whom they were responsible. In his experience and perception, the burial societies, "of all forms of African social, cultural, or sporting associations ... are the most enduring because of tribal discipline manifest in the virtues of responsibility, integrity and honesty so lacking in almost every other form of African voluntary association".

Socially significant unstructured outlets for male social interaction and relaxation were the beer-halls. These were built, funded and administered by the Council-owned Rufaro breweries which manufactured traditional beer and operated as a monopoly in the townships. By 1978 there were approximately 50 beer halls in the Black townships. Much of the profits were diverted to other Council welfare projects. Directing the profits of the beer halls to fund welfare projects in the townships is further evidence of the settler colonists' policy of social and residential race segregation. Wherever possible, funds were extracted from the Black populace to pay for social and physical infrastructure in designated Black areas.

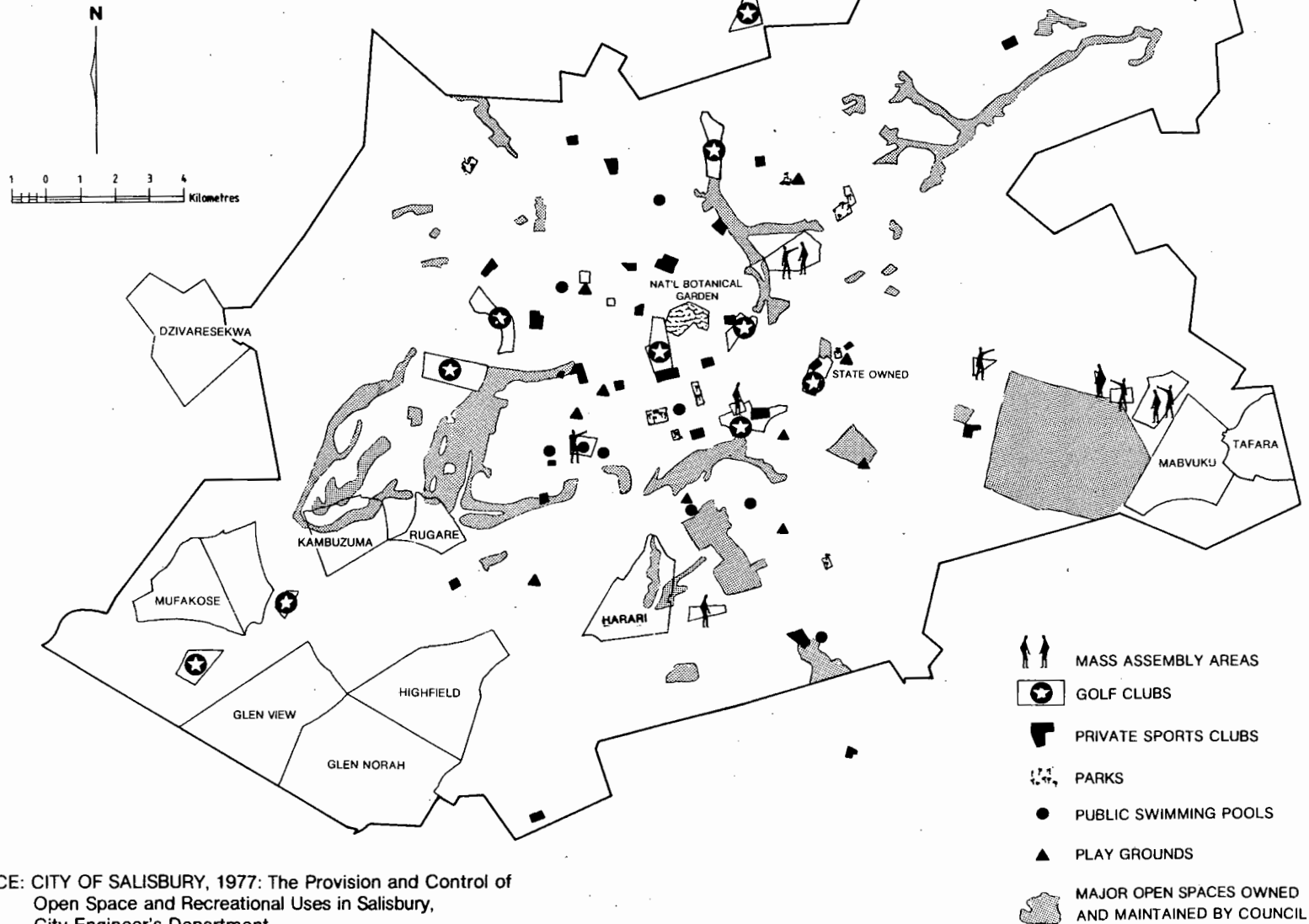
In a planning study of open space and recreational uses (Fig. 5.10) in Salisbury (City of Salisbury, 1977 p4) it was concluded that, "the overall provision of active and passive open space in Salisbury is high compared with other countries and, with the Rhodesian way of life being outdoor oriented, the demand for open space (especially active) has been high. The total open space provision for Greater Salisbury is 15,5 ha. per 1 000 population. The standard

used for present planning purposes is 8 ha. per 1000 population (the equivalent standards in Britain and South Africa being approximately 4 ha. per 1000 persons)." Significantly, despite the *de facto* erosion of racial discrimination in daily life by 1977, the study sought to establish the needs and demands only of the 'non-African' population for open space and recreation. It was still considered that the requirements of Blacks would be different and would be better addressed by the Department of African Administration's Welfare Branch.

Council maintained developed parks which provided numerous facilities for use by the public. Although by the 1970's these were open to all the citizens of the city, they were all located in the White areas and tended not to be extensively patronised by Blacks. Toilet facilities however, remained segregated until 1979. These parks included 13 childrens' play areas and local, district and regional parks (defined in terms of the geographic area of user catchment).²⁷ The Council planning study (*ibid.* p17) observed that access to parks by low income groups was constrained by a lack of proximate open spaces. Residents of middle-income areas were best served and that group constituted the largest number of users. The high income groups had a greater provision of private recreational facilities and thus had less need of public open spaces - this is further ratified by the fact that householders with more private facilities on plots, e.g. swimming pools and tennis courts, used city parks less frequently than those without, and that the longer they had lived on their plots,

²⁷ District Parks include Central Park, Ballantyne Park the Botanical Gardens, Greenwood Park and Hillside Swan Park. The Makabusi Woodlands and the Cleveland Dam are designated 'regional parks'. In addition, the wider region beyond the municipal boundaries was well endowed with a wide range of recreational outlets of different kinds which lent themselves to day outings. Distance and cultural proclivity tended to preclude the Black populace from their usage even when rights of admission and national statute were not invoked.

SALISBURY – FORMAL RECREATION FACILITIES IN LOW DENSITY AREAS, 1977



SOURCE: CITY OF SALISBURY, 1977: The Provision and Control of Open Space and Recreational Uses in Salisbury, City Engineer's Department.

the greater the provision of their own facilities (ibid. p28).

In combination the district and regional parks contained the following facilities: A miniature railway, a band stand, a restaurant , formal gardens, aviaries, fountains, swan and duck ponds, flower seller stalls and a garden for the blind. In addition to parks, Council operated 11 swimming pools, 4 of which were located in the Black townships (one in Harari, one in Mufakose and two in Highfield).

5.2.6 Community Safeguards

Police protection and related services were provided by the national British South Africa Police (BSAP) so, beyond protecting its own facilities with guards and nightwatchmen, this facet of social security was never a concern of the Salisbury City Council. Fire and ambulance services did however fall within its ambit of responsibility. The two services were based together and operated from three stations (abutting the CBD, in Waterfalls; and in Greendale) each of which was responsible for a particular district. In toto these districts encompassed the entire city including the Black townships. Government also operated an ambulance service for internal purposes from the hospitals.

5.2.7 Education

In general, formal education was the preserve of central government although some private institutions were permitted to provide formal education within the parameters of Government policy and control. Salisbury City Council involvement was limited to non-formal and informal education by virtue of its financial contributions to libraries, the museum, the national art gallery, and different community groups.

The disparate standards of education and facilities provided for Whites and Blacks constituted an important focus of political contention for Blacks who perceived education to be a crucial element of welfare and personal development.

The Ministry of Education was divided into a Division of European, Asian and Coloured Education and a Division of African Education emphasising to Blacks the differential treatment accorded them.

Although an African child was almost twice as likely to attend school in Salisbury than in Rhodesia as a whole, 21 per cent of African school-age children in Salisbury had never attended school according to the 1969 census (City of Salisbury, 1973 p75). The reason for this is that Headmasters could not accept any child into a Government school unless the Superintendent of a township had certified that the child was either the lawful child or legal ward of a registered tenant. Thus, to the degree that Council was unable to satisfy the demand for housing (c.f. an official waiting list of 18 900 families in May 1979 (USAID 1981, p21)), it prejudiced the opportunity for education of African children. As a result, by 1973, an anomalous situation had developed in Salisbury in which places were available in schools but were not being filled because many of the populace were either illegal squatters or unregistered lodgers in existing homes.

The figures in Table 5.9 provide an indication of disparities in Black/White education in Salisbury in 1973. The data understate the level of disparity, however, and do not reveal qualitative differences in the education received by pupils drawn from different population groups. Strong qualitative differences could be identified in terms of training and qualifications of teachers, buildings, equipment, and sporting and other extra-mural facilities. For Blacks fewer schools served a school-going population over 2.5 times larger than that of Whites. Of the 51 Black schools, only 11 (21,5 per cent) were Secondary schools (as opposed to 58,8 per cent for the White population). The figures do not reveal that while no private schools existed for the Black population, the White group was served by 17. White schools were smaller, with the resulting benefits of

being more intimate while smaller teacher-pupils ratios indicate greater personal attention for each child.

The City Council provided Black pre-school play centres and encouraged, through limited financial support, pre-school education provided by voluntary Black womens' organisations. This was the extent of its involvement in school education. It did however operate a vocational training centre in Harari where students were trained in carpentry and welding.

Table 5.9 Education in Salisbury 1973

	European, Asians Coloureds	African
No. of Schools		
Primary	46	40
Secondary	20	11
Total	66	51
Estimated population of Salisbury	120 280	360 000
Estimated school-age population	34 866	72 000
No. of children enrolled	30 798	38 693
% children receiving education	88	53
Ratio schools: potential pupils	1:528	1:1422
Primary school: pupil ratio	1:381	1:863
Primary teacher: pupil ratio	1:30,54	1:37,23
Secondary school: pupil ratio	1:674	1:376
Secondary teacher: pupil ratio	1:17,49	1:22,95

Source: City of Salisbury, 1973 p78, p79
City of Salisbury, 1974 p7

5.2.8 Public Health

The Salisbury City Council was extensively involved in the fields of preventative and curative medicine. A separate Department under a Medical Officer of Health supervised,

1. a Health Inspectorate responsible for environmental control including rodent and pest control, monitoring of atmospheric pollution, and general disease control in city establishments. It also provided operating licences for certain industrial and retail functions (e.g. the processing and selling of food);
2. a Nursing Service providing primary health care, ante- and post-natal support, a family planning programme, and community care education;
3. a Health Visiting Service carrying maternity care to the home environment;
4. a District Nursing Service which extended health care to the homes of the chronically sick, the elderly and those discharged from hospital;
5. a Medical Examination Centre providing free medical and dental inspections for Black workers;
6. a Health Education Service;
7. a School Health Service which involved the screening and possible referral of school-children plus administration of regular immunisation programmes;
8. a creche for children in the Coloured suburb of Arcadia.

While the services of the Department were nominally available to all the citizens in the city, the greater proportion of its energies was directed towards the Black population who were unable to carry the high costs of substituting private for public medical attention. Central government provided sophisticated major hospital and out-patient services, an infectious diseases hospital, and a psychiatric institution. These were available to Blacks and Whites alike although in segregated facilities.

Health services underwent a radical transformation after the incorporation of Greater Salisbury in 1971. Prior to that date services tended to be limited to the central city area. Their location meant that many users, and in particular Black patients living in more distant townships, experienced difficulties in gaining access to health services which were not reaching many of the people for whom they were intended particularly the Black population who were located relatively far from them. This situation obtained despite the fact that Whites tended to supplement private for public treatment and were better able to afford transport. Only "rudimentary"²⁸ health services were available in the Black townships of Harari, Mabvuku and Mufakose.

Municipal health service policy shifted in 1977 toward the development of a decentralised health system. Each suburb and township was to be provided with its own service through the establishment of local polyclinics each containing primary care, community care and maternity units. By 1978 the service had been substantially improved and while the size of service areas and quality of service varied, most areas of the City were within a three kilometre radius of a polyclinic or of a single-function clinic. In recurrent Annual Reports (City of Salisbury, 1977 - 1979) the City Medical Officer of Health cited lack of funding as the principal factor inhibiting much needed expansion of high quality medical services across the city.

An important facet of Council's preventive health function was refuse removal and sewerage reticulation and treatment.²⁹ The Operations Branch of the City Engineers

²⁸ Personal communication with Dr J C A Davies, City Medical Officer of Health.

²⁹ Living in close proximity to a Black population whose material standard of living, as a result of endemic poverty, was demonstrably lower than that of Whites and whose way-of-life and values were perceived to be fundamentally different, White colonial society, it could be inferred, displayed a strongly developed "sanitation syndrome". The separation of the Black and White populace probably, at least in part, reflected White

Department was responsible for solid and liquid waste removal and street cleaning. In 1973 an assessment of the service by the Corporate Development Group found that both functions were being maintained at a high level although operational difficulties were being experienced as the problem of obtaining new vehicles became more acute (City of Salisbury, 1973 p85). Stringent foreign exchange controls and international sanctions during the civil war were the cause. By inference any restriction on services would impact most immediately upon the Black community who did not possess a municipal vote.

The entire city had been articulated by a water-borne sewerage system save for subdivisions of one acre or more for which septic tanks and soakways were adequate. Although in older Black townships, some houses possessed outside (and occasionally shared) toilets, maintenance and treatment were high, services being funded by charges levied on owners or tenants of properties.

In addition to the health-related services already noted, the Council maintained six cemeteries and a crematorium. Different cemeteries existed for Black and White citizens. Spatial differentiation, according to religious denomination, occurred within cemeteries.

5.2.9 Urban Aesthetics

With its large well-nurtured domestic gardens in the White suburbs, its tree-lined streets, grass verges and impression of cleanliness and neatness, Salisbury enjoyed a reputation of being a particularly attractive city. That reputation extended far beyond the national borders of the then Rhodesia. Council explicitly encouraged this image and

consciousness of the health hazard that a poor Black population might hold for them. This too, would account for the relatively high level of health services provided for the Black population. However such a motivation should not be overstated. The professional and ethical integrity of doctors and other medical officers whose concern was the treatment of human beings regardless of race, creed, or colour needs to be recognised.

nurtured civic pride. Its Amenities Branch "developed a high standard of floral display in well-treed and grassed parks, by establishing flower beds in traffic islands and providing trees in streets". (City of Salisbury, 1973 p96). It also provided street signs, street furniture such as lights, benches, statues, bus shelters, and undertook the hard and soft landscaping of traffic islands, malls, parks and other open spaces. Grass cutting of verges and open areas was another of its functions. Revenue for these activities derived from the Rates Account and most of the energy was directed to the source of the income, the White areas. This was in accordance with the image of a desirable urban environment held by the settlers. It was not expected that Blacks would conform with these values or share the same ideals. Given the paucity of funds for developments in the Black townships, urban aesthetics was not a high priority.

As described earlier the Black areas were visually less attractive being less verdant and colourful, architecturally monotonous, frequently lacking paved streets and curbs and deficient in parks and landscaped open space. Essential grass cutting, street cleaning and refuse removal services were provided by the Council but other, more basic welfare services were deemed to place a greater demand on limited public revenue than urban aesthetics. The cultivation of flowering gardens was not a cultural norm among Blacks nor would gardens have been regarded as a priority in household budget planning.

5.2.10 Electrical Power

Salisbury City Council was responsible for the generation, distribution and supply of electricity in the municipal area. It owned and operated a power station commissioned between 1947 and 1958. After 1963, in terms of the Central African Power Act, the Council purchased all of its power in bulk from the Central African Power Corporation (CAPC). From that date the municipal power station provided

supplementary power at peak periods for which the Council was reimbursed by the CAPC.

While all residences in the White suburbs were connected to the electricity system, this was not the case in the Black areas where wood fires and kerosene stoves were extensively used. Hoek-Smit (1982, p11) established in a socio-economic survey of Black households in 1978, that 52 per cent of houses occupied by Blacks had electricity, 30 per cent cooked over kerosene stoves and 15 per cent over firewood. Many other houses possessed only a single five-amp electrical point. Table 5.10 indicates the great discrepancy in domestic power consumption between the White and Black areas for 1974/75 and 1978/79. It also demonstrates the magnitude of White domestic consumption as a percentage of total electricity consumption relative to Black domestic users. Furthermore the bulk of the commercial and industrial usage was accounted for by White-owned economic activities located in the White areas of the city.

Table 5.10 Domestic Electricity Consumption in Salisbury
(Kilo-watt Hours)

	% of Domestic Consumption 1974/75	Domestic as % of Total Consumption	% of Domestic Consumption 1978/79	Domestic as % of Total Consumption
WHITE AREAS	93.02	41.99	90.17	40.06
BLACK AREAS	6.98	3.16	9.83	4.37

Source: Annual Reports of the City Electrical Engineer 1974/75 and 1978/79.

The policy of supplying electricity for all new housing is reflected in the proportional increase in Black consumption over the period. Tariff charges were set by the CAPC but all revenue for power consumed in Salisbury accrued to the Council. Income from electricity sales constituted the

largest single source of municipal revenue funding in 1978 (37,4 per cent of the total).

5.2.11 Planning and Land

With the N'debele and Mashona rebellions of 1896/97 still remembered, the proximity of large concentrations of Blacks within the urban areas of Rhodesia had been considered a potential threat from the earliest days of the settlement. Given the necessity for cheap labour and difficulties of transportation, however, the authorities had become reconciled to the establishment of Black townships on the periphery of the City. It was a contradiction of the colonial capitalist mode of production that while the presence and proximity of Blacks in the functioning economy was a necessity, the fear of physical violence amongst other factors discussed earlier, led to the segregation of races in the city. By the 1970's the policy and practice of socio-political separation and physical segregation of the race groups was deeply entrenched and formalised in law.

The significance for the future stability of the urban system of wide political, social and economic disparities between race groups and their encapsulation in space did not elude the authorities however. Despite their eventual, albeit reluctant, acceptance of growing numbers of Blacks becoming a permanent feature of urban life, the potential dangers in their distribution were recognised.

The Chairman of the Health, Housing and African Administration Committee of Council expressed the opinion that, "We now have the situation where there are eight large African townships ringing Salisbury. What would happen if the residents became politically motivated? Salisbury would be caught in a stranglehold of strikes and mob violence". (Rhodesia Herald, 1972). Such sentiments were widely endorsed and were to influence later policy responses. As it was perceived, this problem was exacerbated by an increasing rate and scale of rural-urban influx and the

inability of the authorities to provide timeously an adequate standard of housing and services (Table 5.11)

Table 5.11 Salisbury - Population Growth Rates by Race Group 1964-1975

annum) GROUP	Population (Thousands)			Growth Rates (per cent per	
	1964 (a)	1969 (b)	1975 (a)	1969-1969	1969-1975
White, Asian, Coloured	94	106	139	2.4	4.6
Black	220	280	430	4.9	7.4
Total	314	386	569	4.2	6.7

(a) Central Statistical Office estimates

(b) 1969 National census

Source : Hume I M 1976 : The Urban Challenge, Confidential Document of Director of Whitsun Foundation, Whitsun Foundation Salisbury.

By April 1979 there were 18,500 Black families on the waiting list for houses. The City Council repeatedly attempted to prevent the proliferation of squatter shanties. By-laws empowered the Director for African Administration to demolish unauthorised structures in areas adjacent to Black townships and to repatriate 'indigents' (the unemployed and unhoused) to their place of origin in the Tribal Trust Lands. The first phase of removal of 5 000 squatters occurred in March 1972. In an editorial the Rhodesia Herald (30 March, 1972) observed that shanties were being erected quicker than the authorities could deal with them and queried whether or not a vigorous housing policy would relieve the overcrowding that must be reflected by more than 18 000 applicants for married accommodation. At the same time government recognised that, "intensive and rapid development of the Tribal Trust Lands, coupled with more attractive conditions for agricultural employees in European

areas, are prerequisites to the success of any measures to control the influx of Africans to major centres in the country" (Rhodesia Herald, 1972).

Issues such as these, deriving from the historically and geographically specific circumstances of the evolution of Salisbury, reaffirmed the need for continuing planning intervention. By the 1970's with the rapid rate of expansion of the city and the incorporation of the Town Management Boards, there was a realisation that only in this way could myriad problems already experienced in the burgeoning cities of the developing World be anticipated and confronted. Only through rational integration and articulation of the urban system, consistent with locally evolved precepts and standards, could a particular type of urban environment be guaranteed. The conception of an ideal urban realm would accord with the opinions of those in political control and, more generally, with the Rhodesian settler colonial society at large.

Earlier planning legislation, including the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1933 and 1945 (as amended), provided for the preparation of planning schemes primarily in an attempt to rationalise and control peri-urban sprawl. The main thrust of the 1945 Act "was toward the control of the subdivision of property and the preparation of schemes for the co-ordinated and harmonious development of the area" (Jordan 1984 p64). A later Act, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act of 1976 reflected cognisance of the need for planning of integrated economic and physical development on a regional scale. By recognising the essential interdependence of city and region, it sought to transcend the inherent limitations of intra-urban planning schemes applied essentially *in vacuo*.

The possibility of developing new townships in the Tribal Trust Lands was an attractive option to the White government. In 1971 Prime Minister Smith remarked, "I think that gradually we must face up to the problem and see if it is not possible to divert this (Black) spending power to the

Tribal Trust Lands by the development of townships for these people" (Rhodesia Herald, 1971). In October 1971 the Salisbury City Council passed a motion prohibiting the buying and allocation of any further land within the city boundaries for the purpose of Black housing (Sunday Mail, 1971). Also in 1971, the parastatal Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation developed land for the establishment of a new industrial complex called Seki in the Seke Tribal Trust Land immediately south of Salisbury in an attempt to initiate industrial deconcentration from the city and to create local job opportunities. In 1972 Government formally adopted a policy of encouraging the development of African townships in the Tribal Trust Lands, and, in the existing urban areas, of encouraging Africans to conduct their own business in the townships (Hansard, 1972)

Directed toward, but pre-dating the 1976 Regional Town and Country Planning Act, a new regional development policy was published in 1973. Rhodesia was to be divided into ten planning regions which would incorporate the Tribal Trust Lands, hitherto excluded from planning considerations for the White areas of the colony, into the wider economy. Decentralisation of economic activity from the established urban areas was to be the mechanism employed to effect this policy.

Development goals and objectives were to be established for each region in accord with prevailing demographic socio-economic and ecological conditions. For each region, a regional planning council, on which local authorities and other interested bodies would be represented, was to be constituted. The council would, with the assistance of the government Physical Planning Department, prepare a regional plan. Within the context of the regional plan, local authorities would prepare Master Plans which would provide broad structure and policy directions. These would, in turn, provide the framework within which detailed Local Plans could be developed. Zoning and regulations would enable the City Council to control land use, densities,

building heights, setbacks, construction and performance standards, traffic flows and urban aesthetics. By-laws would empower the Council to regulate urban activities. The instruments available to the City Council to determine the city's form and functioning were thus varied and comprehensive. Planning and the exercise of control mechanisms were, and are, crucial in determining the nature and evolution of the city in accord with desired goals.

In pursuance of its policy of regional development, the government, in 1978 proclaimed a new autonomous Urban Council (later to become a Town Council) at Chitungwisa,³⁰ some 38 kms south-south-east of Salisbury. The decision was, in part, a pragmatic recognition of rapidly growing, essentially uncontrolled, dormitory settlements at Seke, Zengeza and St Mary's Mission, in the Seke Tribal Trust Land, which housed Black populations working or seeking employment in Salisbury. In part, it was also a recognition of future problems that would arise if Salisbury municipality incurred the responsibility of having to administer and finance such distant, large, low-income settlements.

To facilitate design of a Master Plan for Salisbury within its development region six alternative strategies or broad structure plans were submitted to the City Council by the Town Planning Branch for consideration. After debate the Council accepted "Strategy Six" in April 1979 (City of Salisbury, 1979). Briefly stated, the strategy required the simultaneous development of two independent satellite cities at Chitungwisa and Chinamora and a well developed communications system linking the satellites to Salisbury (Fig. 5.11). It was conceived that a vigorously implemented policy of industrial deconcentration would provide the necessary employment and income bases to ensure

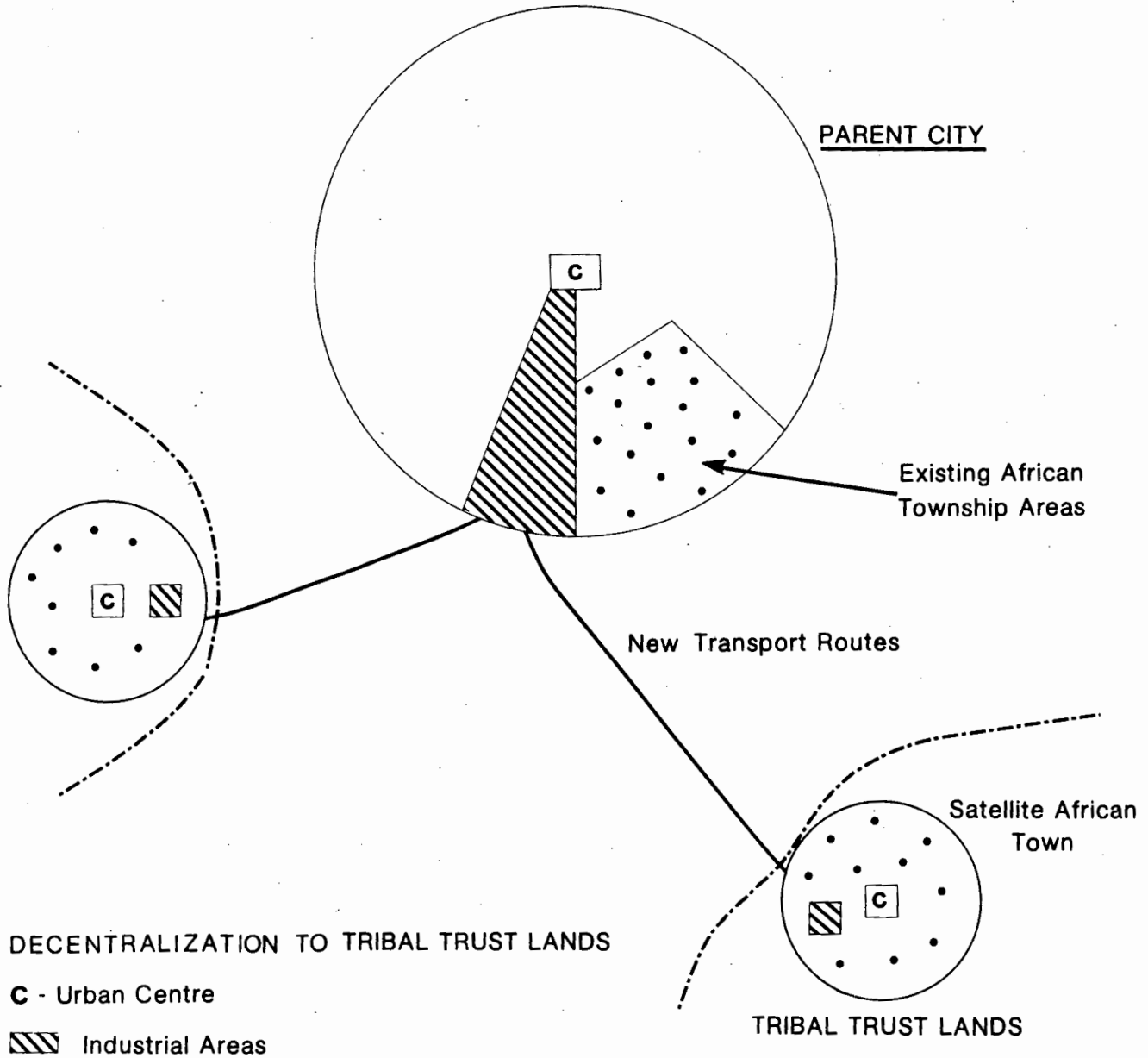
³⁰ In 1982 the population of Chitungwisa (172 556) exceeded the populations of the third and fourth largest cities in Zimbabwe, namely Gwelo (Gweru) and Umtali (Mutare).

FIG. 5.11

STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR FUTURE AFRICAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

(Adopted by City Council)

STRATEGY 6 : Satellite Towns



balanced growth and to constitute the thresholds necessary for the provision of extensive social and physical infrastructure. In essence, while being interrelated and forming a metropolitan system, each city would be largely self-contained.

The ideologically founded motive of absolving itself from the responsibility and the attendant costs of absorbing a large low-income Black component into the city can readily be imputed in Salisbury City Council's adoption of the policy of deconcentration. This was entirely consistent with the attitudes of White settler society discussed in an earlier chapter. While the overt aim of the policy might have been consistent with the broader goals of regional development, the desire to maintain the *status quo* in Salisbury, and to avoid the accretion of Black townships on the city's fringes, was apparent.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Selected aspects of the spatial and functional organisation of Salisbury during the period of White settler-colonial rule have been isolated to provide the basis for assessment of transformations that might have been initiated when the city became subject to Black management and control. The central focus of this chapter has been the role of Salisbury's local authority in determining the nature of the geographic environment and the welfare of the citizens. Important subsidiary themes included the differential treatment accorded Black citizens and the degree to which civic actions reflected the ideology of the dominant White settler group. That ideology informed problem identification, assessment of priority needs, and subsequent policy and action responses.

Insofar as it manifested the political economy of capitalist settler colonialism, the structure, form and functional organisation of Salisbury conformed with the general model of the colonial city. In addition it reflected the specific

circumstances of its own history and geography. Race discrimination became a primary determinant of social, economic, and political structures. Born of a need to establish and entrench White settler dominance over the subordinate Black indigenous population, discrimination subsequently served to reaffirm and to reinforce White attitudes and values which were the bases of behavioural norms and practices. Much of Rhodesian culture was reflected in spatial structures and physical forms which, once established, became geographic imperatives determining many facets of national life. Racial separation, segregation and inequality became pervasive features of the geographic environment.

In the city of Salisbury, the local authority has been an important agent in giving expression to the characteristics of Rhodesian society as a result of its ability to plan, to exert controls over the form and functioning of the city, and to provide public goods and services. Importantly, because of their subordinate political, economic and social status, Blacks have always been more influenced than Whites by the policies and actions of the City Council. Its functions permeated the life experience of Black citizens. To the extent that its actions generated patterns of inequality, heightened perceptions of discrimination, and became the object of grievance and contention, the advent of a majority Black Council with a different ideological predisposition, could have been expected to initiate fundamental change at least in the provision of public goods and services.

The legal jurisdiction over which the City Council presided has an important bearing upon an understanding of the geography of public finance in the city. At issue here are the geographic extent of the Council's obligations, its relationship with central government and other proximate jurisdictions, and the degree to which it possessed freedom of action. Also relevant is the distribution of potential tax income and the degree to which the electorate could

participate in urban government. The nature and extent of public participation in decision-making determines the degree to which Council is influenced by the needs of the enfranchised population. Change in political relationships would be reflected in changes in the financial transactions of the Council. It is to a consideration of the jurisdictional context of local authority practice and to the changing circumstances of citizen participation in decision making that attention now turns.

Given that the central subject of analysis in this thesis is the geography of local authority finance under changing ideological circumstances, it is important fully to understand the jurisdictional context within which the City Council operates and the financial organisation of the City Council. The following chapter addresses this issue drawing particular attention to the sources of public funds and the procedures whereby these are allocated for financing the public facilities and amenities discussed above. Another topic concerns the degree to which the Council has unfettered discretion in this regard. The discussion covers the period of past colonial transaction from 1978 to the beginning of 1985.

CHAPTER 6

THE JURISDICTIONAL CONTEXT AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

The activities of individuals and governmental institutions as well as the interrelationships between them are limited and defined by the jurisdictional context in which they occur. Law establishes the rights, powers, responsibilities and obligations of both citizen and government and specifies the spatial context in which they apply. The nature and extent of rules regulations and boundaries provide the context in which decisions are made. They also provide the means by which individuals or groups can seek to influence decisions or to change the rules, and through which peoples' access to geographic areas, land usage, or public goods and services is either permitted or proscribed. Moreover the forces and the social relations of production are, in large part constrained and directed by legal prescription. In this respect a complex interrelationship exists between the productive process and the organisation of social relations through the political system. As has already been observed, a particular type of economy elicits a particular form of social organisation and appropriate norms and values. In turn, the social relations of production provide the motivation for the specific content of formal regulations which emerge. By the same token however, once established, the form of social and political organisation influences the development of the economic system. The dialectical relationship between economic substructure and social and political superstructure produces a particular mode of production (Brewer, 1984 p 191-2).

Theoretically, in a free market economy, a person in any particular geographical location, may depart what is perceived to be an undesirable area and move to an area of his choice subject only to the ability to pay. In other

words a person can "vote with his/her feet". By similar token, groups or institutions accorded legal powers within defined jurisdictions, may exercise those powers to consolidate their position and enhance the quality of their environment *vis-a-vis* other jurisdictions. This they can do by attempting to attract land uses deemed beneficial to the community and by excluding those considered deleterious for instance. "The ability of local governments to continue to attract the utility-enhancing (sic) depends upon establishing an attractiveness gradient between their jurisdiction and other jurisdictions, an attractiveness gradient that is apparent in, among other things, tax rates, school spending and school pupil compositions. Establishing this attractiveness gradient, however, depends on the power to exclude, the power to provide services and the power to fund services from local sources. These powers are delegated to local governments by the states" (Cox, 1979 p313)

By extension it is important that individuals and interest groups within a jurisdiction should be able to influence the exercise of power in their own interest. The epithet "no taxation without representation", a rallying cry of democracy, turns upon this issue. The ability to influence power may be achieved through formally established procedures through which citizens may make representations to state officials. Alternatively it may be achieved informally, often through personal contacts or through utilisation of public communications media. American experience has been that those residents with a community of interests and who sought a particular mix of urban utilities would congregate to do so and would mobilise to influence public decision-making to achieve their ends. The distribution of public expenditure and the provision of public amenities would reflect their preferences and influence (or status). Conversely those areas revealing a deficiency in the provision of public goods and services could, by inference, be expected to display relatively lower levels of economic, social and political mobilisation. "The

ability of a neighbourhood interest group to regulate urban development to the advantage of the local turf depends, all other things being equal, on its ability to obtain public decisions in its favour The power of neighbourhood groups therefore becomes important; they must have political resources providing advantages over other neighbourhood groups ...; furthermore the degree of power a neighbourhood group has with respect to other interests vying for control of neighbourhood turf is also of critical importance" (ibid. p300). The delimitation of jurisdictional boundaries becomes important in this regard. A group can only influence effectively those answerable to it. Conversely those in control can only effect change in those areas in which they have jurisdiction. Defined powers and obligations for various functions are generally vested within jurisdictional boundaries and generally only those with particular rights within those jurisdictions would be able to induce change.

Who exercises power and for whom within jurisdictions constitutes a central theme in discourse on public authority activity. (Massam 1974; Needham 1977; Boaden 1971; Barlow 1981) Pahl (1975) conceptualises four distinct, but not necessarily exclusive, models which facilitate the dispensation of power within a city:

- 1 A 'pure' Managerialist model based on public interest theory in which civic control is exercised by professional urban managers operating in what they perceive to be the interests of the public.
- 2 A 'Statist' model in which the local authority operates as an extension of, and in accordance with, national government policy.
- 3 A 'Control-by-Capitalists' model in which real power vests with private capitalists and the public authority constitutes a co-opted elite functioning in the interests of private capital.

- 4 A 'Pluralist' model in which control is apportioned variably among the above three groups in permanent tension with one another.

While local government in Salisbury undoubtedly conformed with the last of these models, expectations for Harare in the context of an idealised socialist political economy would be consistent with the Statist model.

Underpinning these models are theories of private and group motivation which hold that an important facet of human behaviour is the gaining and keeping of advantages such as wealth, status and power by individuals operating independently or in collusion. These motives can be seen to constitute at least a hidden agenda in explaining why and how people exercise power.

Perhaps the two components that bear the strongest relationship to the form of government organisation are historical precedents and the legal structure. Rapid changes of the latter or the overthrow of old values can radically alter the structure for governing and, by extension the morphology of the city, the quality of life, and life chances of its citizens. This is the theme that constitutes a central component of the current study.

The historical antecedents and the emergent attitudes and values of Rhodesian settler society, the differential status of Blacks within the political economy attendant upon these, and the manner in which these relations found expression in, and were reinforced by, the geography of the city has already been discussed. Changing hegemonies and jurisdictional boundaries within the metropolitan area of Salisbury/Harare and relative access to the decision-making process are the subject of discussion below. A later chapter discusses the relative autonomy of the local state vis-a-vis the central state with particular emphasis on the management of public finance and the provision of public goods and services.

It is not the intention here exhaustively to catalogue the mass of national legislation that impinged upon the daily lives of the country's citizens. Nor is it the intention to discuss discriminatory aspects of law with regard to Blacks despite the fact that the Council had to operate within these legal structures. The issue has been reviewed extensively (Southern Rhodesia, 1958; 1976; Passmore, 1966; Kileff, 1970; United Nations 1978; Davies, 1975; Palley, 1970; 1966; United Nations, 1975; Bowman, 1973) and is discussed elsewhere in this study. Suffice it here to observe that national legislation contributed greatly to defining social relations between Blacks and Whites, to limiting the exercise of Black power in the political arena, to circumscribing their locational preferences, and to constraining their economic competitive potential. The immediate concern is to document changing jurisdictional boundaries and the political status of jurisdictions within the ambit of metropolitan Salisbury that arise from legislation. Power relationships between proclaimed Black and White areas will be addressed in greater detail thereafter.

6.1 JURISDICTIONAL ORGANISATION IN THE WHITE SECTOR

All forms of local government in Rhodesia were 'creatures of government' and had to limit their activities and procedures to those prescribed by central government. It is therefore ironic that the first local government body in Rhodesia was the *ultra vires*¹ Salisbury Sanitary Board elected under the aegis of the British South Africa Company in 1891 (Government Notice No 6) (Jordan, 1984). The Board levied a

¹ By far the greater part of the Company's legislative activity, however, was to be found in the promulgation of Regulations by the Minister. This activity was *ultra vires*. The Administrator frequently made laws, many containing penal provisions, without any legal authority. "Although the Colonial Office must have been aware of this its reaction was normally one of 'turn it in to an Ordinance'. The Colonial Office did not even take steps to prevent the assumption, by the Company of jurisdiction over the African population." (ibid. p104)

rates tax in the same year and became legally established in terms of Ordinance No. 2 of 1894. The Ordinance prescribed the public health duties the Board was required to undertake under the office of a Commonage Ranger.

The first municipal council was inducted in October 1897 following the promulgation of the Municipal Law of 1897. This law was based upon the Municipal Act of the Cape of Good Hope No. 45 of 1882 which was itself modelled upon the form of local government practised in England at the time. "By 1898 therefore the three major legislative measures providing for local government in European Areas was already on the Southern Rhodesian Statute Book" (Palley, 1966 p 643).

The establishment of the municipality preserved the regulations of the Sanitary Board but, in addition, provided for "considerable law-making power". The formulation of by-laws approved by the Administrator was permitted by the Municipal Law. By-laws similar to those that had become common in the Cape Colony were formulated to regulate markets and public sales, to control the erection and to prohibit the overcrowding of buildings, to regulate offensive trades, water supplies, drainage and lighting and to preserve public decency, among other activities and functions (ibid. p137).

Extensive residential development beyond the municipal limits had led to the proclamation of Village Regulations (No. 182) in 1898. These empowered the Administrator, on request, to appoint Village Boards of two or more persons to make rules for various purposes in small settlements located beyond municipal boundaries. The settlement on Avondale farm applied for this status in 1916 (Tanser, 1974 p 167). This was the forerunner of the Town Management Boards to manage the affairs of peri-urban settlements which grew on the fringes of Salisbury.

The above legislation was subsequently extensively amended and ultimately consolidated in the provisions of the Local

Government Act (Chapter 124) of the Municipal Act (Chapter 125), and the Town Management Act (Chapter 134).²

In 1935 Salisbury was accorded "City" status although this conferred no powers in addition to those designated to municipal councils by the Municipal Act.

In 1953 the Town Management Act was passed to enable the establishment of Town Management Boards. These Boards, in general, served smaller populations, were smaller in physical extent and exercised fewer powers than full municipalities. They were subject to extensive government control, particularly of their planning and financial affairs. Though administratively separate, Board areas were frequently dependent upon neighbouring municipalities for the supply of many services at a charge. Such services included water, electricity, fire protection, and ambulance service. Government constructed and maintained roads and provided major public health facilities. Powers vested in Town Management Boards were stipulated in the First Schedule of the Act. They included powers to enact by-laws for all matters falling within the authority of a Board, subject to approval by the Governor. Boards were capable of levying rates on private property and of raising additional funding from licences, rents, permits, fees, dues and charges. They possessed certain borrowing powers, subject to the approval of the Minister for the purchase of land, equipment, construction of works or for liquidating existing loans. Unlike a full municipality, however, Boards did not own

² For a fuller exposition of the composition, structure, function, and powers of both municipalities and Town Management Boards and of the differences and relationships between them see Palley (1966); Passmore (1966); Berelsford (1960); and Jordan (1984). The Local Government Act (Chap. 124 of 1961) provided for local government via Local Boards or Local Committees "in areas where the community was not sufficiently large or developed to warrant a Town Management Board but the Government considers that powers of local government should nonetheless be given to the community" (Palley, 1966, p655). Since neither form of local government obtained in Salisbury they will not be discussed further.

large areas of unalienated land since only municipalities were endowed with common land by the British South Africa Company.

Eight Town Management Boards (*viz.* Greendale, Hatfield, Highlands, Mabelreign, Marlborough, Meyrick Park, Mount Pleasant and Waterfalls) and a Rural Council³ (Borrowdale) were established to serve the peri-urban fringe of greater Salisbury until 1971. The Town Management Boards were not sub-divided into Wards and had between six and twelve Councillors. Borrowdale Rural Council comprised three Wards. It too relied upon central government and the Salisbury municipality for certain services it was unwilling or unable to provide itself. In 1956 Salisbury municipality which hitherto had been an undivided entity, was partitioned into four Wards, each one being represented by four Councillors and in 1971 a further partitioning into 10 Wards, with one Councillor per Ward, occurred. This was expanded to 13 Wards in 1974 (Fig. 6.1).

Given the number of legal jurisdictions and voting Wards enumerated above, and given that Councillors were accountable to an electorate, aggressive competition over limited financial resources, private and public developments or investments, and for types of resident with particular socio-economic or cultural characteristics might have been expected. Certainly the American experience would suggest that such competition would occur. In the United States exclusionary zoning practices, differential property rating, incentives, to 'desirable' commerce and industry, advertising campaigns and "redlining" are commonplace (Knox, 1982 p 160).

The form which physical development in greater Salisbury took did not show evidence of such competition. A significant proportion of the lower-order retail function decentralised into 'neighbourhood' and 'suburban' shopping centre developments but this appears to be more consistent

³ Constituted in terms of the Rural Councils Act of 1966.

CHANGING JURISDICTIONAL BOUNDARIES 1970 - 1980

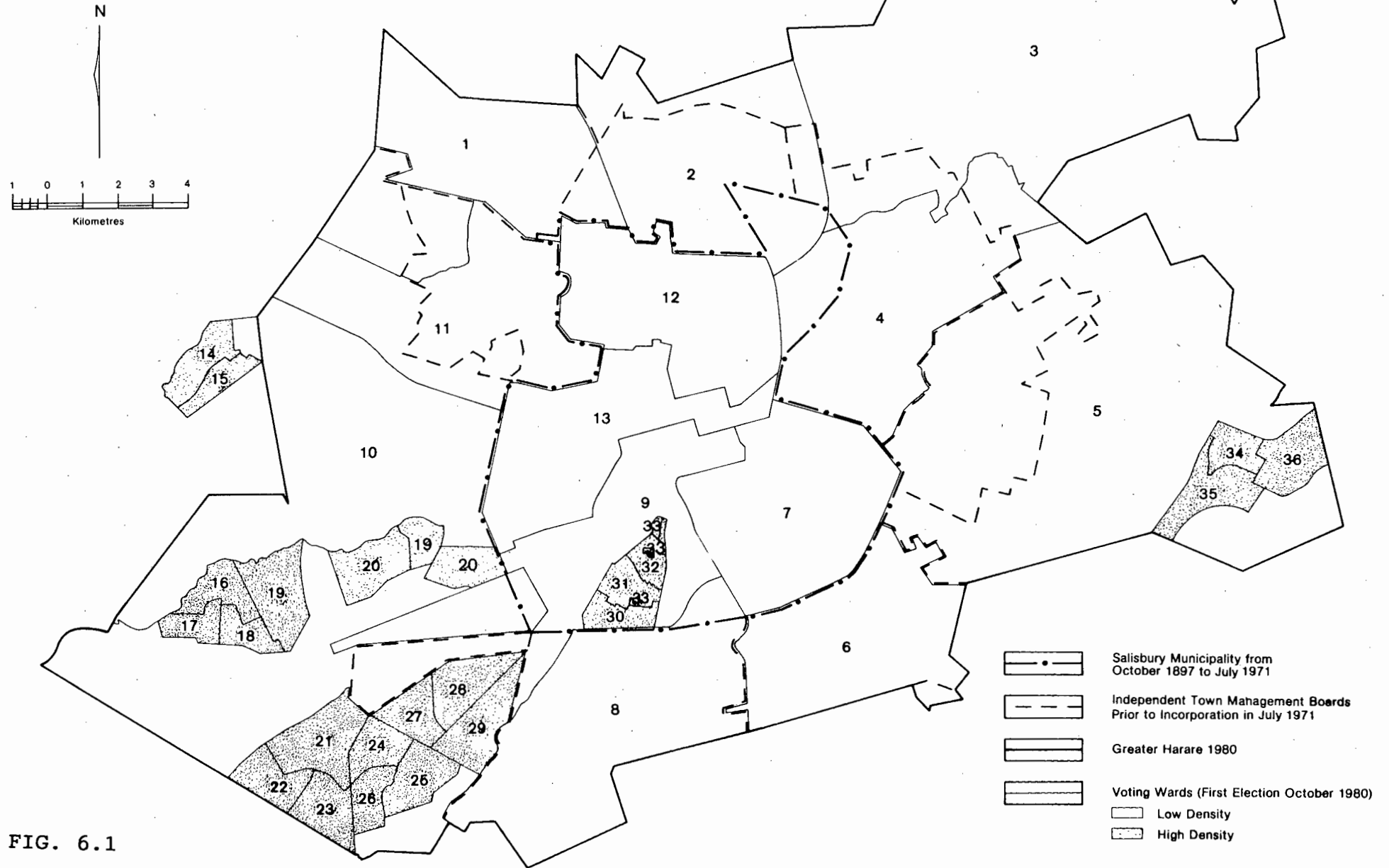


FIG. 6.1

with overseas innovations in retail technology than with local authority competition to attract higher rate-paying functions. Industrial activity is overwhelmingly concentrated on land zoned by the Salisbury City Council. The one-acre plot size adopted as the standard for residential layouts in Town Management Board areas was not directed at excluding lower socio-economic groups. On the contrary government stipulations required plots of that size to ensure efficient sewerage disposal from domestic septic tank systems (Kay and Smout, 1977 p 22). The White population of Salisbury was culturally and socio-economically relatively homogeneous. Most schools and health services were government administered. Therefore little need for exclusionary social practices arose. Government legislation, in any event, precluded Blacks from owning properties in 'European' areas⁴. Importantly too, there was little tradition of political participation at the local level. Mechanisms and established procedures for group involvement in civic affairs nominally existed in the office of the Ward Councillor and the institution of Ratepayers' Associations. These institutions were little used and an ethos of resolving local conflicts in the political arena was not strongly developed. Lodging objections, drumming up petitions, telephoning or visiting the Councillor, writing to the newspaper or soliciting the support of ratepayers' associations, especially if done frequently or with 'unbecoming' zeal was at best regarded with indulgence and, at worst, dismissed as eccentric 'oddball' behaviour by the bulk of the White citizenry. Discussion with the Deputy Town Clerk in 1982 revealed that Council had no knowledge of, or official registration of, a single ratepayers' association. The only obtainable record

⁴ Thus, paradoxically, in terms of the Land Apportionment Act, there were African townships owned and controlled by the municipality, surrounded by the municipal area, and yet not forming part of the municipal area. Had such townships been incorporated, in terms of the Municipal Act, large numbers of Blacks would have been entitled to vote since occupiers of municipally owned immovable property were eligible.

of one dated to 1970, that being the Avondale Ratepayers' Association.

In 1971 the Town Management Boards were incorporated into Salisbury under the administration of a single, expanded City Council served by Councillors drawn from 13 Wards (Fig. 6.1). Thus Salisbury became one jurisdiction with sole developmental powers, the only collective power of residents being the representation of their City Councillor. Even with these limited means for pursuance of self-betterment, little competition exists between Councillors in the express interests of their Wards and the possible detriment of the city at large. In fact an ethic prescribes that Councillors are expected to discharge their duties within Council and its committees always in the interest of the entire city. Further, in terms of a Code of Conduct published by the Natal Provincial Administration and adopted by the Salisbury City Council, a Councillor should not exert direct influence upon municipal officials nor become involved with complaints or requests from members of the public unless earlier attempts have been made via the bureaucracy to resolve the issues. Thus, despite changing patterns of jurisdictional authority and responsibility, the American norm of 'turf rivalry' did not apply in Salisbury.

6.2 JURISDICTIONAL ORGANISATION IN THE BLACK SECTOR

The complexity of local government was deepened by the legal accommodation of the system of social relations which distinguished between Black and White in Rhodesia. The Town Management Ordinance of 1894 for the first time delegated powers to the governing body of an urban area to establish a 'location' for native labourers. Labourers had hitherto erected huts on an *ad hoc* basis on the outskirts of urban settlements. Natives could own land subject to payment of a hut tax levied for the first time in 1896. In 1898 the First Location Superintendent of Salisbury was appointed to administer the native location which was to develop into the township of Harari. Provisions for the

control of Africans in urban areas were established by the Town Location Regulations of 1898. Inspectors of municipal native locations were to grant Africans residence permits. They were also accorded wide powers of search and arrest in combating crimes such as vagrancy, disorderly behaviour, drunkenness, loitering and being present in a location without a permit.

The Colonial Office accepted these regulations as they had become standard in the South African colonies. Furthermore, the Registration of Natives Regulations of 1895 (put into force in 1896) provided for an urban pass system to control Africans who were seeking work. Under those regulations, natives were required to register contracts of employment.

Any African not in employment or in possession of a pass to seek employment was committing a criminal offence by being present in a town. Africans without passes were thus excluded from the urban areas (*ibids.* p144). One factor that increased the complexity of local government was "the division of the country into different categories of land and different types of local government body, there however being a considerable amount of confusion and overlapping, and the position being made more difficult by the fact that central administrative control of local government bodies was split between two Government Departments" (*viz.* The Department of Local Government and Housing and the Department of Native (later African) Affairs) (Palley, 1970 p 629).

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 (No. 30 of 1930) was fundamental in circumscribing the opportunities of Blacks. The Act *inter alia*, proscribed the ownership and occupation of land by Blacks in designated 'European' areas. It provided for the division of the country into European and Native areas, a Forest Area and an Unassigned Area held in trust by government⁵. "In urban areas Africans would retain

⁵ For purpose of the Act Coloureds and Asians were regarded as 'Europeans'.

their rights (of occupation) until such time as the municipalities created African urban areas" (ibid. p265). The Consolidated Land Apportionment Act No 1 of 1941 made provision for the establishment of African Townships on land in the European Area by the Governor, local authorities and statutory commissions; and in the Native Purchase Area by the Minister under specified conditions. The Act was subsequently frequently amended to provide for modifications and extensions to this basic principle.

The only townships developed and administered by the Salisbury City Council *ab initio* were Harari, established in 1907 on the site of the original location, Mabvuku⁶ and Mufakose (Fig. 5.3). Tafara was administered by the Greendale Town Management Board, Rugare was a township established by a Statutory Commission administered by the Rhodesian Railways and Highfield and Dzivaresekwa were owned and operated by central government. An amendment to the Act in 1960 permitted purchase of land in the African Townships although a policy of 99 year leasehold had been introduced by the Government in 1955. Since this amendment Government encouraged the conversion of existing housing schemes to freehold and embarked upon plans for new largely home ownership schemes. These included Kambuzuma, Glen View, and Glen Norah. The Urban Councils Act (No. 12 of 1973) consolidated the powers of the Minister of Local Government and Housing in the management and operation of townships - Local authorities became agents of government policy responsible for the administration of all townships, a Manager and staff controlling the building and maintenance of housing, the collection of rents and service charges, the control of water and electricity supplies, refuse removal, roads, health, sanitation, liquor outlets and welfare amenities. They could enact by-laws for townships and even different by-laws for different townships. Above all the

⁶ Rents from Mabvuku were charged to the Highlands Town Management Board by Government after 1961.

Act stipulated that townships were to be financially independent.

Changing national and international political circumstances occasioned pragmatic and attitudinal responses at the local level. Pressures for greater Black participation in decision-making were met with attempts to accommodate Black aspirations within a framework of ultimate local self government while retaining White control of key functions of central government. Local constitutional designs to this end are discussed in the following section. In terms of the Local Government Act (Chap. 124), African Townships could be designated Local Government Areas with greater executive autonomy as a form of decentralised administration (Palley, 1966 p655). The 1979 Constitution permitted Blacks locally to reside in formerly White areas and all discriminatory legislation was repealed. The 1979 City Council contained one Indian and one Black Councillor. On the 1st October 1980, following national independence, the Black Local Government Areas were incorporated into Greater Salisbury. The local Government Laws Amendment Act (No. 5 of 1980) provided for majority representation on the City Council and in October 1980 the first election for Black City Councillors was held in 23 newly delimited City Wards in the former Local Government Areas (now called 'High Density Suburbs') (Fig. 6.1). In March 1981 the new fully constituted 36-seat City Council was inducted. Area Boards continued to function provided they satisfied three guiding principles established by the Mugabe government *viz.* they must be representative of the people; they must be seen to exercise autonomy in their delegated functions and; they must be accessible to residents and take an active role in enriching the quality of life of the residents. As will be seen these were paralleled by 'Party' citizens organisations and will be superseded by Council organised forums for citizen participation in local government. Salisbury became Harare in April 1982. Given the City's geography of income and welfare inequality, its history of racial discrimination, the antipathies generated by war, and

heightened Black expectations resulting from victory, changes in bargaining procedures and citizen participation could be expected.

6.3 CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING IN SALISBURY/HARARE

Within the operational milieu of the city, the local authority is in a position of power. It is able to plan, promulgate by-laws, establish operating procedures for a wide variety of functions, and distribute a particular range and quality of goods and services. By statute it is compelled to provide for the basic requirements of the citizens (see, for example, the statutory functions of the City of Salisbury - Appendix 1) and, being subject to election, it is theoretically answerable to them. While, in some respects, it operates as an agent of central government it can also strongly influence government policy.

All actions and decisions of the municipal executive reflect the majority view of its members on issues at hand. How they interpret such issues, what is considered a problem, and how serious it is adjudged to be relative to other problems, is a function of their psycho-social circumstances and of their experience. By the same token, strategies applied to the solution of problems will be consistent with their beliefs and attitudes. Any ideology or 'world view' held in common by members of the executive serves to structure mind-sets and influence perceptions and decisions. The ideologies will be influential in focusing public debate and in accommodating and rationalising periodic conflict between private and public interests.

The ability to challenge the interpretation of issues and, possibly, to change the values or ideological tenets held by Councillors has important implications for individual citizens or groups of citizens. To a considerable degree the specific structure and form of the city and the quality of life of its citizens reflects the reciprocal influences of public executive decision-making and citizen

participation in public affairs. On the one hand, ideology informs Council decision-making while, on the other hand, public participation can influence the values, attitudes and perceptions of decision-makers. The local authority, if considered legitimate, can do much to achieve public acceptance of a particular ideology while, in like measure, the general public can, if sufficiently motivated and mobilised, significantly influence the municipal executive by active involvement in civic affairs. In the final instance as a collective body it even has the power to alter the executive to accommodate its wishes. The ability to influence the exercise of power at both the national and local level is therefore a crucial factor defining social relationships.

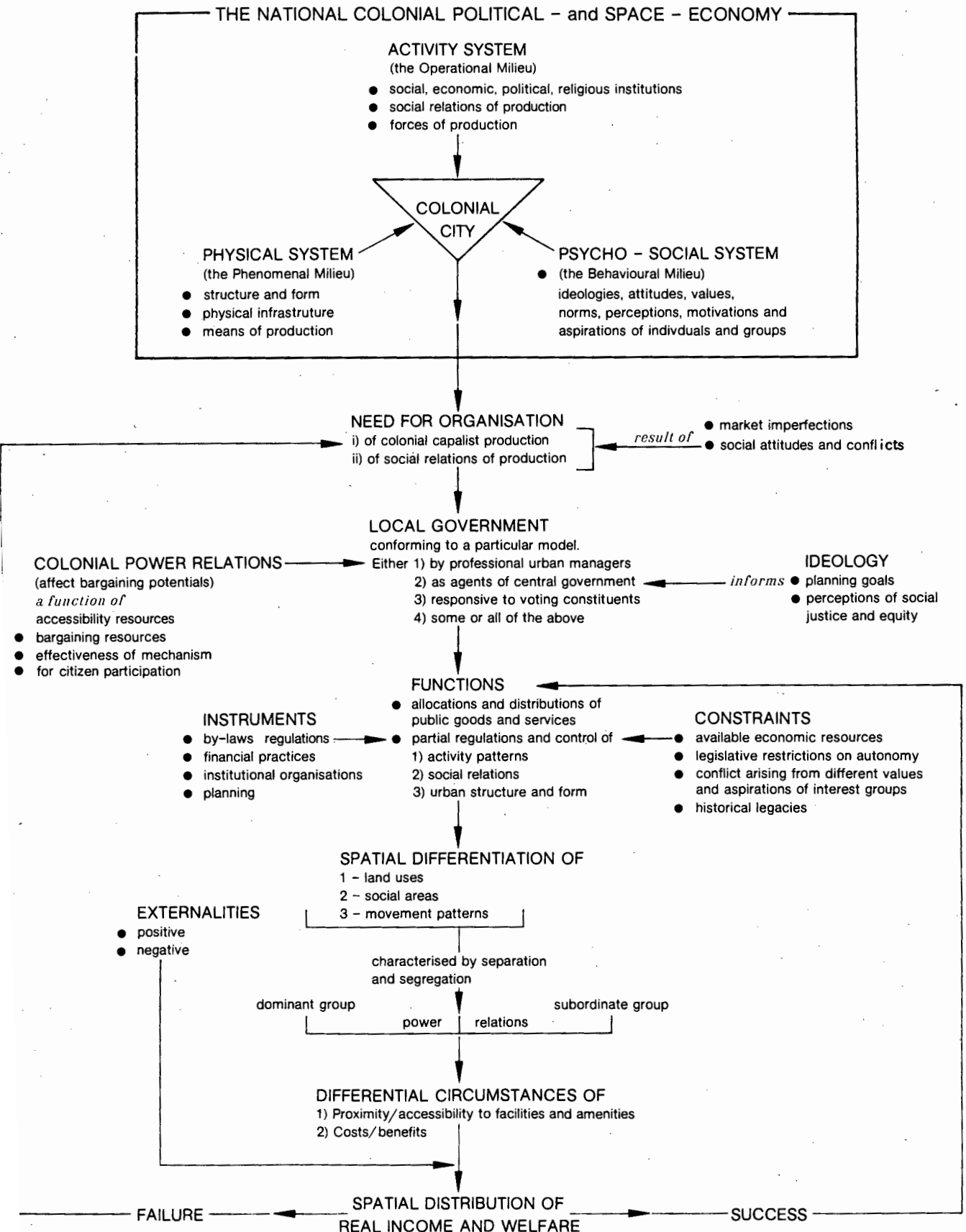
The resources that groups can mobilise in order to influence executive decisions may broadly be categorised as accessibility and bargaining resources (Cox, 1979 p300).

Accessibility resources represent a group's *de jure* and *de facto* accessibility to public officials. In a context of strong central government control, as in the Statist model of local government, it may also refer to the position held by officials in the organisational hierarchy. Top ranking officials in central government or ruling party members could be expected to enjoy a greater measure of access to local authority officials than would some other member of the general public.

Bargaining resources can be mobilised in circumstances in which petitioners and officials share a common ideology. The degree to which commonality exists, in terms of ideological predispositions, will strongly influence the degree to which success might be achieved in any given bargaining situation. In short, those groups who share a community of contacts and sentiment with public officials could have advantage over other groups. In the colonial situation, the strongly reinforced ethnic and cultural dichotomy between dominant and subjugated group forms an immediate basis for the differential exercise of influence.

FIG. 6.2

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIAL CITY



Despite the fact that they frequently comprised a numerical minority, members of the dominant group exercised a disproportionate degree of influence with local officials because of their shared values, cultural history, experiences, and identity of interests. Bargaining resources, however, could also be generated through the exercise of market power of a non elite (frequently unfranchised). Coalitions of vested interest groups might also wield a threat of removal from office through the election mechanism.

An attempt has been made (Fig. 6.2) to embody the above theoretical statement into a graphic schema which can be related to the colonial city and particularly to Salisbury/Harare. The local authority forms the central focus. At any time it operates in the specific geographic and historical context of an existing morphology which offers certain opportunities and which provides certain constraints for future location and activity decisions. Of necessity it also has to respond, both retroactively and proactively, to the exigencies of the operational environment (the complex functional system comprising economic, social, political, legislative and religious elements). The existing morphology and its attendant urban space economy is the ultimate reflection of a myriad individual and corporate decisions all of which are the final manifestations of the attitudes, values, perceptions and aspirations of the decision makers. The outcome of many of these decisions, taken together, is functional incompatibility and social conflict; thus there exists a need for organisation and control within the functioning urban system, the responsibility for which lies variously with the central and the local state. Specifically with reference to colonial Salisbury the goals of public sector intervention included, in varying degree, social welfare, for which public goods and services were provided; efficiency of the capitalist mode of production; political, social and economic hegemony of the dominant settler group; and the elimination, amelioration or containment of

conflict. The members of the local authority are, however, also individuals making decisions in the light of their own perception of the circumstances obtaining and of what appears to be an ethically sound and pragmatically rational response. Their conceptions of need, merit, the social good, social justice and equity are all generally predicated upon the particular ideology held by the group at large.

Ideologies are assimilated by societies as a continual process of learning (formal, non-formal and informal) and are reinforced over successive generations. Folklore, myth, ritual, literature, formal education and behavioural mores are important mechanisms in diffusing ideology through the society. On the other hand, there will always be individuals, groups or institutions present in society who serve as agents of adaption and change. They may become a significant force in influencing public opinion toward a desire for change. Conflict over the form and dimensions of social organisation is the outcome. Resolution of conflict and the formal adoption of responses reflecting changing values and ethics occurs in the political arena. This description is consistent with the operation of a conventional local government system. Accommodation has to be made for a situation in which a dominant colonial ideology is overthrown and an alternative ideology is brought to bear upon the exercise of government. In such circumstances the mechanisms of ideological diffusion might differ in degree and in kind. Nevertheless it is axiomatic that innovations which diffuse into the ideological subconscious of a society must have a source, an ultimate destination and channels for their diffusion. Frequently these innovations originate in major institutions, for example business houses, government agencies, universities and churches, less often from small social groups and even individuals. The mechanisms by which they diffuse are legion but include newspapers, television, radio, books, journals, mass meetings and personal contact. Invariably, however, diffusion is generated and directed by those

possessing power and influence, thereby initiating a 'top-down' movement.

In societies where information flow is relatively well developed and where public expression is tolerated, decision makers and executives can also be strongly influenced by 'secondary-wave, bottom-up' information flows. In an environment that accommodates conflict of ideas, where it is possible for ideology to be critically examined and assailed, and where flux is the norm, public participation, using a variety of channels, can possess considerable potency in effecting the transformation of ideology. This situation was absent in colonial society taken in its overall form although it did apply to the affairs of the dominant colonial group. The degree to which individuals or groups have bargaining power *vis-a-vis* decision makers is obviously a crucial imponderable. So too is the relative efficiency of the system of communication instituted and, as a concomitant, the degree of participation permitted. An analogy drawn from electrical systems is apposite in this regard:

"As a current in an electric circuit weakens with interference and resistance, so the expressed needs of the population are weakened by the interference and resistance of all the bodies involved in providing for that need. This results more often than not in that need not being satisfied and an appropriate facility not being provided. A good intention of the provider may similarly get caught up in the maelstrom and lose its potency by the time it has been filtered through" (Block and Snitcher, 1977 pl).

Put succinctly, the argument developed thus far contends that the local authority has played a decisive role in the morphogenesis of the colonial city. Given its unique authority to generate and to allocate public finance, to conduct specified activities, to regulate the functioning of the urban system through the exercise of legislation, and to locate public goods, decisions made by a local authority greatly affect the real income of all urban dwellers. These decisions are informed by the perceptions of the public executive and these, in turn, are infused and circumscribed

by ideology. How it perceives problems and develops planning strategies consistent with a particular ideological position obviously has immediate welfare implications for all in the city. Ideological change is thus of fundamental significance as are the opportunities and procedures for public participation in influencing decision-making and changing ideology.

The constraints of White Rhodesian ideology were examined in a previous chapter. To recount briefly; the pioneer quasi-fragment was drawn from carefully selected elements of the Cape colonial parent society and, *ab initio*, possessed a broad value consensus which was to coalesce or crystallise as a result of shared experience. Set within the ideological framework of nineteenth century expansion of industrial capitalism the settlers were imbued with a conviction on the moral rightness of their enterprise. There were to extend British 'power and glory' in a region where many other European powers were aggressively competing for territory, to reap the putative harvest of rich mineral resources, particularly gold, and to bring the civilising benefits of industrial Britain to the savage heart of darkest Africa.

Missionaries vigorously pursued their proselytising mission while many other settlers equally vigorously pursued their goals of personal wealth. God, Greed, Gold and the Flag motivated all settler activity. Amongst this strongly class conscious imperialist group the indigenous Africans were considered backward, illiterate heathens unworthy of social intercourse as equals, fit only for menial labour and the object of charitable works. Experience during the Matabele and Mashona rebellions hardened attitudes between the groups, emphasising the magnitude of their fundamental differences and reinforcing their initial social separation. So, too, did the "sanitation syndrome" (Swanson, 1977). The distinct racial differences of colour and appearance served to emphasise ethnic-cultural differences and to facilitate the creation of unsympathetic stereotypes. The existence of a White dominant elite and a subordinate Black colonised

group was readily accepted by most subsequent White settlers. Relations between the two groups were maintained predominantly to serve the economic and political interests of the Dominant Group. They included, on the one hand, mechanisms to ensure a flow of labour (notably the poll tax and hut-tax) from the Subordinate Group to the economy created by the Dominant Group and, on the other hand, the imposition of control and administration over the Subordinate population (Arrighi, 1970). By its nature the system of social relations was coercive, non-integrative and class-race based. Workers drawn from the Dominant Colonial Group were customarily privileged in employment, occupations, income, and access to political authority. Thus a fundamental division of the worker class was the norm. This was given geographic expression by the practice of physical separation and segregation (Davies, 1983 p2). The apparent and obvious 'differentness' between the two groups progressively exacerbated intergroup relations, reinforced attitudes and justified planning policies of separate development.

Changing circumstances locally, nationally and internationally have occasioned changing social attitudes and inter-group relations. Most notable among these are the social, economic and political readjustments that took place following the Second World War, increasing global awareness of the ideals of human rights enshrined in the constitutions of the League of Nations and the United Nations, increasing debate concerning morality of colonialism, burgeoning nationalism in Africa, increasing complexity in the domestic economy which required diversification of skills and trained manpower, growing population numbers particularly among the Black population and especially in the cities, and rising levels of Black education. Importantly, "the general evolution of the African political picture led British authorities to propose radical changes in their colonial policies. Increased political interest and participation in government by Africans was accepted as desirable and so was the provision of new social services necessitated by the

changing mode of living brought on by Western civilisation" (Alderfer 1964, p30). A precise accounting of changing responses to circumstances such as those in Rhodesia cannot be attempted here. Suffice it to observe that actions of the ruling White elite were generally directed towards accommodating and gratifying Black aspirations, adjusting to material change, reducing potential conflict and maintaining effective power. The validity of many Black demands, once articulated and made explicit at an historically opportune time or in an appropriate psycho-social milieu, were readily conceded. It was generally accepted, however, that the African was, if not inherently, certainly for the foreseeable future, intrinsically unable to assume total responsibility for his affairs. Nor was he seen to be able to function effectively in a technologically sophisticated market economy without White management and supervision. However, while the White authorities were prepared to accommodate growing Black aspirations, they could afford to do so only up to the point that they did not create a universal franchise and thereby yield control of the political economy. By the 1970's, short of the vote, they were willing to offer almost any other concessions (particularly of a material nature), for reasons both pragmatic and moral, provided that they could, in effect, 'keep their options open and have the final say' by exercising ultimate power.

Slow ideological change is evident at both the national and local levels in a variety of physical planning initiatives and policy strategies. There may be identified 'on the ground' in the built environment and in statutes and by-laws at different times. The origin and quantities of public finance generated and the pattern of its redistribution are also useful indicators of the changing ideologies, values and attitudes of the White administrators. Realalignments within the political economy could be expected to be far-reaching and fundamental in the event of the accession to power of a Black majority espousing a radically different ideology. So too could mechanisms for citizen participation

in public affairs. In Salisbury Ratepayers' Associations were the legally constituted formal mechanisms whereby White ratepayers, the only enfranchised citizens, could communicate community concerns to the respective Ward Councillors. However, informal personal contact with Councillors was considered both acceptable and desirable. The relatively small White population (11,392 in 1936; 23,107 in 1946; 61,930 in 1956; 105,955 in 1969; 117,500 in 1978) encouraged a relatively high degree of social intimacy. In a society where the level of sports interest and participation was very high, where the sports club constituted the hub of social life for many, where upper echelon business association was regular and widespread, where opportunities for cultural activity were few, where the number of secondary schools was limited and competition between them was great, where the majority of university graduates tended to be drawn from among three or four universities in South Africa, and where hospitality and informality were the norm, 'everyone seemed to know everyone else'. Palley (1966, p 630) observed that, only after UDI in 1965 did national party politics begin to affect the performance of local politics "Formerly local politics depended almost entirely on personalities, and local elections were marked by the apathy of electors".

Thus there existed a great degree of perceived homogeneity within the White society, of value consensus and unanimity derived from shared experience and permeation of similar ideas and information. Following UDI there was a perceptible intensification of expressions of White unity and solidarity, and adherence to a broadly homogeneous set of values. In the 1965 Salisbury municipal elections candidates were for the first time backed unofficially by the major political parties. Thereafter candidates were permitted to advertise their political affiliations. This discounts an assertion by Leys (1959, p65) that politics did not play a significant role in local government. An effective network of mutual contacts ensured that that should be so. Essentially it was a conservative society

where norms and values were entrenched and reinforced. Discriminatory practices towards Blacks (eg. differential salary scales and conditions of service) moreover were generally accepted and emphasised the homologous nature of White society.

Access resources and bargaining resources possessed by White individuals for the resolution of conflict affecting White interest groups and the elimination of local area problems were considerable. Councillors were considered both of and for the people. As a result, almost paradoxically, in the White society overt political activity in the form of petitions, interest-group lobbying, votes of censure or mass meetings were rare and considered unbecoming. Despite provision for formally registered Ratepayers' Associations to act as conduits of local opinion, in 1970 there was only one ratepayers association registered and extant⁷.

Blacks, conversely, enjoyed no community of interest with the White Council executive. Their cultural background was different, the domestic environment was different, and so too were their perceptions, problems and requirements. Nor did they possess effective access to municipal decision-makers. Most Blacks were semi-literate, inarticulate, and without confidence as a result of their subservient status. They were not versed in the complexities of formal negotiation procedure. Compounding the problem was a pervasive belief among Whites that they 'knew and understood' the African mind and that they could prescribe for them. Hence the Black had little opportunity to determine the conditions of his urban environment or to direct development in what he considered to be his best interests.

As described earlier in 1905 the municipality had assumed greater responsibility for Black housing and established a

⁷ That was the Avondale Ratepayers' Association (Report of the Greater Salisbury Local Authority Commission, 1970. p71)

formal "location" called Harari. From the outset Black townships were expected to be self financing. Most social and welfare facilities were funded by sales of African beer the brewing of which was held as a monopoly by the municipality. Church groups and charitable institutions also made significant contributions.

Initially the only method of conveying the opinions of location residents to the Council was through informal associations that were not formally recognised and were discouraged by the authorities. In 1906 in terms of the Natives Urban Locations Ordinance (No. 4 Section 9(1)(a)), Location Headman were appointed by the Administrator (and subsequently by the Governor). It was not until 1937 that any concession was made to Black participation in the government of their residential areas. At that date the first Native Advisory Board was established in Harari (Fig. 6.3). The Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (No. 6 of 1946) subsequently made it mandatory for an African Advisory Board to be established in every township under local control. In Salisbury this included Town Management Boards but did not include Government townships.

The Advisory Board of Harari comprised six Black members, four elected by house occupiers, two appointed by the City Council, and two nominated White members. The chairman of the Council's Native Affairs Committee was *ex officio* Chairman of the Board and the chairman of the Council's Finance Committee the *ex officio*, Deputy Chairman. Black candidates tended to be supported by African nationalist parties which, even when banned under the Unlawful Organisations Act (Chap. 81), continued to operate as an amorphous mass movement (Palley, 1970 p630).

An Advisory Board possessed no executive powers whatsoever being charged simply "to consider and report on" envisaged by-laws and any other matters upon which it considered it useful or desirable to report. While being in essence a placatory concession designed to appease growing Black

CHANNELS FOR PARTICIPATION BY BLACKS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY/HARARE

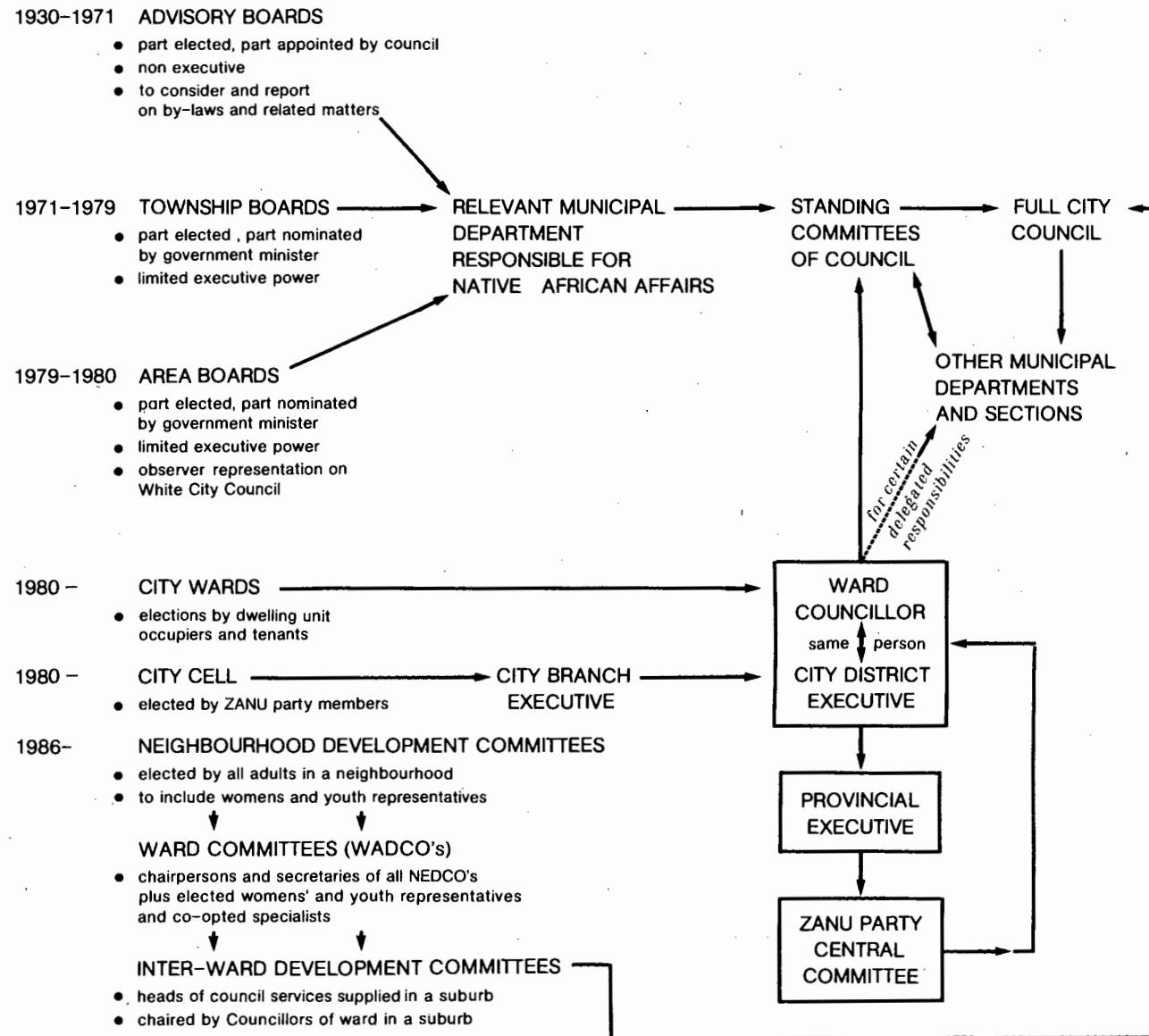


FIG. 6.3

disaffection, the Boards were considered to be sufficient, successful and useful by the local authority". (Cormack, 1982 p96). Some within the local authority, however, did not endorse that opinion. The Salisbury Director of African Administration (City of Salisbury, 1963 p62) for example opined that, "the Advisory Board as has previously been stated, is an outmoded mechanism. The fact that the body is 'advisory' carries with it no responsibilities and any actions taken by the governing body viz. the Council itself, if unpopular or contentious, are never the concern of the Board even though the Board itself may have supported a particular policy. Attempts have been made at administrative level to delegate more responsibilities to the Board but unless there is an enlightened and dynamic approach to this matter it is more than conceivable that 1964 will see the end of these Boards".

Blacks viewed the Advisory Board system with cynicism. An Urban African Affairs Commission identified that attitude in 1958 (Southern Rhodesia, 1958 p105-106):

Advisory Boards in their present form were subjected to a great deal of criticism. Whilst it was acknowledged that the present system permitted of discussion and provided the opportunity for the members of a Board to come forward with useful ideas and so keep the local authority conversant with African opinion, the system as such was seen to provide no real outlet for the aspirations of persons who are interested in civic administration. Members of the Boards were said to have no function other than to sit back and to criticise, knowing that there is little possibility of their being called upon to face any repercussions from the implementation of the demands they may make. Indeed this lack of authority was seen to encourage an irresponsible attitude towards local affairs".

A later Black Residents' Study Committee commissioned by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing to examine and make recommendations on African representation in local government observed that the major disadvantage of the Advisory Board system was that it had no executive powers and that it:

1. was only advisory;

2. did not provide proper training in local government;
3. did not provide a proper link with Council;
4. did not involve members in decision making;
5. was not directly represented on the African Affairs Committee; and
6. was obsolete, i.e. it had never been improved since its inception. It was outdated and it had outlived its purpose (Rhodesia, 1977a).

The minutes of another township study committee (Rhodesia 1977b) recorded,

"COMMUNICATION : Recalling the words of Mahatma Ghandi - 'that if you want to lead people, be people themselves and let them be yourself', the committee observed that the present system allows for one-way communication which breeds paternalism - the 'I-know-what-they-want' attitude. It is this attitude, the committee noted, which is responsible for apathy and a sense of dependence among township residents. As a result a strongly held myth has arisen that Africans are incapable of exercising responsibility, disregarding the fact that Africans have never been actively and meaningfully involved in the social and physical development of their township".

It is evident that criticisms such as these had long been expressed and with increasing intensity, conviction and frequency. Moreover it would appear that the Rhodesians, practising a greater measure of self government than other British colonies, did not accord with evolving British government policy and practice after World War II. That government had recognised that the growth of the educated classes in the inter-war years had destroyed any continuing utility in the doctrine of indirect rule. Thus the British Colonial Office in 1947 decided that, "the most important step in creating decentralised government in British colonies was ... to introduce an efficient and democratic system of local government in each dependency." (Kasfir, 1983 p27) The purpose of the decision, in Kasfir's opinion, was to provide political education through local practice. In this way, it was thought, the attention of

the educated elite would be diverted from conflict over control and direction of policy from the centre.

The Colonial Office was anticipating the maintenance of a firm grip on polity at the colony-wide level. "Genuine decentralised government was to be introduced within a larger scheme of deconcentrated authority in the colonial empire. If the purpose of the new policy was to permit people in both political and administrative capacities to learn from their own mistakes without being in a position to do much harm, then there was no necessary contradiction in insisting upon both (the inefficiencies of) democracy and efficiency" (ibid. p28)

The Rhodesians, while recognising the pressures for Black political participation and increasingly articulated grievances over the condition of life of Blacks in urban areas, were not prepared to cede total political and administrative autonomy to Blacks even at the local level. Fears of the implications at the national level were overridingly important. Nevertheless it can be argued cogently that Black nationalism and resistance stemmed as much from the political platforms afforded and the experiences gained in the intercalary institutions devised for the communication of Black opinion as from the denial of autonomy inherent in the system of organisation.

Attitudes and values in White Rhodesian society, however, were progressively modified over time for a variety of reasons, all interrelated. Blacks were being educated in increasing numbers and were demanding more opportunities and better conditions of employment in commerce and industry. Racism was the dominant issue of the 1960s in America and the successful Negro struggle for civil rights ensured that discrimination premised upon race would remain morally unacceptable to most of the international community. Rapid modernisation of the Third World emphasised the development aspirations of disadvantaged peoples. The rapid rate of acquisition of political independence in Africa since 1957 was accompanied by increasing Black nationalism throughout

the continent. Many former colonial territories became members of the United Nations and used it as a forum for attacking such perceived ills as racialism, colonialism, inequality and capitalist exploitation. A communications revolution ensured the diffusion of information, propaganda and, importantly, ideologies. Whites in Rhodesia were rapidly becoming a relatively smaller minority, especially in the cities, and urbanisation was a particularly potent force in the process of Black acculturation as 'Western/industrial' behaviour patterns, attitudes and values were learnt and assimilated. Information flows on these issues did not pass the Rhodesian society by.

In an attempt to accommodate rising Black political aspirations Central Government initiated a number of "reform" policies in the 1960's. These included the abolition of discriminatory employment practices in the public sector, the principle of the-rate-for-the-job in wage assessment, the opening of cinemas, swimming baths and other places of entertainment to all race groups, the de-restriction of hotels, the endorsement of multi-racial sport and the deregulation of certain areas in cities to mixed race residential precincts. In 1965 in a Statement of Policy and Directive to the nation the Prime Minister stated that it was policy to make an active, planned and organised effort to place responsibility for decision making in local affairs on the freely chosen representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels. It was important, too, to assist people to acquire the attitudes, knowledge, skills and resources required to solve, through communal self help and organisation, as wide a range of local problems as possible in their own order of priority.

These intentions were given substance when provision was made for the creation of Township Boards in Black residential areas in terms of the Municipal Amendment Act No. 10 of 1971 and the later Urban Councils Act of 1973 Fig. 6.3). The constitution of such Boards were defined in the Local Government Law Amendment Act (No. 3 of 1979).

In contrast to the discredited Advisory Boards, Township Boards had a measure of executive authority to operate minor services (e.g. markets), to provide and maintain welfare, recreational and entertainment services and facilities, to assist voluntary groups and institutions, and to coordinate voluntary effort to meet community needs. They were empowered to prepare budget estimates, to raise finance from beer sales, service fees and accommodation levies, and they could also borrow money and accept donations, gifts and grants. The budget estimates, however, still had to be approved by the City Council. Boards could also appoint or dismiss staff subject to Council ratification. The municipality retained control of the landlord-estate function and of major services. The all-Black membership of Township Boards was partly elected and partly nominated by the Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Cormack (1983, p99-100) observes that, "attitudes towards Township Boards as a means of providing for African participation in Local Government varied from strong opposition to a rather apathetic acceptance of the concept. Disadvantages which have been cited, mainly by White Town Councils and their staff, included such arguments as:

"The African Townships in Salisbury occupy European land in terms of the Land Tenure Act, and the establishment of African local government in such an area, with associated voting rights, which imply citizenship, and with the power to levy taxes, may be held to be in direct conflict with the Act A Township Board fails to serve any particularly worthwhile purpose, since the real need among the African inhabitants of the township appears to be for recognition and consultation. The group accepts evidence that the African population is not particularly interested in running markets, beerhalls, schools and similar institutions" (City of Salisbury, 1974 section 14.4).

"The effect of implementing these proposals (the establishment of Township Boards) will bring about a situation where already there is difficulty in recruiting competent and efficient staff, and no-one will be prepared to enter into this field of activities when they know that the writing is on the wall, and this is the ultimate demise of highly trained and experienced men who have been

involved in urban African administration for more than a quarter of a century ... It is known that very many Africans in the larger African Townships fear 'independence for townships' - they prefer a known strong, competent, sympathetic, and understanding administration which is above tribalism, township nationalistic policies, bribery and other manifestations of mal-administration ... I therefore commend to Committee that it should reject entirely the concept of the establishment of Township Boards leading to autonomous African local authorities in the European Area - if chaotic conditions in the Salisbury African Townships are to be obviated" (City of Salisbury, 1972).

Opposition of a different kind emanated from some African leaders who were distrustful of the motives of government and believed that the programme was really a means to entrench a policy of separate development and to deprive the urban African of the wealth of the towns and cities which he helped to generate. In truth by this stage of the political evolution of the country, Blacks were aspiring at the very least to direct representation on all tiers of government. Moreover they were conscious that such a goal was entirely realistic.

A measure of Black participation in Central Government was realised in April 1978 when nine Black ministers were sworn in to serve on the Ministerial Council of the Transitional Government to precede majority rule. In June 1979 the first Government of National Unity was installed under the first Black Prime Minister designate, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. At the local level, in terms of the Local Government Laws Amendment Act (No. 3 of 1979) African Townships were designated Local Government Areas and the Township Boards became Area Boards with observer status on the City Council⁸ (Fig. 6.3). The earlier Advisory Boards which had existed in tandem with the Township Boards were abolished in January 1980 in terms of the Local Government Law Amendment Act (No. 3 of 1979).

⁸ The title Area Council was later substituted for Area Board.

On the evidence of the election results of 1979, the Muzorewa-led United African National Congress (UANC) then enjoyed the overwhelming support of the Black populace. Three Area Councils (Mbare, Mufakose, and Mabvuku) were established with their executives comprising UANC supporters. The tactic of devolving political authority (and its attendant problems) was well established in the colonial system, its antecedents being traceable to British Colonial Office policy in 1947. Initially Area Boards were active and aggressive in their demands upon the White-dominated City Council. Indeed the City Council considered the demands to be unreasonable and impractical in the context of current priorities, limited finance, and manpower and equipment shortages. In the opinion of one departmental head this accorded with government design to divert popular attention and expectations away from national affairs to local affairs⁹.

By June 1979 the bitter Rhodesian bush war had ground on for six and a half years. Ideological polarisation had taken place, a situation which seemingly offered little scope for accommodation or compromise. Black military opposition led by Joshua Nkomo's ZIPRA forces tended to wage a more conventional war where guerilla groups confronted Rhodesian forces. The ZANLA forces of Robert Mugabe's ZANU party, on the other hand, conducted an aggressive campaign to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people by organising a comprehensive network of cells under commissars whose task it was to politicise the 'povo' (the people). As indicated earlier, ZANU had long "adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought as official party ideology" (Africa Confidential, 1978). The policy and practice of political indoctrination served three important purposes. Firstly it provided a sympathetic environment in which guerilla insurgents could operate with relative impunity assured of the moral and material support of the rural populace.

⁹ Personal conversation March, 1986. Confidentiality requested.

Secondly it ensured ultimate victory at the polls for ZANU-PF in the post-Lancaster House elections of 1980. Thirdly it established a framework for later overt political and social re-education of the "masses" as well as the organisational foundations for a system of citizen participation in government.

April 1980 witnessed the assumption of power by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF Party over an internationally recognised and independent Zimbabwe. The political status of Blacks was rapidly transformed. Overnight they acquired the franchise and were able to enjoy the full benefits of citizenship. The implications ramified widely and included the transformation of the form of representation at the local government level. One of the first Acts to be promulgated in the newly constituted parliament was the Local Government Laws Amendment Act (No. 5 of 1980). The Act, provided for majority representation on municipal councils. In Salisbury 23 new wards were established in the former Black Local Government Areas, now renamed High Density Suburbs. Both home-owners and adult occupiers possessed the vote. No attempt was made to initiate the formation and registration of Ratepayers' Associations such as had existed in the former White residential areas (now renamed as Low Density Suburbs). Area Councils constituted under the Muzorewa government were nominally retained although by late 1984 only one (Dzivaresekwa) was actually operational¹⁰. Indeed in May

¹⁰ The existing Mbare, Mufakose and Mabvuku Area Councils, with their strong UANC support base were discredited following a massive, and to many an almost inexplicable, electoral shift towards ZANU-PF. Consequently they had a poor relationship with both Black City Councillors and the people. Dzivaresekwa Council had its first election in September 1980 and confirmed the regional trend by returning a ZANU-PF executive. It remained active holding weekly meetings and sponsoring youth training, work projects by the Youth brigade and the building brigade, adult literacy programmes, women's and youth clubs and fundraising. Its constitution, however, never provided for the administration of the social and recreational functions nor did it express any desire to do so.

1981 the City Council had requested the Minister of Local Government and Housing to dissolve the Area Councils with effect from 30th June. The Minister declined, however, on grounds that the Councils had a role to play in 'grass-root' development and that the opinion of the people had not been sought. On 10th November 1981 a Working Party was established by the Minister, at the request of the City Council to enquire into, and make recommendations on, popular representation below Ward level. The Working Party recognised that there "must" be genuine decentralisation of functions by the City Council, to a lower level, if citizen interest in routine municipal affairs was to be maintained. The assertion was made on grounds that it was upon performance of the municipality at those levels that the City Council was judged by the public. Furthermore, it was precisely in those areas that the public had the least opportunity to understand the problems faced by the Council and in which the municipal structure was least responsive to the public (City of Harare, 1982, p 4). The Working Party recommended the establishment of Neighbourhood and Ward committees based upon a model of Chinese practice. While accepted in principle, implementation of the proposals was delayed for lack of coordination and direction. The onus was placed upon individual Councillors to establish the organisations and to draft constitutions, a task that received relatively low priority against other demands.

Paralleling these developments the ZANU-PF Party rapidly and energetically set about consolidating and extending its power base in the city. In so doing it initiated a programme consistent with its socialist principles to involve the people in the development of their immediate environment and of the wider city, and to focus their attention and energies towards the attainment of higher national goals. Involvement with, and loyalty to, the Party was paramount. To this end a strategy for communication between the Party leadership and the 'povo' and vice-versa was devised and implemented:

Harare was geographically separated into Cells (Fig. 6.3) comprising, on average, 40-50 dwelling units. All 'povo' who are card-carrying ZANU-PF Party members may vote for an executive comprising a chairman, a political commissar, responsible for politicising the 'povo', a treasurer, and four secretaries. The secretaries are responsible for, respectively, administration, security/intelligence, publicity, and production (generally supervision of youth building brigades).

A certain number of Cells are combined into a Branch for which members of the Cell executives elect 12 members. Similarly, Branches are amalgamated into Districts, the 18 members of their executive, in turn, being elected by the Branch executives. Generally, Districts coincide with municipal electoral wards although in some of the larger wards there might be as many as three Districts. It has become customary for the District chairman to run as the Party candidate in municipal elections. In predominantly Mashona Harare this procedure has ensured that the City Council overwhelmingly comprises prominent ZANU-PF officers.

Progressing to higher levels of the organisational hierarchy, each District has one representative on Party Provincial Councils, each of which is then represented by one member on the Party Central Committee, the highest policy-making body in the land. The Central Committee addresses important issues of principle and policy which subsequently inform parliamentary Cabinet decisions. All Cabinet Ministers are also members of the Central Committee.

Cell executive officers can be approached directly with a problem by any card-carrying member of the Cell. Conversely, the Cell executive is active in mobilising the people. Their major concern is with social welfare and adherence to party principles. It would not be unusual for instance for a Cell chairman to discuss morality with a husband in the rural areas who is squandering money on a mistress in town. The youth building brigades, organised under the aegis of a Cell have been very effective in

improving the material quality of life of residents in the low income, high-density suburbs and in reducing the unemployment problem among young school-leavers.

In Harare it was considered crucial by most Blacks to carry a Party membership card. Without it people were *de facto* denied a place on the housing waiting list, were not able to obtain a job in the bureaucracy, and, as a result of intimidation, frequently were not even allowed to vote in the municipal elections¹¹. As a result of the intimate cell-structure of organisation it quickly becomes common knowledge who is, or is not, a party member. Social sanction against non conformance is great.

Whites largely remain aloof from this system, using City Councillors for redress of their grievances. Nevertheless, their properties are included in the Cell system, domestic servants living on the premises being incorporated and they are welcome to become ZANU-PF members. Whites are also affected by the system in the event of domestic employer-employee disputes, when members of the Cell executive might approach them in an attempt to resolve the differences.

¹¹ While this was considered common knowledge, in conversations with individuals it was impossible to obtain formal verification. A later interview in March, 1986, with a senior official in the Department of Housing and Community Development drew the opinion that while such practices might have occurred initially and continued in other towns it was no longer the case in Harare. This is supported in the Annual Report of the Director of Housing and Community Services for the year ended 30th June, 1985: "The administration of the waiting list is a highly sensitive issue, as is to be expected when an essential commodity, such as housing, is in short supply. The department is under constant pressure from politicians, Government Ministries, philanthropic organisations, and the private sector to accommodate special cases. Inevitably dissatisfied customers have raised accusations of corruption or mismanagement against officials. However, I am pleased to report that no accusations have been substantiated and I am satisfied that the system is working as well as can be expected under difficult circumstances. However, the support of Councillors to ensure that the system is not manipulated, is essential" (City of Harare, 1985, Section 2.9).

Each week or fortnight a meeting of all the Cell, Branch and District executives is convened. Here the nature of problems brought from 'grassroots' are identified, their importance assessed, and decisions made for their prioritisation and/or resolution. At the same time decisions made as high as Central Committee level are directed 'down' the chain of communication. Many of these directives are eventually referred through the District chairman-cum-councillors for debate and action in the municipal Council.

The overtly political, and, from the standpoint of formal council organisation, essentially unofficial nature of this system of citizen participation in civic affairs became a cause of concern amongst council officials. Thus in 1986, a call was made for the adoption of the earlier recommendation for the establishment of Neighbourhood Development Committees (NEDCOs) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs). Two WADCOs had been established on an ad hoc basis by individual councillors but neither possessed a formal, approved constitution. A report to the Town Clerk from the Director of Housing and Community Services urged that Councillors implement the Ward Committee system in compliance with government policy and offered its assistance in their formulation. It also made suggestions concerning their composition, structure and leadership.

The NEDCO (Fig. 6.3) would serve approximately 1000 people and would comprise nine persons, seven of whom would be elected by all the adults in the particular neighbourhood, one woman would be elected by the Women's League in the neighbourhood and one youth would be elected by its Youth League. The structure of a NEDCO would be constituted by a chairperson and deputy, a secretary and a deputy, a treasurer, a project secretary, a social services secretary responsible for health, education, welfare and recreation, a women's secretary and a youth secretary. It was anticipated that NEDCO's would generate self-reliance through the execution of self-help initiatives. These would include

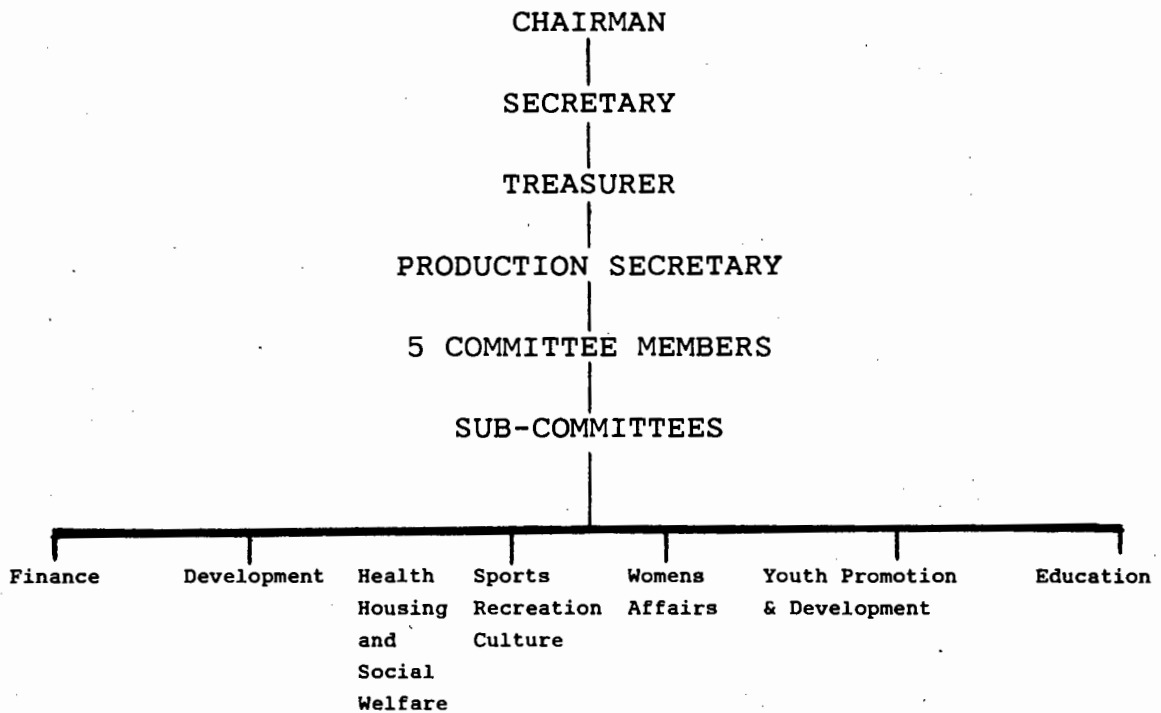
creches, agricultural co-operatives on vacant land, neighbourhood aesthetics and cleanliness, the identification of needs and the planning of services, the naming of streets, public security, and the maintenance of schools and clinics. In this way the masses could be involved in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of all projects and development programmes in their areas. By mid 1986 these proposals remained proposals. Legislation had not been enacted to enable the establishment of NEDCO's, to delineate Neighbourhood Areas or to enable the election of officials and the delegation of specific powers.

It was envisaged that a WADCO (Fig. 6.4) would comprise all chairpersons and secretaries of the NEDCOs, one elected representative from the Women's League, one representative from the Youth League and co-opted specialists in particular areas of expertise. The Chairperson would be the Ward Councillor. Serving under the Chairperson would be a secretary, treasurer, production secretary, five committee members. Several sub-committees were envisaged. These were the Committees of, Finance, Development, Health, Housing and Social Welfare, Sports, Recreation and Culture, Women's Affairs, Youth Promotion and Development, and Education. The WADCO would function to initiate and coordinate community development such as health and adult education, and to provide certain services. In this regard the original Working Party of 1981 had observed that "within Zimbabwean local government systems it is the practice to delegate limited and defined powers. However, if the maximum benefit is to be gained from the proposed local government structure in Harare, the definition of the powers of the lower tiers should be by exclusion thus enabling them to do anything they are not expressly forbidden to do. The resulting freedom of action will stimulate self-help and ensure the vitality of the system" (City of Harare, 1982 p7)¹². While the system has yet to be made fully

¹² The observation suggests a degree of frustration at the degree to which Council activities are circumscribed by higher eschelons of government. Greater freedom of

operational, it is envisaged that a WADCO would impose a special rate levied upon residents of that Ward only in order to finance special projects. The funds would be collected at the same time and in the same way as the normal rate and would be disbursed by the City Treasurer as required. This would obviate the need for additional trained staff and a separate audit. Moreover it would negate the risk of corruption.

Figure 6.4 : Ward Development Committee:- Structure and Functions.



At a higher level Inter-Ward Development Committees were envisaged. Their area of jurisdiction would be the suburb and the membership would comprise heads of particular services being supplied in a suburb (e.g. health, education, welfare, police, women, sports) and three representatives of the ruling Party. The Chair would rotate among councillors

action would, of necessity, also imply greater flexibility in Council financial practices with possible far reaching implications for revenue generation and allocation.

of all Wards in a suburb while members would provide a secretary, deputy secretary, and treasurer. The Member of Parliament of the area would be accorded observer status. In their turn these Inter-Ward Development Committees would provide a link with the full City Council. Thereafter Councillors would interact with Members of Parliament and government officials according to established procedures.

The proposed local government structures strongly suggest that the importance of disseminating ZANU-PF principles and policies downwards from the Politburo and Central Committee through the mechanisms of the local authority remains a vital concern of the Party. They would furthermore facilitate citizen participation in decision-making from the 'grass-roots' at neighbourhood level. The mobilisation and politicisation of the 'povo' and the envisaged structure of community organisation accords with the Prime Minister's stated intention of creating a 'one-party democracy' in Zimbabwe in the near future¹³.

6.2 CONCLUSION

This chapter incorporates and builds upon themes introduced in earlier chapters. It theorises that the history of colonial Rhodesia prior to its transition to independent Zimbabwe can be conceived of as an on-going attempt by the

¹³ ZANU-PF declared 1986 to be the year of politicising party members on scientific socialism as defined by the Central Committee of the party. Ideological groups under the District Committees would conduct seminars in order to conscientise the people and to explain party direction to them.

The need to utilise these communication structures was emphasised by the Provincial Political Commissar, (de. Forbes Magadu, when, in a press interview, he urged people to adhere to party structure and discipline in all matters of communication, observing that some party members were by-passing laid-down procedure by writing direct to the Politburo without going through provincial structures first (Harare Herald, 1986(c)).

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White settler population to contain Black political ambitions, to resolve socio-political conflict, to ensure the efficient functioning of the developing capitalist economy and, above all to maintain White hegemony in an acceptably harmonious environment. All the strategies employed to this end were, at any time, underpinned or informed by the particular ideology held by the majority of those wielding effective power. Mostly this 'conception of life' which fundamentally influences societal values, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions is not consciously recognised although it is occasionally made explicit in, for instance, party political manifestos.

An important and pervasive facet of White ideology was that the Black was incapable of organising and maintaining a developing Western-industrial-capitalist economy. At worst he was inherently incapable of acquiring the requisite skills; at best he would require an indefinitely long period of exposure to modernising influences (Paden and Soja, 1970 p269-287). Spatial segregation and discriminatory legislation and practice in the socio-economic realm consistently reinforced these attitudes.

At the local authority level this ideology was reflected in residential segregation and the continued social economic and political superiority of Whites. It was also reflected in increasing concern for issues relating to Black welfare. In the context of rising Black nationalism (Fig. 3.2), Black desires for participation in local affairs and for an ability to contribute to decisions that affected their lives were progressively recognised. Successive attempts were made to accommodate these desires in a manner which was able to gratify immediate demands but which was always consistent with the ideology obtaining at the time. The result was that Blacks slowly gained increasing responsibility over a specified range of functions in their own residential areas while also gaining more meaningful interaction with the White municipal executive. They were never, however, able

to influence any planning policies or programmes that were fundamental to the self interest of the White ruling group.

In contrast Robert Mugabe came to power as leader of a party inspired by a Marxist-Leninist conception of socialism. An early response was to rectify the perceived injustice of insufficient participation by Blacks in local government. In so doing he complemented the formal statutory provisions for communication with the City Council via elected Ward councillors with an alternative hierarchical system based upon the geographical division of the city into Cells, Branches and Districts. This framework served both to politicise and mobilise the people while at the same time ensuring that members of the District executive who also became city councillors would be sensitive to, and able to respond to, problems experienced at 'grassroots' level. At the same time the system facilitated the transmission of Party policy decisions down the Party hierarchy to influence the structure, form and functioning of the city. Thus a 'top-down, bottom-up' flow of information stimulates and is stimulated by public participation in local affairs. By mid-1986 the City Council had initiated procedures to replace the unique ZANU-PF organisation created immediately after independence with a similar, but nominally apolitical system designed to sponsor self-help, to promote leadership, to ensure maximum citizen involvement in civic affairs and civic education, to communicate the perceived needs attitudes and priorities of local residents to Council and, where appropriate, to relay these to Parliament.

No attempt has been made as part of this research endeavour to assess the efficacy of the particular system of citizen participation which has been developed. It is important to recognise, however, that a discrepancy between organisational intentions and operational results frequently exists. Thus the degree to which the municipal bureaucracy or the Council under present-day circumstances is responsive to the expressed needs of the public remains unresolved. Certainly the system of participation obtaining has not

included any redistribution of power. Arnstein (1969) postulated a ladder of citizen participation each rung constituting different degrees of citizen involvement and power in influencing the outcome of public sector decision making.

The lower levels are those "pseudo participation", 'Manipulation' and 'Therapy' whereby powerholders, by selectively and cynically soliciting and orchestrating public involvement, use public participation as a public relations vehicle to their own ends. 'Informing' and 'Consultation' constitute successively higher levels of public involvement. At these levels the public are informed of Council's intention to initiate projects and objections are invited. How the public are informed (for instance obscure newspaper advertisements), whether or not specific interest groups are targeted for notification, the stage of public involvement relative to plan approval, and the manner in which objections or recommendations are addressed are all issues which are crucial to the actual effectiveness of such a system of public participation. Arnstein adjudges these levels of citizen participation to be 'tokenism' since they are not accompanied by any assurance of implementation. Rung five, 'Placation' is subject to a similar judgement. Here, while mechanisms exist to invoke public advice the local authority retains the right to decide upon courses of action.

Rungs six, seven and eight incorporate increasing levels of executive potential for citizens. The first of these, 'Partnership', involves the negotiated distribution of authority between the public and the local authority so that planning and decision-making become shared exercises. While the Council would retain its executive role, the public would enjoy degrees of veto authority. Rungs seven, 'Delegated Power', and eight, 'Citizen Control' represent different degrees of public decision-making and managerial power and are self explanatory.

It is evident that the real meaning of citizen participation in public decision making can differ according to circumstances. While it is apparent that increasing efforts have been made to accommodate the opinions and aspirations of the public (and particularly of the Black populace) in Salisbury/Harare, it is moot whether or not the procedures currently obtaining are utilised to their fullest potential or whether citizens do, in fact, influence Council decisions in any fundamental manner.

Attempting definitively to locate the current system on a particular rung of Arnstein's ladder falls beyond the brief of this research project. Nevertheless observation would suggest that the Harare local authority conforms most closely with a combination of Pahl's 'statist' and 'Managerialist' models. Control by professional bureaucrats, well defined control by the central State and the pervasive influence of the ZANU-PF Central Committee are all in evidence. In such an operational milieu it would appear that citizen participation in local authority decision-making could, at best, be located at the level of 'Consultation' although the degree of 'top down' communication has probably been increased.

The discussion above outlines the changing jurisdictional circumstances within which the Salisbury/Harare City Council performed its functions including its financial operations. It is important fully to understand how the financial operations of the City Council were organised. In the following chapter particular attention will be drawn to how funds were raised and eventually allocated towards the financing of facilities and amenities across the city. The degree to which Council decision-making was constrained and circumscribed by government edict is also addressed.

CHAPTER 7

URBAN FINANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE SALISBURY CITY COUNCIL

Finance is a *sine qua non* of local authority activity. The amount of money available directly affects the amount of physical and social infrastructure that can be provided and the nature and quality of public services that can be made available to the people of a city. Salaries that can be offered influence both the number of personnel that can be employed and the level of skill and expertise that can be attracted to local government. The amount of money that can be generated as a regular flow over time, directs and constrains forward planning. Insofar as taxes are involved, public finance also engages citizens in civic affairs. Changing magnitude and forms of taxation may be contentious issues and call for a management structure based on appropriate representation (Cormack, 1983). Amounts notwithstanding, where and from whom money is raised, how it is allocated amongst departments and divisions of the municipality, that is, to separate account entities, and how it is distributed in geographic space through the provision of public goods and services affects the daily lives of citizens both directly and indirectly, positively or negatively.

Urban finance in Salisbury has been studied in this context with the specific intention of establishing whether, and to what degree, significant change had occurred in the immediate post-colonial phase between 1978 and 1984. Attention has been devoted in particular to:

1. The overall financial status of the City Council.
2. The sources and amounts of funds.

3. The allocation of funds between different functional units of Council (departments and their divisions).
4. The utilisation of funds by these units (department and divisions).
5. The spatial manifestation of such expenditure insofar as this could be established.
6. The perceived priorities of the local authority executive.

Before undertaking such analysis it is important to locate urban finance in the context of the organisational and functional framework of the local authority in Salisbury/Harare, to specify the research methodology, and to identify problems and caveats to which it was subject. An exhaustive description of local authority organisation is not required, and indeed, is not intended. What is necessary is the clarification of local authority procedures that impact upon the geography of local authority finance. The discussion focuses on that issue.

7.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE CITY COUNCIL

In general terms, the dynamics of growth, change and conflict occurring within any urban system have always required some degree of regulation and organisation by a formally constituted authority to create and maintain a social, economic and political environment sufficient for the functional survival of the system. One crucial element of urban organisation has been the provision of certain physical infrastructure and social facilities. A second is the provision of some basic level of regulation and control of urban activities, both social and economic. As discussed elsewhere, the physical and social infrastructure and the services provided to maintain and regulate a functioning urban system, vary in degree and kind. Much will depend on the specific historical and geographical circumstances to which a city has been subject. Publicly created infrastructure and services are those which private

individuals or groups are either unable or unwilling to supply. Their absence places the competent operation of the urban system and the welfare of urban citizens at risk.

The systems of city government in both South Africa and Rhodesia were historically derived from the British model. In detail, however, they evolved somewhat differently in response to unique social, economic, political, geographic and historical circumstances. The South African experience furthermore greatly influenced governmental theory and praxis in Rhodesia.

In essence, urban government constituted a functional hierarchy with an Executive Council, in which ultimate authority was vested, at its apex. The Council members were elected by the ratepayers who, in the Rhodesian case 1980, comprised White ratepayers of urban places.

The Council, in turn depended upon specialist committees, drawn from its membership, which operated to supply necessary information and recommendations for rational decision-making. The committee system provided for both 'vertical' and 'horizontal' management of municipal affairs. Vertically organised committees bore responsibility for the management of specific sectors of municipal management such as public works, health, housing and community services. 'Horizontal' committees, on the other hand, performed an integrative and co-ordinating function for particular facets of the work of 'vertical' committees.

Given that the Council was essentially a debating chamber, the co-ordinating and advisory role of the committees was designed to facilitate and expedite the conduct of business in Council. The Finance, Town Planning and General Purposes committees were cases in point. All committees had extensive powers delegated to them by the Council but they could not raise taxes or loans, appoint senior officials, nor alienate land or property.

The specialist committees in turn directed, and depended upon, specific functional departments within the municipal bureaucracy. Each department contained within it divisions, sub-sections, or branches overseeing areas of particular expertise and with particular responsibilities to facilitate functional efficiency. Their personnel were full-time employees whose responsibilities covered the varied tasks required for the provision and maintenance of infrastructure and services and the efficient day-to-day operation of the organisation. Heads of departments reported to, and received instructions from, either particular committees or the full Council. In their intermediate position, between the realities of the urban environment and the policy forums of the committees and the Council Executive, these bureaucrats could be extremely influential in the determination and direction of local authority activities. The municipal officials are part of the cadre recognised by Pahl, 1975; Eyles, 1979; and Williams, 1982; as "urban gatekeepers and managers" They are in a position to select and order information, interpret events, make particular recommendations, regulate or filter public involvement and, in general, fundamentally affect the performance of the municipality.

For a short period the Council adopted a greater "management-by-bureaucrats" system of local authority administration apparently with undesirable results. The post of a Chief Executive and Principal Officer was established in 1975. That office presided over a Management Team initially comprising all Heads of Department. The terms of reference of the Management Team incorporated all facets of the municipality's operations. In 1978 the team was reduced to three Heads of Department, the Town Clerk, the City Treasurer and the Head of the Department of Planning and Works. Of relevance are the reflections of the Mayor of 1975-76 H D Tanner, "It strikes me as very regrettable that many local government officials act in the belief that they run local authorities, while Councillors come and go and are generally to be regarded as

nuisances to be tolerated merely to provide a semblance of democracy" (City of Salisbury 1975-76 p5). At independence the executive style of management was discontinued with the dissolution of the office of the Chief Executive.

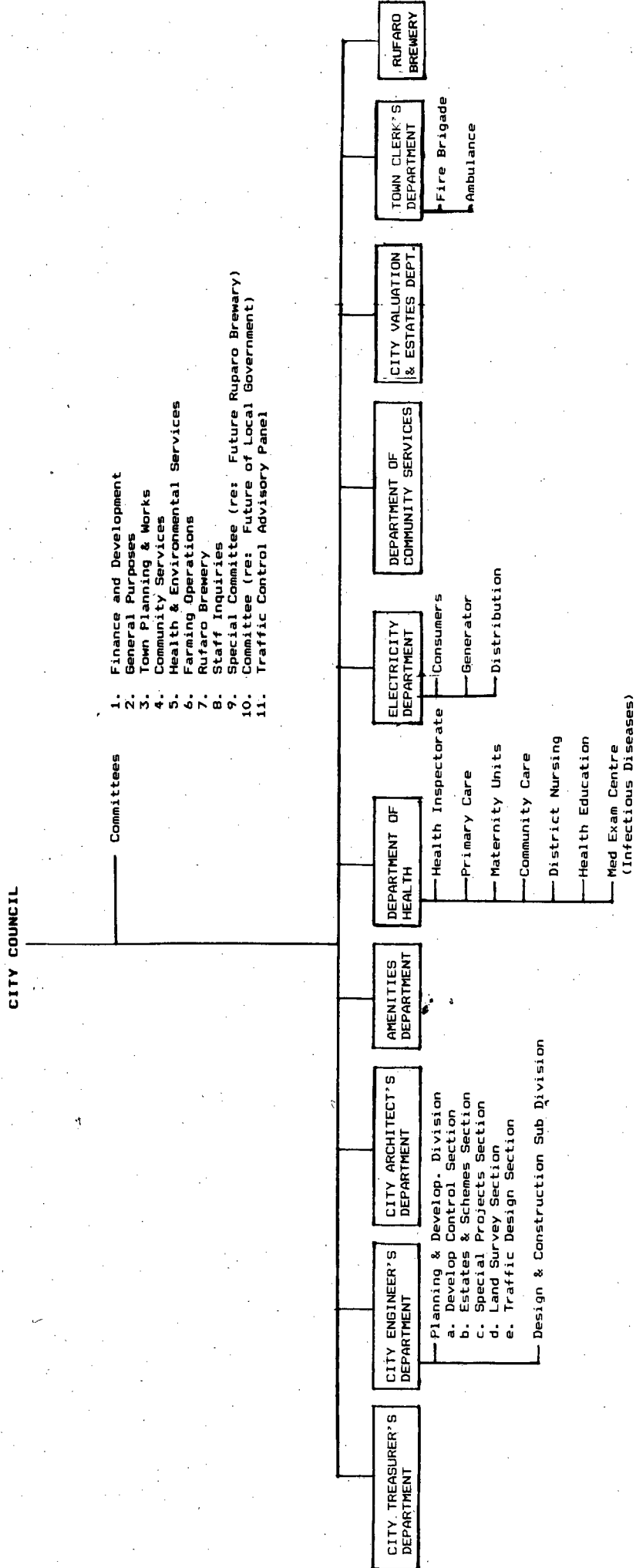
Considered differently the municipal organisation could be viewed of as a "conglomerate" business managed by a holding company (i.e. the Executive Council) with boards of subsidiary companies (i.e. the 'vertical' and 'horizontal' committees). Each company (the departments) in turn had a General Manager (the departmental head) who reported to a Group General Manager (the Town Clerk). The organisational structure of the Salisbury City Council defining the relationships between its functional units is depicted in Fig. 7.1.

Given that the major function of a municipality is the provision of public goods and services, however, it differs from the private sector business corporation. The *raison d'être* of such corporations is profit-making and their major success criterion is productivity. As Jordan (1984, p72) observed "The starting point for a municipality is the demand for services which, in most cases, have to be supplied at any price. Having established demand the municipality must find the funds to meet it. In the private sector the objective is to produce as much as possible from a fixed input (the available capital). In a municipality, the objective is to produce a fixed quantity of a fixed quality at as low a cost as possible. In a municipality therefore, one cannot speak of productivity but should rather speak of efficiency (low cost) and effectiveness (high quality)". In the private sector the point of departure is availability of inputs; productivity measurement by comparison of inputs and outputs can be used as an indication of efficiency. In the public sector avoidance of mistakes is generally accepted as the only valid yardstick. This is because factors other than unit costs have to be considered. For instance, the degree of equilibrium attained between availability of infrastructure

FIG. 7.1

SALISBURY CITY COUNCIL

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE 1978



Source: Mayor's Minute 1978

FIG. 7.1

and demand must be synchronised. Whether or not a large or small difference occurs between average demand and maximum demand is of equal importance.

It is important, too, to note that, in Rhodesia, urban councils derived their powers from, and had their activities limited by, central government. They were statutory corporations constituted by an Act of Parliament. Their powers were granted by, and in accordance with, either the constitutive Act (the Urban Councils Act), or other relevant Acts of Parliament. The Public Health Act, Regional Town and Country Planning Act, and Roads Act, for example, enabled local authorities to perform specific essential functions. In addition, Private Acts or regulations made by a government Minister in terms of an Act, could regulate how a local authority performed its functions. The Salisbury City Building (Private) Act for example empowered the municipality to erect and lease a multi-storied building (Jordan, 1984 p17).

The structure and operation of the municipality of Salisbury derived from and reflected the requirements of enabling legislation. The structure of its committee system had evolved to reconcile the necessity for rational decision-making by Council, on the one hand, with the more pragmatic obligations of the departments, on the other. Each department had been established to discharge functions required of the City Council by specific Acts (for example, the Electricity Act and the Public Health Act). Sections within departments administer particular by-laws - often because funds related to specific legislation must be accounted for separately.

Schedule 2 of the Urban Councils Act (Chap. 214 of 1973) specified the range of functions that a local authority could perform (Appendix). As a conceptual aid, and in a more theoretical context, Jordan (ibid. p70) has suggested that the urban services provided in Salisbury/Harare may be categorised in four groups:

1. Those the public must use and pay for. These basic functions relate directly or indirectly to health and include the collection, treatment and disposal of sewerage; the collection and disposal of industrial and domestic waste and the provision of potable water.
2. Those without which urban life would be impracticable but which the public has an option to use and pay for. They include clinical, ambulance and fire services, electricity supply, markets, roads, parking and public transport facilities, for example.
3. Amenities, the provision of which is dictated by availability of funds. Examples include parks, playgrounds, sportsgrounds, swimming pools, community halls, libraries and beer gardens.
4. Regulatory services performed in compliance with government legislation or the Council's own by-laws.

7.2 PUBLIC FINANCE IN PRACTICE

7.2.1 Role of the Finance Committee

Control and co-ordination of all local authority operations were effected primarily through the Finance and Development, and the General Purposes Committees. Because of its integrative and advisory role, the Finance and Development Committee depended upon inputs from all departments and other committees of the municipality. It relied particularly, however, upon the Treasurer's Department and upon the Division of Valuations and Estates within the Town Clerk's Department for the compilation, analysis and dissemination of financial information.

Briefly stated, the terms of reference¹ of the Finance Committee were to :

1. Supervise the financial administration of the Council.
2. Assess the economic merits, although not the intrinsic value, of any departmental schemes or proposals.

¹ Functions of the Finance Committee were specified in the Standing Orders of the City Council. These include "Orders of Reference" identified matters upon which the Committee is required to recommend courses of action to Council and "Delegation Orders" which make explicit the powers of the Committee to administer and control.

3. Examine the manner in which any proposal or scheme should be financed once it has been approved by Council.
4. Establish control of the financial procedures of the municipality through regulations approved by Council. Examples include the manner in which annual estimates are prepared; the methods by which budgetary control is exercised; the procedures used in the award of contracts, the payment of accounts, the collection of income, and the maintenance and presentation of accounts).
5. Keep Council informed about its financial status.
6. Report on the degree to which Council's financial targets have been achieved.

As noted elsewhere, money "powers the engine" of local government. Without it essential goods and services could not be provided. To this end central government empowered the Council, subject to limitations specified in the Urban Councils Act (of 1973), to collect and disburse monies in order to discharge its obligations. All monies raised were channeled through various account entities created for specific municipal operations and, at the end of each financial year, the consolidated statement of accounts of the City Council by law, had to be subjected to an external audit.

The Council operated two major accounts, the Capital Account and the Revenue Account. The Capital Account was designed to manage financing of the provision of physical infrastructure such as roads, the reticulation of drainage, electricity, water, sewerage, housing, and so on. These are capital works supplied on an irregular basis to different geographic areas. Revenue finances, on the other hand, were designated for the support or expansion of on-going, routine operations, including the maintenance of existing stock, the provision of services, staff salaries, administration and so on. These accounts will be discussed in greater detail below.

7.2.2 The Budget

The Finance Committee was mandated to prepare a budget every year reflecting the anticipated capital and revenue requirements for the ensuing financial year. The budget had to be submitted to Council for its approval. To this end each department within the municipality prepared capital and revenue estimates. The estimates were forwarded to the Treasurer's Department, Finance Section, for collation and initial evaluation. At this stage, Heads of Departments might be offered advice or suggestions from the Treasurer's Department and from other departments. The estimates reflected the idealised requirements of each department in the absence of competing demands from other departments for limited funds.

In addition, the Finance Section prepared a capital development plan. It consisted of a statement listing, in priority order, the capital works to be financed from loan sources or other funds which it was estimated would be needed by the city over the ensuing three years. The design of the capital development plans too, was not restricted initially by considerations concerning the availability of funds to finance the expenditure, the ability to service the subsequent revenue expenditure arising from the outlay, or the municipal and industrial labour force required to undertake the work.

Draft aggregate capital estimates were then prepared in an initial attempt to stipulate project priorities and costs. Councillors were extensively consulted at that stage. Thereafter, the drafts were submitted to the Finance Committee for review and endorsement before being submitted to full Council for debate. Establishing development priorities and specifying the amounts and sources of funds required to meet planned capital expenditure was probably the most important task of the Finance committee.

At that point there was a crucial conjuncture between the real demands of the broader social formation and the

perceptions of Council. The degree to which Council was able to meet demand through its identification of problems and priorities defined its relationship with the general public. The central importance of the efficacy of communication and citizen participation in decision-making is emphasised by this point.

Once approved, the capital estimates became the financial "blue-print" for the ensuing year. The finalised document "provides a three-year forecast of the Council's capital expenditure and borrowing requirement which is put to the Ministries of Local Government and Town Planning, Housing, Finance, and Economic Planning and Development for approval and inclusion in the public sector development programme. At municipal level the capital development plan provides a means of forecasting capital requirements and increases in capital charges to be recovered from service tariffs" (Jordan 1984 p54).

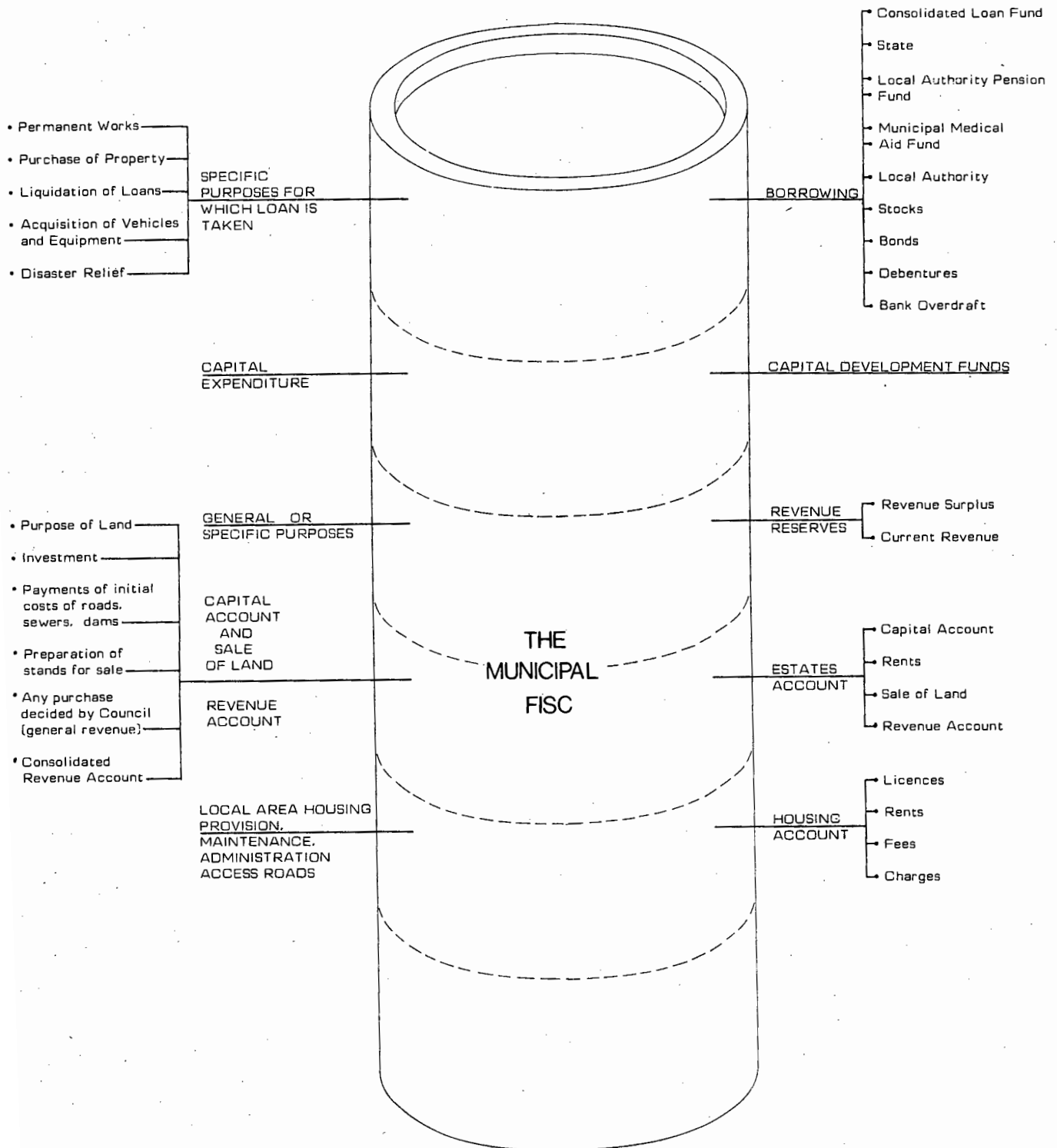
Council, however, was not committed during the period of the plan to proceed with all or any of the projects specified. Nor was it precluded from proceeding with any scheme not contained therein.

Generally, approval of the capital estimates implied authority to spend the funds provided unless an item had been "reserved". This occurred if some doubt existed on the priority need for an allocation or when the figure in the estimates was an aggregated amount for which the detailed expenditure had not yet been determined. Spending of "reserves" required approval of Council. Expenditure of capital provisions still required final authorisation, depending upon the amounts involved : Authority was delegated in terms of the Urban Councils Act (of 1981) (Section 164) to either Heads of Department (less than \$60 000) to the Finance Committee (\$60 000- \$150 000) or to the full Council (more than \$150 000).

Given the complexity of financial management and the extensive legal and regulatory strictures to which it was

FIG. 7.2

SPECIFICATION OF THE SOURCES AND USES OF FUNDS UNDER
THE URBAN COUNCILS ACT (TIED MONEY)



subject, a danger exists of the reader being overwhelmed by a welter of detail much of which would appear gratuitous. Since this chapter is directed towards providing a context to facilitate later analysis of the financial records, an exhaustive detailing of accounting requirements and procedures would be superfluous.² Figure 7.2 illustrates how money flows into the corporate resource "barrel" and identifies the specific purposes for which such flows are "siphoned off". What follows is a brief discussion of important elements of the Council's financial operation that will be referred to in later discussion of methodology and analysis.

7.2.3 The Capital Account

Capital projects are funded from the following sources :

1. The Consolidated Loans Fund. Loans made from central government stock issues and loans from such private sources as building societies, banks and insurance companies.
2. Capital Development Funds.
3. The Housing Development Fund, made up from central government loans and foreign aid.
4. Endowment Funds.
5. Contributions from :
 - a) Revenue account.
 - b) Public
 - c) Government
 - d) Estates account
 - e) Beer fund

Capital Development Funds were created by law within the separate Council accounts from regular appropriations from revenue contributions, land sales, government contributions, and interest on investments and loans. Monies accrued were intended to create a surplus from which suitable provision could be made to repay all loans and to retain sufficient

² Particulars can readily be obtained from the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants (1974), from the Urban Councils Act (Chap. 214 of 1973) and from the introduction to the Annual Reports of the City Treasurer.

funds to cover a reasonable part of the cost of future expansion.

Considered differently, capital works could be conceived as having been funded variously from,

1. Central government loans.
2. External sources (e.g. stock issues, loans from banks, building societies and insurance companies, and foreign aid).
3. Internal sources (e.g. the Capital Development Funds of each account, the Beer Fund³, Interdepartmental loans and endowments).

In general the capital accounts were operated as revolving funds wherein costs were recovered and loans repaid with no burden being placed upon general funds.

Borrowing powers were precisely defined in the Urban Councils Act (Chap. 14 of 1973, Part XIX). The Act specified, *inter alia*,

- (i) that all monies borrowed by Council shall be applied to the project for which they were borrowed (*ibid.* Sect. 238 (6)).
- (ii) that one or more Capital Development Funds must be created for the purpose of financing capital expenditure and for the creation or replacing of assets appropriate to the function for which the fund was established (*ibid.* sect. 246). Such projects might include the construction of permanent works, acquisition of property, payment of compensation, liquidation of loans, purchase of equipment and vehicles, and disaster relief.

Borrowing was strictly controlled by government on a project-by-project basis.⁴ If the income accruing from rates and taxes exceeded Z\$ 500000, Council was empowered to

³ Up to fifty per cent of the profits of the sale of traditional opaque beer could be used to finance low income housing, the remainder being designated to the provision of welfare services in the current year.

⁴ Salisbury City Council was permitted by law to borrow in the money market but only for general infrastructure - not for housing.

prepare a Consolidated Loans Fund to pool all loans received by Council. Advances were made half yearly to borrowing Capital Development Accounts and interest was charged at a half-yearly pooled rate. All borrowings had to relate to specific approved schemes (ibid. Sect. 245). Surplus monies in the several Capital Development Funds were invested for varying fixed periods in the Consolidated Loans Fund.

7.2.4 The Revenue Account

The revenue account was funded from sales made by,

- 1) trading undertakings (e.g. water, electricity, beer);
- 2) owner charges (e.g. rates, supplementary charges, sewerage);
- 3) licences and fees (e.g. vehicles, dogs, businesses, parking);
- 4) rents (on low-cost housing and other Council properties);
- 5) recoveries (e.g. insurance company refunds);
- 6) grants (from private and governmental sources) and;
- 7) appropriations for the Reserve Unit Cost accounts (accounts designed to maintain equilibrium over time in the charge-out rates for labour, vehicles, and plant and machinery domiciled in Distribution Accounts).

All tariffs, rents, fees and charges were set according to a stringently applied principle of full cost recovery. No system for revenue sharing between government and the local authority existed. Government did, however, make some restricted grants, mainly for health provision and general administration. Similarly no public services were subsidised by government and, consistent with the principle of full cost recovery for public services, the Council was not permitted to subsidise public transport.

Expenditure was devoted to on-going support and maintenance of all municipal functions. This included contributions to Capital Development Funds. Different accounts, namely the Rates Account, the Waste Management Account, the Sewerage

Account, the Estates Account, the Parking Account, the Housing Account, the African Affairs Account⁵ the Welfare Account; the Water Account, the Electricity Account and the Traditional Beer Account⁶ had been established to that end (Fig. 7.3). Contributions from each of these accounts were also made to Capital Development funds. The largest portion of municipal revenue was administered by accounts established for the purpose of financing and collecting income from the provision of basic services viz. the Electricity Account, the Water Account and, since 1982, the Sewerage and Waste Management Accounts.

The functions for which most of these accounts were established are largely self-explanatory. The Rates Account, the Estates Account and the Housing Account, however, require brief elaboration. The African Affairs Account and the Welfare Account will be reviewed below in the section focusing upon the financial administration of the Black townships.

Rates are a direct tax on all property owners and are assessed at a level required to meet total expenditure. The Municipal Act (Chap. 125, Sect. 164) stipulated that Council "Shall at least once in every year, and may from time to time as it sees fit, levy rates on all ratable property within the municipal area". Were it considered that additional or higher quality services were required, taxation could be increased by Council (subject to the

⁵ In 1979 African townships officially became "Local Government Areas". The Account created specifically to administer the affairs of these Black residential areas was changed from the "African Affairs Account" to the "Housing Account: Local Government Areas". The appellation "Housing" is possibly somewhat misleading. Funds located within the account are intended for all aspects of maintenance and development.

⁶ The transactions relating to the Traditional Beer Account were excluded from the Source and Application of Funds statement, the Consolidated Balance Sheet and the Expenditure Account contained in the Annual Accounts of the City Treasurer in terms of Traditional Beer (General) Regulations 1982.

caveat that Councillors were accountable to a voting public that is notoriously sensitive to the tax burden).

Ideally the tax burden should be compatible with the taxpayer's contribution to the commonweal and with ability to pay. The amount of tax levied is calculated on the basis of the assessed value of both land and improvements⁷. This valuation was based upon the ordinary price which a buyer would be willing to pay and a seller would be willing to accept if the land were purchased at the time of the valuation in a voluntary transaction. Buildings were assessed at the estimated cost of erection at the time of valuation less the amount of structural depreciation and such depreciation as may be due to unsuitability (in whole or in part) of the buildings for the purpose for which they were originally intended at the time of valuation. Interim valuations were conducted whenever a sale or planned improvements of property occurred. In such circumstances the cost of erection was deemed as being at the time of the immediately preceding general valuation (Stewart, 1966).

Former peri-urban Rural Councils (e.g Borrowdale) that were incorporated into the municipality in 1971 had never benefited from the infrastructural services of the municipality and therefore continued to pay a Unit Tax levied on the value of the properties. The tax constituted a fixed amount payable per unit of land (usually 25 hectares) or per unit of labour employed (usually 50). Whenever reticulated services were extended to such areas, owners became liable to payment of the rates tax.

The Estates Account was funded from the sale of Council land and could be used for any of the following: the purchase of land, the initial cost of provision of roads, sewers, drains

⁷ Certain categories of use were exempt from taxation. These included municipal land, churches, schools, libraries, museums, cemeteries, hospitals, orphanages, benevolent asylums and mines (Stewart, p2). Government made a contribution towards the maintenance of roads in lieu of rates on government buildings.

and the development of stands for sale, the surfacing of parking areas for commercial development, legal survey and advertising costs of stands for sale, fees, commissions, etc. in the sale of stands and advances for financing any capital expenditure or creation or replacement of an asset (Urban Councils Act, of 1973 sect. 248).

The Housing Account administered municipal letting and purchase schemes outside the Black townships where virtually all housing was delivered on a leasehold basis. Its funds derived largely from trade and residential rentals and interest on housing loans. Expenditure went mainly towards capital charges, administration, and building repairs and maintenance.

7.2.5 The Financial Administration of the Black Townships

The spatial separation of Black townships described in an earlier chapter was extended to their financial administration. Separation of the accounting system served to structure and entrench the system of social relations. It obliged the Department of African Affairs to work within a framework almost independent of the rest of the city, thereby intensifying both the perception and reality of separation between the race groups. The Department's capital and revenue budgets were, however, subject to scrutiny by the White Council. A United Nations enquiry into labour conditions and discrimination had observed that Blacks were subject to special controls, made dependent on special provisions, considered to be living on other peoples' land, were excluded from other substantial sources of city funds, and from urban administration. "For the most part, although no law actually stipulates it, city authorities operate their African Affairs Revenue Accounts on a 'self-financing' basis. Where deficits occur, the usual remedy resorted to is that of raising rents and/or charges for services. In effect this requires the working poor to pay for their own public services without any principles of cross subsidisation from higher income households" (United Nations, 1978 pl15) Successive White

administrations were reluctant to commit their electorate to either the lower service standards or the increased tax burden implied in any programme of cross subsidisation and upgrading of these Black townships.

A general principle upon which colonial administration was founded was that Blacks should pay for what they received. Black townships administered by Salisbury municipality were, in effect, regarded as separate local authorities. Services were supplied, however, on an agency basis by Salisbury municipality with costs being charged out and made payable to different departmental accounts. No separate service organisations existed.⁸

One anomaly stemming from the requirement that every Black township be responsible for its own revenue finances was that none could benefit from the rates tax on commercial and industrial properties located in White areas. Recognising this, and in an attempt to achieve greater tax-benefit equity by creating a mechanism for income redistribution, Government promulgated the Services Levy Act in 1961. In terms of this Act a services levy was charged to employers in the commercial and industrial sectors and the proceeds accrued to the African Revenue Account. The levy was to be used for the subsidisation of the net operating costs of the Black townships. The amount of individual levies was calculated according to the magnitude of deficits incurred by Black townships. As a result a considerable incentive existed to maximise the extent of the identification of such expenditure. "Consequently, and as a matter of policy, every facet of the operation of the townships was treated as a thing apart from the general operation and administration of the municipality and there grew into existence the concept of "a town within a town". Financially, the

⁸ Black townships previously administered by government (*viz.* Kambuzuma Dzivaresekwa and Highfield) had similarly maintained separate accounting systems but had largely autonomous service organisations. When responsibility for their administration was ceded to the Salisbury City Council in 1973, their plant and personnel were absorbed.

townships were treated as though they were separate local authorities responsible for the operation of all services, including the supply of water and electricity" (Galletly, 1979 p50).

Galletly further observed that "Whilst subsidisation of townships accounts from Services Levy was available, there was no inducement for local authorities to assist the finances of those accounts by making appropriations, permitted by legislation, from their Rate Accounts in order to spread the benefits derived from the rating of the Central Business District and industrial areas over the whole population (ibid. p51).

The system whereby the Black and White components of the city were financially self-contained, operating separate accounts revealed fundamental structural inequities. Firstly, because the public authority provision for each component had to be financed from within, areas with the highest population densities and lowest per capita incomes were limited in what they could enjoy by what they could afford. Secondly, Black residents had to pay proportionately more of their income for similar services. Jordan (1984, p59) calculated that, in 1981/82, the occupier of a property valued at approximately Z\$ 2 000 in a township was required to pay Z\$ 48 per annum compared to a rates assessment tax of Z\$15 per annum on a similarly valued property in the (former) White areas.

Until 1973 the financial transactions of individual townships could not be identified separately, each being aggregated within the African Affairs Account. In that year, the Urban Councils Act (Chap. 14) stipulated *inter alia*, that, "In respect of each African township controlled or administered by a council, a separate account, to be called the African Affairs Account preceded by the name of the township, shall be established" (Section 152). Major sources of funds were to be:

- a. All licence and other fees (dogs, cycles, business);

- b. Vehicle licences (those kept normally at night in the area)
- c. All rents, fees and charges except electricity (since 1971);
- d. Payments by Council of its employees;
- e. A proportion of surplus accruing to Council from charges for water and electricity calculated to take into account revenues accruing from supplies to such Local Government Areas and the revenues accruing from all sales of water and electricity by Council. (Sub-section 2)

Expenditures were specified thus :

- a. Supervision and administration of Local Government Areas;
- b. Providing, developing and maintaining buildings and services for the Local Government Area (excluding roads and employment bureaux);
- c. Providing, developing and maintaining roads for the benefit of residents of the Local Government Area or access roads.
- d. Purchase or lease of land within the area concerned with development of the area.
- e. Charges made by Council for water, electricity and sanitation rendered to the Local Government Area not exceeding the charge for a similar property within the Council area or the actual cost of bulk supply. (Sub-section 3)

Any deficit in the Water or Electricity accounts was debited to the Rates Account while deficits in the African Affairs Accounts *could* be met from an appropriation of the general funds of Council (Sub-section 4).

In the funding of health, welfare and recreation facilities for Whites and Blacks, long-established differences existed mainly with respect to quality of service and degree of utilisation. As indicated earlier, central government provided high-level central hospital, infectious hospital and tuberculosis hospital services. The local authority's commitment to health services embraced a health inspectorate, a nursing service providing primary, maternity and community care, medical examinations, health education,

dental care, creches, and a school health service. With their higher per capita incomes, Whites traditionally substituted private for public health care. Consequently many of the Council's health facilities were located in the Black townships. Elsewhere the services provided catered for both Blacks and Whites although separate amenities and facilities were provided within the same establishment. All income accruing to the Department of Health was recorded in the Rates Account and included fees, and annual government grants equal to 50 per cent of the net cost of providing the service, and a similar contribution from profits on the sale of traditional beer.⁹ A separate item, "Family Health-A" in the Rates account recorded income and expenditures in the Black areas. Health care was the only public service for which a degree of cross-subsidisation from the Rates account occurred.

As indicated earlier when discussing the provision of public goods and services in Salisbury, Whites also tended to substitute private for public welfare and recreation facilities. Grounds for sports clubs and golf courses, for instance, were leased from the municipality at nominal rentals with income appearing in the Rates Account.

A separate African Welfare Account recorded incomes and expenditure on libraries, community halls, a vocational training school, cinemas, recreation grounds, and play centres and feeding. Income derived from fees and, overwhelmingly, from the African Beer Account.

The Services Levy was abolished in 1978 when government repealed the Services Levy Act and adopted a policy that all measurable services (i.e electricity, water, sewerage and

⁹ In terms of successive Acts of Parliament (The African Beer Act (No. 39 of 1974, the African (Beer) General Regulations (No. 370 of 1975), and the Traditional Beer Act (No. 25 of 1984)) the municipality has maintained a monopoly on the brewing and sale of traditional or "opaque" beer. Use of profits is restricted exclusively to welfare projects and to grants-in-aid to welfare organisations.

refuse removal) should be fully economic. A major cause of the financial separation of the Black townships from the rest of the local authority was thus removed. The "town within a town" concept remained intact however under the financial provisions of the Urban Councils Act which government saw fit to retain. The Act, it will be remembered, made explicit the need, form and specified the operating parameters of, separate accounts for these areas.

Though the decision to impose standardised economic charges for measurable services had been taken, the issue of how the costs of establishing such 'hard' services as water, electricity, roads and stormwater drainage were to be recouped in the Black townships remained unresolved. Prior to 1978 a "Service Charge" had been introduced to cover the amortisation of capital costs (on, for example, major roads, sewer and water reticulation, off-site water supply, off-site sewerage treatment and electrical plant) and a "Supplementary Charge" had been calculated to recover the recurrent costs of maintenance services (e.g. street lighting, sewerage, water removal and grass cuttings). In the accounts these were conflated as a single entry titled "Service or Supplementary Charge". In everyday usage the payment was simply referred to as the supplementary charge. Rent revenue had been applied to the capitalisation and maintenance of housing. Refuse removal and sewerage charges were incorporated in the rent in the case of leased housing in the townships.

However, in order to maintain equity of charges in the respective Black townships, and the overall viability of the African Affairs Account, standard levels of service and supplementary charges were established for all townships.

Insofar as they relate to the provision of services, supplementary charges and property rates tax were equivalent. In the Black townships "the equivalent of the rate is a supplementary charge, fixed in terms of by-laws applicable only to those areas. The amount of the supplementary charge payable is not related to property

value but to the plinth area of the building. The total amount of rates raised and the supplementary charges levied are related to the revenue requirements of the Council" (i.e. the costs of services) (Jordan, 1984, p14-15). Nevertheless the ratios between the level of supplementary charges and the income of tenants and owners in the Black townships were disproportionately greater than the ratios between the level of assessment rates and the income of owners to be found in most White areas of the municipality as has already been demonstrated. Eventually disparities arose from differing methods of financing the recurrent costs of services in Black townships compared with the remainder of the local authority and, increasingly, individual townships returned deficit accounts.

In 1979, with the abolition of legal discrimination, in anticipation of a different political dispensation, and "in order to place the Black townships on 'all fours' with the remainder of the municipality it was necessary to transfer the outstanding loan debt on roads and stormwater drainage to an Estates Account within the African Affairs Account and to finance such expenditure by charging the tenants of residential accommodation rentals on the site values of their properties, the income from which equated by and large to the capital charges on those particular services. In effect, therefore, the capital charges on roads and stormwater drainage which had previously formed part of the Supplementary Charges were transferred to the rentals of the properties. Such action did not alter unduly the aggregate amounts payable by the Black tenants in respect of rents and supplementary charges but would facilitate any subsequent merging of township services with those of the remainder of the municipality, as the methods of financing capital outlay and amortising loan advances in respect of these services have now been placed on a uniform basis in all areas. Having placed measurable services upon uniform tariffs and rationalised the manner of financing non-remunerative services which involved capital outlay, the stage is now set to accommodate any form of local government structure which

may be deemed expedient for each local authority" (ibid. p52).

Contemplating the city's future, Galletly went on to reflect, that it remained to be seen whether services previously financed by rates and supplementary charges would be recovered on a "pooled" basis by a standard form of taxation or whether each area would levy independent charges and receive *pro rata* subventions of the rate yield derived from the taxation of commercial and industrial properties. This is an issue that will be taken up in later analysis.

The context of municipal financial administration in Salisbury has been outlined in paragraphs above. It is necessary, in addition, to refer to constraining factors that inhibited the free exercise of financial autonomy by the City Council. The major constraint was that of central government intervention.

7.2.6 Financial Constraints upon the Local Authority

In ideal terms, the Councillors, as elected representatives of the City's residents, were mandated to serve the interests of the public and to disburse public funds to that end. In discharging its responsibilities they ideally should have possessed freedom of action, at least within the purview of more general national legislation. In reality however, the autonomy of the Council was severely curtailed by specifically directed edicts of central government. Local authorities are creatures of statute and could only do what they were legally empowered to do. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the management of public finance.

Close examination of the Urban Council's Act of 1973 and other enabling legislation reveals that the greater proportion of City Council revenue was "tied money". That is, it was explicitly 'tied' or prescribed for particular uses. Few of its funds constituted "discretionary funds". For instance, vehicle licence fees had to be utilised for revenue expenditure on roads, bridges, stormwater drainage,

signs and signals. Income from the African Beer Account could only be applied to African welfare as prescribed in the African Beer Act (Chap. 299 of 1974). At present, in terms of the Traditional Beer Act (No. 25 of 1984), funds from that account could only be applied to the erection of housing and other capital works or to such other uses as may be prescribed by the Minister (Part IV; Section 10; Subsections 3 and 4). The capital account of the Estates Account could not be used for any purpose other than the purchase of land, particular investments, or the initial provision of services in new developments (Urban Councils Act Chap. 214, Section 248). Revenue from parking lots, meters and traffic fines had to accrue to the Parking Account for prescribed expenditure. The Consolidated Loans Fund had to be administered in accordance with a 'scheme' approved by the appropriate Minister, and borrowing powers were subject to the consent of the Minister (*ibid.* Section 238 (2) (c)). Each township possessed a separate account (*ibid.* Sect. 152 (2)) to which all local revenue derived from licences, fees, rents, interest and charges had to accrue. The particular township had to benefit from expenditure of that revenue (*ibid.* Sect. 152 (3))¹⁰. All expenditure incurred by a council had to be covered by estimates or supplementary estimates (*ibid.* Sect. 238 (4)).

Ministerial approval notwithstanding, the Act also specified the nature of projects for which borrowed money could be expended. These included:

- a) the acquisition or construction of permanent works or undertakings;
- b) the acquisition of immovable property or any interest therein;
- c) the making of advances authorised by this or any other Act;
- d) the payment of compensation;

¹⁰ Note, however, that any deficit in the account could be met by an appropriation from the general funds of the council (*ibid.* Sect. 152 (4)).

- e) the liquidation of the principal moneys owing on account of any previous loan;
- f) the relief of general distress occasioned by some calamity in the Council area;
- g) the acquisition of plant, equipment, vehicles and the like.

(ibid. Sect. 238(1))

It may be argued that such a listing provided sufficient scope for discretionary expenditure on what may be considered the proper concerns and responsibilities of a local authority. The fact remains, however, that the autonomy of the Council was circumscribed and constrained by statute, and by dependence upon the authority of central government Ministers (as prescribed in law).

Moreover, in many instances Council was obliged, in terms of the Urban Councils Act, to advertise its intention to pursue particular courses of action and to respond appropriately in cases where sufficient objections had been lodged. The principle that the public interest was paramount was reflected in the procedures used for the alienation of land, the fixing of tariffs and the award of contracts. It extended to the prohibition of fee waiver. Although a Council could raise, lower or abolish fees or rates, using the procedures laid down in the Urban Councils Act, it could not waive a fee once it had been set. The actual fixing of fees was subject to advertisement of the Council's intention for a period of thirty days, during which period voters could object. Should more than 30 objections be received the Council was required to reconsider the matter before implementing the new tariff (Jordan, 1984, p60).

Advertising procedures were required for the setting of water tariffs, sewerage tariffs, special rates, electricity tariffs, certificates, licences and permits. (City of Salisbury 1973 p117) The perceived legitimacy of Council rested largely upon its accessibility and responsiveness to the wider urban community and the degree to which residents could meaningfully influence decision making. It follows

too, that the relationship of the Council to central government, on the one hand, and to the residents of the city, on the other constituted crucial imperatives in the prosecution of municipal affairs. Both themes were addressed in detail earlier. The only unrestricted financial power possessed by Council was its authority to levy the general rate. Even here, however, it could be argued, the Council was restricted by electoral sanction.

Other constraints upon the Council's freedom of action in the management of its finances included the 1) erosive action of monetary inflation upon the value of its liquid assets, (2) the status of the national economy particularly with respect to export earnings and the availability of foreign currency with which to import essential plant, parts and vehicles for example, and (3) skilled personnel to discharge important tasks (legal, technical, administrative, and financial) efficiently.

The degree to which, and the direction in which, the local authority pursues independent action would constitute an important indicator of its relationship to central government.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The main aim of this relatively detailed survey of the conduct of local authority finance in Salisbury prior to the succession to power of a Black executive authority in 1980 has been to provide a necessary and sufficient conceptual and contextual background for the analysis of the geography of public finance in Harare that follows. The point has been made that the Finance Committee occupies a particularly important position within the organisation of the local authority, disseminating and co-ordinating information, exercising control, and providing an advisory service. Further, it has been emphasised that the accounting system obtaining had been devised, in large part, to accommodate and reflect the specific requirements of different functions

prescribed for the local authority in law. Those legal requirements, in turn, reflected the perceptions of the ruling elite on the proper role of a local authority. By logical extension, they mirrored the value systems and social relations of those eligible to vote. That the electorate was almost exclusively White until 1979 is therefore significant. For instance, racial discrimination and the practices of segregation and separation were mirrored in the accounts.

So, presumably, would the evidence of changing attitudes and behaviour be contained within the financial record when Blacks obtained the right to vote. This logic provides the rationale for the following investigation of change in the generation, allocation, and distribution of public revenue in Salisbury/Harare.

CHAPTER 8

THE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC AUTHORITY FINANCE

The focus of this enquiry is change brought about by the succession to power of a Black City Council. Given that the Council is explicitly charged with the responsibility of the welfare of the city's citizens and given that the observed level of welfare varies spatially (as demonstrated by selected socio-economic indicators), it is considered valid to use broad categories of welfare to guide the investigation of change in local authority practice. In a study as wide ranging and intrinsically complex as this, focus is of paramount importance. Sophisticated and highly detailed analyses of such specific problems and issues as housing, health, employment, recreation, education, the provision of services, and income generation in the Third World city, are legion. No attempt is made to parallel these here. Nor are such technical issues as water reticulation, sewerage removal and treatment, and electricity provision afforded much attention despite the fact that the manner of their provision impacts greatly on human well-being. Whether or not such services are provided at all, that is, whether residential plots are serviced or not, is relevant, but where precisely electricity stations, generating plants, water reservoirs, or sewerage filtration plants are located is considered more a technical problem, notwithstanding that some negative externalities might exist for those in proximity to such capital works. Thus this study is concerned with parameters of change in the delivery of those public goods and services that have spatial manifestation, influence the morphology of the city, and/or impact upon the social welfare of people. The primary focus is upon the manner in which change in the provision and consumption of these goods and services in the post

independence era is reflected in the financial record of the City Council.

8.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROBLEMS

Restatement of the precise aims of the broader research endeavour is appropriate here viz. to establish whether and to what degree significant change occurred in the post independence era in terms of :

1. the overall financial status of the City Council of Harare;
2. the sources and amounts of funds available to the Council;
3. the allocation of funds between different accounts of the Council;
4. the utilisation of funds within individual account entities;
5. the distribution, or spatial manifestation, of Council expenditure;
6. the priorities of the Council executive with regard the provision of public goods and services

Given these research aims, and proceeding from the thesis that the financial activities of the municipality provide significant indicators of changing circumstances of urban finance, most of the analysis focuses upon the public record of financial transactions of the City Council. It bears emphasis that this chapter is concerned solely with the analysis of the financial records of Council as contained in the audited annual reports of the City Treasurer. Later discussion will be broadened, however, to include commentary upon such issues as Council policy statements, the promulgation of by-laws, interviews with City Councillors concerning city management and changing practices in the provision of certain public goods and services.

8.1.1 Rationale

The theme of change permeates and underpins the entire exercise. Consequently significant variations in both

income and expenditure are sought between different accounts and between individual items within these accounts over the study period. In essence an attempt has been made to interrogate the data contained within the annual Treasurer's Report and Accounts. It requires emphasis, however, that this research is not in the nature of a financial audit merely tracing and describing cash flows. Meaning had to be elicited from the data in terms of the research objectives and all interpretation to this end had, therefore, to be predicated upon motivated selection of study criteria. What data is selected and the manner in which it is analysed is crucial to the rational prosecution of this research.

As indicated earlier, the law empowers a local authority to provide a range of goods and services within the city that the private sector cannot, or will not, provide with sufficient guarantees of distribution and continuity to satisfy particular requirements of social welfare and equity. The particular kind and quality of functions undertaken by a local authority in large part derives from a culture-based "basic needs" conception of the urban process and upon a particular conception of the responsibilities and obligations of urban government.

An extensive literature is devoted to the theory and measurement of human welfare (for example Ellis, 1985; Pacione, 1982; Stagner, 1970; Smith, 1977). The selective use of quantitative indicators to provide a composite 'picture' of life quality in an area is a useful methodology that emerges from the welfare literature. The rationale underpinning that methodology has been brought to bear upon the analysis of municipal finance particularly with respect to the selection of study criteria. It should be stressed however, that it was never the intention to develop any comprehensive and definitive analysis of the changing condition of human welfare in Salisbury/Harare.

It is incumbent upon the local authority to secure some socially acceptable level of welfare for citizens through its control of the urban system. Furthermore the operations

of the local authority must be funded. It follows that a financial accounting of how much is expended upon different functions, and a record of the geographic location of the recipients of this expenditure relative to particular facilities, should provide at least an initial indication of relative welfare in the city. Thus analysis of financial accounts is concerned with who pays, who benefits and who gets what, where.

As a point of departure for deciding which functions to select for scrutiny it was reasoned that for any city to function at all, services would have to exist for the removal of sewerage, the provision of potable water, the containment (prevention or elimination) of contagious disease, the provision of housing, and the movement of people. These are so fundamental that effectively they are "non-discriminatory" in that their supply had to be guaranteed although it is recognised that there could be very significant variations in the quality and quantity of such services. The constituents of the concepts 'level of living', 'quality of life', 'human welfare' as postulated in various writings (Knox, 1975; Drewnowski, 1974; Smith, 1977; Maslow, 1954; Ellis, 1985) were then considered. Attention was focussed particularly upon the general constituents of welfare and indicators used to measure or assess this condition with the intention of relating these to particular municipal functions. Ignoring differences in terminology, all welfare formulations recognised the physiological needs of food, water, shelter and health and 'higher' needs involving security, education, recreation, employment, self-affirmation, organisation and access to power. Specific indicators of such constituents were many and varied and are not of immediate concern here save to observe that the theoretical principle of identifying indicators related to a particular welfare constituent was adopted. This logic was then applied to attempt to decide upon a range of items in the Treasurer's accounts that could be used to arrive at an informed evaluation of whether or not significant change had occurred in local authority practice over the transition

from White to Black control as evidenced in the financial conduct of the City Council. The hierarchy of "urban determinants" discussed in Chapter 5 (Table 5.4) directed the selection of significant account items.

It could be argued cogently that all the activities of the local authority are directed towards the public good and therefore all expenditure must, ultimately, enhance the quality of life of the city's residents. The response here is that many municipal operations may be regarded as essentially 'neutral' or supportive. Personnel management, general administration, store-keeping, distribution, jobbing, surveying, housing inspections, operating quarries and workshops, passing building plans, acting as landlords and a myriad similar functions are cases in point. Many of these functions are important, they might indeed be prerequisites for effective municipal performance which, by extension, should enhance human welfare. Nevertheless they do not impinge as immediately and identifiably upon human welfare as, for example, the provision of community halls, libraries, clinics, hospitals, creches, low-cost housing, recreation facilities, markets, roads, bridges and stormwater drainage, refuse removal, street cleaning, street lighting, sewerage treatment, and water and electricity provision. Nor, in most instances is their influence a function of their geographic location or spread. Thus the criteria selected for analysis of change in this project are largely those that, firstly, occur as account entities in the annual financial reports, secondly, that conform with indicators of welfare established in the literature and, thirdly, that, where possible, are readily identifiable in geographic space. The criteria chosen are indicated above and become evident in later detailed analysis of the data. In any event all the other functions of the local authority are subsumed in the aggregate capital and revenue statements which are also analysed.

The most difficult problem posed by the data lay in the implied question, "what exactly constitutes significant

change"? Income and expenditure figures for a particular service might display a steady increase (or decrease) from year to year. Alternatively they might show an absolute increase (or decrease) between the beginning and the end of the study period while vacillating from year to year. The changes could be of the order of 3 per cent, 5 per cent, 15 per cent, 30 per cent or 130 per cent. Merely describing patterns of income or expenditure permits the statement that change did (or did not) occur. Whether or not such change was in any way significant in the context of changing power structures and ideologies remained moot however and, ultimately, had to depend upon reasoned judgement. Judgement has been effected through quantitative statistical and graphical analysis, and through deductive logic. The latter was particularly important because the financial data on occasion are only indicative and lack the power of statistical verification. In such cases meaning may be derived from actions of the local authority since independence only if they are interpreted in the light of, or evaluated against, some set of desired circumstances. In the Zimbabwean case the desired circumstances are those that might be expected to arise in a socialist urban system based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. It is important to recognise that these principles did (and continue to) constitute the philosophical supports of the ZANU-PF political ideology within which the local authority is expected to operate. Images of a desired future emerge from a variety of sources including national development plans, political statements and the writings of socio-political commentators.

From these and other sources an attempt has been made to specify expected criteria against which subsequent events in Zimbabwe, and particularly those relating to local authority practice in Harare, might be evaluated.

Important statements regarding a desired new order for Zimbabwe may be listed as follows:

"ZANU formally adopted 'Marxist-Leninist-Mao-tse-Tung thought' as official party ideology in September 1977" (Africa Confidential 1978).

"ZANU has defined its brand of socialism as scientific socialism based on Marxist-Leninist principles. In other words socialism is not a fortuitous process occurring at random but a systematic doctrine following a given pattern in the course of which serious contradictions are corrected and socialist or people-oriented goals are fulfilled". (Mugabe, 1982(a))

"Like other oppressed peoples we face the basic and fundamental contradictions in our country which must be removed and destroyed root and branch. They are,

. the presence of a settler society of 234 000 White people who are an integral part of international capitalism that seeks to exploit and oppress five million indigenous Africans and to prevent them from establishing a truly socialist state. This is part of the global conflict of the forces of capitalism and socialism ... (ZANU 1972)."

"State power will be used to organize the economy for the greatest benefit of all citizens and to prevent the emergence of a privileged class of any kind An important factor in class formation is the ownership of property. Property values play a large role in the politics and social values of capitalist societies. In the existing system in Zimbabwe, ownership of property and the maintenance of high values is used as a major political, economic and social barrier between the settlers and the indigenous Africans. In a free, socialist, independent, and democratic Zimbabwe, property as a commercial and exploitative factor will be abolished." (Nyangoni and Nyandoro, 1979 p258)

"... in Zimbabwe none of the White Exploiters will be able to keep an acre of their land" (Smith et al, 1981 p 41).

"Economic exploitation of the majority by the few, the grossly uneven infrastructural and productive development of the rural and urban economy, the lop-sided control of the major means of production and distribution, the unbalanced levels of development within and among sectors, and the consequent grossly inequitable pattern of income distribution and of benefits to the overwhelming

majority of the people of this country, stand as a serious indictment of our Society. So does the balance between predominant foreign ownership and control of assets, on the one hand and, on the other, limited local participation as also and more especially the past colonial dispossession of land and other economic assets and the consequential impoverishment of the masses of the people; hence the imperative need to re-establish justice and equity in the ownership of land, which should be a common heritage of Zimbabweans of all races.

Moreover, past policy and legislation and other government instruments, especially fiscal and monetary including subsidy and other measures, were designed to maintain a sound economy but an inequitable socio-economic order, while education and manpower policies were generally designed to ensure the existence of cheap, unskilled Black labour combined with the indiscriminate importation of skills mainly from overseas.

These policies hindered local skill formation and full productive employment, especially among Blacks. Further, horizontal and vertical population movements were restricted by an elaborate system involving both racial and urban and rural zoning, and therefore hindered or distorted the national movement of labour and acquisition of skills." (Government of Zimbabwe, 1981 p1)

On 22nd December President Mugabe of ZANU-PF and Mr Joshua Nkomo leader of the predominantly N'debele ZAPU political party, signed a unity accord under which the two parties "agreed to commit themselves to establishing a one-party socialist state based on Marxist-Leninist principles, Mr Mugabe's declared goal since assuming power on independence in 1980." (Cape Argus, 1987)

"Where development plans have, in the main, been designed to meet the interests of the minority, socialist objectives have suffered disorientation and social equity has been undermined, for inequity, as its antithesis, has been made paramount. In such a social situation, the privileged class, because of its exclusive ownership of the means of production, assumes the dominant role and acquires for itself all the attributes of an upper class or bourgeoisie which needs stand in sharp contrast to and hence are pitted against, those of the underprivileged or impoverished class, in our case the peasantry and

the working class. Thus the wealth, education, health, skills and welfare of the bourgeois class, by antithesis, translate themselves into the poverty, ignorance, disease, absence of skills and welfare on the part of the peasants and workers.

Social justice and equity in circumstances of social equilibrium cannot be achieved by policies which reject socialist goals and seek the advancement of private and individualistic interests for, by their orientation, such policies seek to entrench further the role of the bourgeoisie" (Mugabe, 1982 (b) p1).

The fundamental and ultimate goal "is the establishment and development of a democratic, egalitarian, and socialist society, set in a dynamic framework of a developing country. When that ultimate goal is achieved, the current exploitation of Zimbabwe citizens by others will have been eliminated on the basis of fundamental transformation of the ownership and use of the means of production and other social institutions." (Government of Zimbabwe, 1984 p2)

Elsewhere Leatt et al (1986) discuss the salient features of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist socialism and its derivative, African socialism.

They observe (p 161) that most of the scientific-socialist or Afro-Marxist regimes share a common set of ideological features that distinguish them from the 'first wave' attempts at African socialism. They are:

1. the adoption of scientific socialism;
2. the attempt to create effective Leninist vanguard parties in contrast to the single mass parties of populist socialist regimes. These parties have supremacy over the state in defining its potential choices and act as instruments of conscientisation and the embodiment of the masses of workers and peasants;

3. a greater readiness to use coercion against internal opposition;
4. a stress on class analysis and the on-going class struggle against bourgeois elements in society;
5. commitment to a non-capitalist path of development;
6. a flexible eclecticism in ideological interpretation of Marxist theory and practice.
7. The establishment of links with external socialist powers which do not necessarily include Soviet Russia, and do not usually interfere with the regime's official policy of non-alignment. The Afro-Marxist regimes are thus able to receive aid from, and to have trade links with, both the Western and Eastern blocs.

As a caveat, all of the above is not meant to infer that the Mugabe government has remorselessly pursued and practised an extreme doctrinaire form of socialism founded exclusively upon the ideological principles of Marx, Lenin or Mao-tse-Tung. The realities of long-entrenched capitalism were recognised and, as a matter of policy, capitalism was accommodated within the political economy:

"Social justice and equity in circumstances of social disequilibrium cannot thus be achieved by policies which reject socialist goals and seek the enhancement of private individualistic interests, for by their orientation, such policies seek to entrench further the role of the bourgeoisie. My Government, committed as it is to socialism, and recognising the urgent need to correct the inherent social and economic imbalances, presents the Three Year National Development Plan as its first endeavour at socialist transformation. The Plan, however, recognises the existing phenomenon of capitalism as an historical reality, which, because it cannot be avoided, has to be purposively harnessed, regulated and transformed as a partner in the overall national endeavour to achieve set national Plan goals. Accordingly, while the main thrust of the Plan is socialist and calls for a greater role by the State through the instrumentality of State enterprises, worker participation and socialist co-operation, ample room has been reserved for performance by private enterprise" (Mugabe, 1982, p1).

The purpose of the foregoing assertions of socialist ideologies therefore, has been to provide an essence, a distillation, of the rationale informing the philosophical and ideological bases of the country's policy makers. It provides a foundation for establishing an ideal to which they might aspire. At the same time it provides a useful framework within which to establish criteria against which the City Council's financial activities might be evaluated.

Drawing from these various sources, it is possible to itemise some of the ideal characteristics of a socialism that might be expected to have been implemented under Black rule in independent Zimbabwe.¹

Criteria Defining an Ideal Socialist Political-Economy:

- . Centralised control and direction through a one-party state where a party caucus directs government action according to party principles.
- . Decentralisation of the decision-making process to increase public participation.
- . State ownership of the means of production through the nationalisation of productive enterprises (or at least of 'key' enterprises in agriculture, commerce and industry).
- . Prohibition upon the ownership of property and the capitalist mode of production.
- . State planning of production.
- . Management of the productive process by workers.

¹ It has been recognised that qualifications to these implied and explicit socialist goals, many of them necessitated by circumstances and born of a developing pragmatism, do exist. These will be discussed more fully later. However, even if the ideal goals were not immediately feasible targets for action, given the undoubted sincerity of the sentiments enshrined in a socialist ideal, it is reasonable to expect that the society would move towards a new political, social, and economic order in an evolutionary (if not a revolutionary) sense at both the national and the local level. Early on therefore changes should be able to be identified and trends discerned.

- . State planning and control of distribution e.g. to each according to his work (stage of socialism); to each according to his need (stage of communism) (Leatt et al, 1986 p 194).
- . Greater egalitarianism in the society. This would include the levelling of status differences; equality of opportunity; equality before the law (the removal of discriminatory legislation); equal political rights under a one-party state; guaranteed minimum levels of basic needs (housing, food, clothing).
- . Mass mobilisation and conscientisation of the people towards national goals of an egalitarian, self-reliant and participatory society. Emphasis on class and the class struggle.
- . Equal access to education and health for all.
- . Control of consumption (limit 'conspicuous consumption')

These criteria may be regarded as fundamental to the creation of a socialist order within a nation-state. The emphasis is upon a society which is conscientised towards national goals, egalitarianism, self reliance and participation in a form where group or state interests supersede those of the individual. Precisely how goals might be achieved would vary and would be historically, culturally, and place specific. In the case of Zimbabwe a number of specific policy objectives and measures to be implemented were specified in the Transitional National Development Plan (Government of Zimbabwe 1982/83 - 1984/85). Those policy objectives may readily be correlated with one or more of the basic constituents of a socialist political economy suggested above.

1. Elimination of all forms of discrimination in social and economic life.

2. Redistribution and development of land and resettlement of the maximum number of families over the plan period.
3. Training of manpower at all levels of skill and responsibility.
4. Enforcement of minimum wage regulations.
5. Expansion and qualitative improvement of social services notably education, health and housing.
6. Increased access by low income groups to public facilities and social services and, in particular, the extension of the physical and social infrastructure in the communal areas to ensure that peasant farmers have ready and adequate access to marketing facilities, extension services and credit and so increase their productivity.
7. Removal of social, legal and economic discrimination against the informal sector.
8. Removal of unjust discrimination against women in social and economic life.

These policy objectives apply on a national scale and many have found legal expression in their translation into Acts of Parliament. Both the philosophical spirit of the ruling ZANU party, and the letter of laws enacted by it, filter down to those exercising power at the local level. Local authorities are obliged to operate within the provisions of statutory law. They do, however, possess the prerogative to exercise 'local options' within the law through the promulgation of by-laws and regulations to control and direct the growth and development of their jurisdictions. The administration of public finance is, to a very limited degree, discretionary as noted in an earlier section of this work.

Abstracting from the general criteria for socialist government and from the Zimbabwean Government Five-Year Plan policy objectives, it is possible to surmise changes that

could be expected at the local government level in Harare. It is against these expectations that change will be assessed and, where possible, tested quantifiably. They include :

1. Subjugation of the City Council to ZANU Central Committee direction and increased government intervention.
2. Increased differential taxation of the more affluent to effect redistribution of wealth and to attain a greater degree of equality.
3. Introduction of measures to accommodate, and facilitate, entry of formerly disadvantaged citizens into aspects of economic and civic life formerly denied them.
4. Widespread state ownership of land and property.
5. The reduction and possible eventual prohibition of capitalist forms of accumulation and speculation (particularly as regards land and property).
6. Accelerated movement towards convergence of supply, or greater equalisation of access to, public facilities and services (largely by means of distribution, fee and tariff regulation, and rules of eligibility.)
7. Qualitative improvement of social services.
8. Institution of more effective systems of public participation in civic affairs.
9. Efforts to conscientise and mobilise the urban population in terms of socialist ethics and practices through social organisation and diffusion of values. These would include education, public involvement in local affairs, and activities directed towards co-operative and self-reliant behaviour.

10. Training of manpower at different levels of skill and responsibility.
11. Removal of discriminatory regulations and practices (and particularly against those in the informal sector).
12. Increased emphasis upon the role of women in community development.

8.1.2 Techniques Applied

It must be emphasised that many of these expected local authority initiatives would complement or extend national programmes while others might be locally unique. It is the intention later to establish whether such changes can be discerned. In particular an attempt will be made to recognise changes in analyses of public authority finance and, ultimately, to seek to explain differences between socialist theory and praxis.

To facilitate judgement on the significance of change in Harare analyses have been refined by use of principal component analysis, regression, correlation and statistical significance testing and shift-share analysis.

Principal component analysis (Gabriel, 1972; Greenacre and Underhill, 1982) is a multi-variate, descriptive statistical technique which attempts to correlate an array of data on two-dimensional plots. Ultimately it groups together those categories of data (here account items) that, in terms of percentage of total income or expenditure, display positive or negative correlations. The technique is a derivative of factor analysis. Among its many capabilities is the classification and reduction of multi-variate data. Profile similarity among various categories of data is identified and, as a result, structural relationships may be inferred (Rummel, 1967). By use of the technique it was hoped to identify as a distinct set, those major accounts, or entities within major accounts, in which definitive change could be discerned. Thereafter an attempt was made to relate the entities within a set to the types of change

expected under an idealised socialist political economy in order to establish whether they conformed or not.

Expectations concerning the nature of changes that might result from a shift to an idealised socialist order formed the bases of a *priori* hypotheses against which the data could be tested. For example, it was hypothesised that an increase in public health services would occur. Similarly it was expected that the data would reveal positive trends in expenditure on welfare facilities, housing and electricity in the former Black residential areas (the High Density residential areas). Against this, decreases in expenditure could be expected on relatively non-essential amenity items, for instance, grass control and the maintenance of parks and open spaces in the former White (Low Density) residential areas.

Annual income and expenditure for each account item were plotted as graphs and the data were subjected to regression and correlation analysis. Further, such trends in the graphs as could be identified were tested for statistical significance, to establish the probability that a particular trend (correlation number) could be ascribed to chance at the 0.05, 0.01 and 0.001 confidence levels. For example, should the probability figure for a particular distribution be less than, or equal to, a value of 0.01 it was possible to reject the null hypothesis and to conclude that there was a significant trend, of the order indicated by the correlation coefficient, in the data at the 99 per cent level. Viewed alternatively there existed only a one per cent chance of making a mistake in the conclusion that a definite trend existed. If the probability were low then there would be no purpose in quoting the co-efficient number because it could have been produced by chance.

The Shift-Share technique aims at illuminating the relative size of the gains or losses among data categories over time. Percentage and absolute changes are both accounted for in the analysis. Distortions inherent in the use of simple percentage data are thus avoided.

In essence, the relative order of magnitude of upward or downward shifts of individual groups or items within the total data array is established by comparing their degree of change against what could have been expected had they duplicated the total percentage shift. Thereafter the upward or downward shift of a particular item is expressed as a percentage of all items experiencing similar upward or downward shifts. The precise methodology of the technique and a worked example is appended (Appendix 3).

8.1.3 Analytical Problems

While Shift-Share Analysis would appear to be a useful and sensitive tool of analysis, its application to capital expenditure requires caution. Change in revenue allocations may reveal a changing emphasis in on-going operations in the actual year-to-year practice of local government. Against this, and in the context of observations made earlier, capital allocations might simply reflect a particular stage in an accepted and unchanged long-term development plan. Existing loan debts have to be met and, for purely practical reasons, the realisation of socialist ideals could be delayed a considerable time.

It also needs to be recognised that, while absolute and relative change can be measured, the financial data contained in the final accounts does not necessarily reveal qualitative change. For instance, a lower spending allocation on a particular service might mask greater efficiency of provision and the end product might be qualitatively "better". Housing delivery provides one example. The improvement of organisational systems, the utilisation of different materials, greater productivity of labour and more progressive urban planning could result in functionally improved and aesthetically more desirable housing units. A socially and economically enhanced living environment might be created at lower cost in real terms.

Conversely, greater expenditure on a service need not necessarily indicate an expanded, or an improved, system.

The only possible research response to these problems was to exercise circumspection when analysing the data. Where possible also, the precise circumstances surrounding changes reflected in the financial record were ascertained.

Other problems are presented by the data themselves. At the outset it was important to convert all data from nominal to real values by discounting incomes and expenditures to a common base year (in this instance 1978). Money values were thus standardised to facilitate comparisons in the financial records.² Standardisation was achieved by deflating the figures in the annual Treasurer's Reports by an inflation index for that year. In the case of Revenue Accounts the Consumer Price Index (CPI) published in the annual Digest of Statistics (Government of Zimbabwe, 1985) was used.³ For the Capital Accounts, given that the bulk of expenditure was upon construction materials, tools and machinery, the

² Note that the valuation data for property and improvements did not require discounting because supplementary rolls for each half year contained assessments based upon putative values in 1975, the year of the previous general valuation.

³ The CPI is calculated upon a standardised 'basket of shopping goods' for the higher income group comprising a wide range of household consumables weighted for Salisbury /Harare. Given that a major item of revenue expenditure within the municipality is devoted to salaries and that, in turn, salaries are generally adjusted to reflect the overall cost of living, use of the CPI as a measure of money inflation, was considered valid. This was endorsed by Dr S Archer of the School of Economics, University of Cape Town in an interview.

It is recognised that the local authority is a bulk purchaser of stationery, office equipment and uniforms, and that other expenditure on the Revenue account (e.g. insurance, pensions, travel, sundry repairs and maintenance) does not fully reflect the expenditure profile inherent in an idealised household shopping basket. A Wholesale Price Index (WPI) might better have reflected what a Zimbabwe dollar would have been worth (in terms of the local authority's buying power in 1978) but no such index could be obtained. However a control check upon sample data using the CPI and WPI of South Africa revealed minor differences. It is assumed that similarly marginal differences occurred in Zimbabwe.

Building Materials Price Index was considered to be more appropriate.

The City Treasurer's Annual Report conforms to specifications prescribed for municipal accounts contained in the Report of the Municipal Treasurers and Accountants of South Africa (1974). For each separate account⁴ the transactions of each Department, Sub-section, Division or Branch are comprehensively detailed in the statement of income and expenditure on Revenue Account. That is, the yearly operating or "running" expenses of such units may readily be traced. The line-item system of budgeting employed, however, does not enable the full financial particulars of integrated municipal projects such as low-cost housing schemes to be established. Were a programme-budgeting system to have been adopted such particulars might be traced.⁵ Thus the real capital and revenue expenses of

⁴ Rates Account; Waste Management Account; Sewerage Account; Estates Account; Parking Account; Housing Account; Local Government Areas; Welfare Account; Water Account; Electricity Account.

⁵ Galletly (1974, p41) observed that the line-item system has inherent safeguards and controls for financial management and that programme budgeting does not appear superior for rationalising the use of scarce resources. Emphasis appears to rest greatly upon management and control by accountants, less upon informing planners and decision-makers about relative costs and benefits of complexly interrelated operations in particular projects, and still less upon informing the voting public in different jurisdictions where different proportions of their tax money and other public funds are being spent. However, Galletly also observed that supplement No. 2 to the 1974 Report on the Standardisation of Financial Statements in Local Authorities in South Africa contained a recommended schedule of output statistics designed to provide management with financial and statistical data on a uniform basis. "The provision of financial and statistical data in the form of output measurements will serve as a foundation for the development of programme-budgeting. The line-item system of budgeting could be upgraded into a functional form, to be followed by a reorganisation of functions and programmes under major objectives instead of departments". To date there is no evidence of progress towards this goal.

individual municipal projects in geographic space cannot be readily ascertained or compared.

Moreover the accounts are, in general, aggregated so that amounts spent or income received, be it on salaries, equipment, tea or stationery, for any particular function, (say dental clinics or community halls or fire services), apply to the sum of all the individual establishments concerned with that function wherever they are located. As a result only changes in the allocation of funds by function can be traced. It is frequently impossible to trace the geographic distribution of these funds. From a geographic perspective which emphasises a concern for the spatial distribution of public funds, the final accounts present a considerable methodological problem.

Appendix 4 details those items in each of the revenue accounts for which expenditure can be located in geographic space. It is apparent that the list is an eclectic inventory that would not promote an informed appreciation of relative financial advantage or disadvantage over the study area. In addition many of the items do not satisfy the selection criteria enunciated above. The issue of the spatial implications of the Council's financial activities nevertheless remains important. A crucial item in the research agenda of the geography of public finance concerns the relative costs and benefits of location to taxpayers - how much they pay, where the money is spent, and the nature and extent of the benefits they derive from such expenditure. Where some activities locate, for instance clinics or libraries, can increase the real income of residents living in close proximity. By logical extension, the value of living in a particular jurisdiction affected might be enhanced. The success with which such activities perform their function and serve the population is largely a function of their location. Ideally taxpayers should be able to identify municipal expenditure by area. Under the present accounting system it is not possible to determine the relative magnitude of expenditure in different areas on

an annual basis. Should discriminatory expenditure patterns become the subject of political grievance at the local level, corroborating evidence to place before accountable representatives would not be obtainable.

Conversely, the location of other activities depends more on technological or other pragmatic factors. Their functional efficiency is independent of interaction with the public. Frequently their linkages remain intra-municipal and their location may be regarded as almost random or fortuitous, subject more to the availability of land and technical operating criteria than to any "market demand" criteria. Cemeteries, crematoria, sewerage treatment works, power stations and sub-stations, workshops, storerooms, construction yards, concrete production sites, asphalt plants, and quarries are cases in point. This is not to aver, however, that they do not generate externalities. The argument is simply that expenditure on such functions cannot be said to accrue to the benefit of the particular area in which they are located despite their being of service to the public. To compound the problem, other service functions which necessitate direct, but relatively infrequent, interaction with the public are designed and located to serve the entire city - for instance major hospitals, the showgrounds, sports stadiums, the museum, the central library, the art gallery and City Hall. Accessibility to one or more of these services confers greater positive externalities upon nearby citizens, but the entire city benefits from their presence. Again, as a result of their scale of operation and their purpose, it is difficult to argue that expenditure on them could be interpreted as expenditure accruing to a particular geographic area at the expense of some other. Some activities are based at particular sites but provide mobile services on an area-wide basis. Examples here include fire and ambulance services, on-site health inspections, grass control, sewerage, water and electricity repair and maintenance, and civic policing. The locations and sizes of depots invariably reflect 'in-house' decisions based on operational imperatives that

concern functional and economic efficiency: whether or not it is more efficient to provide a service from relatively few large facilities or from a greater number of smaller, more dispersed facilities. In a single jurisdiction the argument turns as much upon such functional concerns as availability of sufficient trained staff, the cost of immovable equipment, administrative efficiency, building costs and so on, as upon optimising spatial access to end users (this being an important consideration notwithstanding). Moreover the areal extent of supply of different services varies being a function of the size, number and distribution of depots. Service areas overlap considerably and, in Salisbury/Harare, do not correspond with distinct intra-metropolitan jurisdictions for which financial records exist.

The general argument notwithstanding, the convenience and cost minimisation inherent in geographic accessibility (in terms of time, energy, money and convenience) cannot entirely be ignored. In Salisbury, despite the fact that these 'major' facilities were available for use by all race groups (although segregation was still observed at the level of separate seating, separate toilet facilities, different hospital wings and so on) the majority were located within the White areas. Accessibility was thus increased for Whites.

In summary, it is not possible to divide the city into jurisdictional or geographical areas for which discrete financial records exist. The calculation of the amount of tax money contributed by each geographical area to the public coffers and then to establish how much is spent by the local authority in each area is not possible. Testing the idea that particular areas are somehow favoured at the expense of others thus becomes a highly complex task.

An important extension of this argument relates to the African Townships (the present High Density Areas): Historically, as mentioned earlier, these areas have been

expected to be financially self-contained.⁶ Each township was, and is, obliged to maintain a separate account in its own name. It is therefore possible to ascertain income and expenditure for such services as street lighting, grass control, fire-fighting or ambulance provision in those geographic areas. One problem concerns the difficulty of making valid comparisons in terms of account entries over time. This requires that like consistently be compared with like - "apples with apples, pears with pears". However, during the process of recording data onto a computer spreadsheet it became apparent that account entries were not consistent. This sometimes involved a change of title, at other times an alteration in the contents of a sub-account⁷.

A second problem relates to interpretation of financial data. Despite the fact that service expenditure per Black jurisdiction can be established in Salisbury/Harare, many of the services supplied to the townships were undertaken on an agency basis from facilities located in the White area and paid for on that basis. However, it is debatable whether

⁶ Although provision, in law, was made for deficits to be met out of general Council funds.

⁷ For instance, in the Rates Account: Amenities Division, the sub-account "Halls and Libraries exists for 1978, 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984. In 1979 and 1980 the account was changed to "Halls and Community Centres". In 1978 "Cleansing Services" included Stercus Removal and Environmental Control : Waste Management. By 1981 these items had been removed and incorporated in a major new "Waste Management Account"; "Peoples Markets" only became an account entity in 1983. Other examples could be cited (eg Sewage, Grass Control, Street Cleaning, Halls and Libraries). Extreme vigilance was necessary to check the content and continuity of all accounts, addition or subtraction frequently being necessitated to ensure consistency. It was also important carefully to check the comparability of identical service item heads between the Rates Account (White areas) and the Housing : Local Government Areas (Black areas). Here a central depot frequently provided the service (eg refuse removal) and charged out to individual local government areas. As explained more fully below, these charges had to be accounted for and excised from the Rates Account. Specific issues will be addressed when the results of data analysis are discussed.

the full costs of a particular service were reflected in the amounts charged out for it - that is, whether the cost of the service would have been the same were it to have been supported *in toto* as an operating unit within the township. Moreover the quality of service delivery could have been inferior to that in the White areas. It could thus logically be reasoned, for example, that given the density of dwelling units, the greater density of population, and the widespread use of wood-fuel and paraffin for cooking and heating in the townships, the absence of readily accessible fire stations (and therefore fast and reliable service) increased relative levels of deprivation. This would not be made evident in a bland financial statement of expenditure on fire protection for a particular township.

With these qualifications in mind, there exists sufficient general correlation between the Rates Account (which largely chronicles facets of the financial conduct of former White areas) and the Housing Account: Local Government Areas, both with respect to general format and specific account items, for crucial comparisons to be made.

A third problem contained in the data stems from the account entry, "Amounts Charged Out". Each service is accounted for separately to facilitate the fixing of economic fee levels. Each is credited with direct revenue from fees but also with indirect revenue accruing as a result of work undertaken for, or on behalf of, the other departments. Similarly it is debited with expenditure undertaken by other departments. Such charges include a portion of the cost of general administration, accounting costs, the cost of running the Council and items such as vehicle and building maintenance (Jordan, 1984, p52). Amounts charged out are debited from the final expenditure statements of every major and sub-account and are, in essence, "in-house paper costs". Thus expenditure on provision of a service by a particular Council department appears also as expenditure of departments receiving the service. By consulting "Total Expenditure" entries for

individual items, (as opposed to the total aggregate Council expenditure) misleading inferences can be drawn. The research aim is to establish a value for the actual cost to a department of operating a particular service and not to derive a figure that is the outcome of a book-keeping strategem to avoid double-counting.⁸

The Capital accounts present different problems. In the first instance they are less detailed than the Revenue accounts. They do not particularise the nature of capital works beyond such broad heads as "Halls and Libraries", "Street Lighting", "Parks and Open Spaces". As with the Revenue accounts, the geographic location of expenditure is completely ignored. Again, expenditure in individual Local Government Areas can be ascertained but the specific projects on which the money was spent is not specified. It is possible, however, to establish reasonably precisely what capital projects were undertaken in a particular year by consulting the Capital Estimates and the annual reports of departmental heads, but establishing the precise costs of projects is more difficult. Projects in the estimates are not necessarily undertaken and estimates, in most instances, do not reflect actual costs. They cannot accurately anticipate construction problems, escalation costs and slippage.

In the second instance, in accordance with the accounting policies of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants which are practised by the Harare City Council, capital outlay is retained in the balance sheets at original cost (Appendix 5). Whether or not capital outlays should be

⁸ Two extreme examples will suffice to illustrate this procedural difficulty : In 1983 the City Health Department expenditure on vehicles was Z\$ 54324 and "Accounts Charged Out" to different departments was Z\$ 54324 so that the total expenditure entered under this entity in the Treasurer's Report amounted to zero. The same occurred under the item "Medical Practitioners" where the actual cost incurred was Z\$ 278379 and the "Amounts Charged Out" equal Z\$ 278379 (City of Harare, 1983 p110-111).

discounted back to the base year 1978 thus becomes a question. The total cost of a project initiated in any later year would validly be discounted were it paid off in that year. Most capital developments, however, are very expensive and, accordingly, are funded by loans. The capital and interest redemptions upon such loans are thus serviced annually over a fixed time period which may vary from between 15 to 30 years. These repayments are calculated on original cost of the project in question and it is methodologically incorrect to discount their value annually. Because the amount to be redeemed is set *ab initio* any discounting of amounts committed thereafter would, in effect, erode the end value being repaid. This argument can be extended to capital works begun in later years.

A further analytical problem arises. In the aggregated form in which capital expenditures are presented in the annual accounts it is impossible to identify the date of commencement of individual capital projects their estimated total cost, or the amounts in capital and interest redemption paid annually for each. Such information is compiled for the detailed draft estimates presented to the Treasurer and the Finance Committee prior to their incorporation into the estimates presented to Council. It is not retained, however, as an archival record nor was any such information made available to the author.

The problem of accurate analysis thus appears to be intractable. Discussion with professional accountants, however, suggested that the short study period would not radically obscure trends in annual aggregate capital expenditures should the data be discounted to a common base year. It would be reasonable to assume that the effect of new projects 'coming on stream' in the period would be counter-balanced by payments ending on long-established projects. Moreover the effect of inflation over a few years is relatively marginal.

With these assurances in mind, capital expenditures have been tabulated and graphed as a time-series. The graphs serve to identify trends in the data. It might be expected that change in development strategy arising from change in socio-political circumstances would be reflected in the trends of expenditure.

It bears reiteration that, over a relatively short historical period, were immediate changes to have occurred, consistent with the imposition of a new philosophy, they should be reflected in the expenditure figures despite the inherent limitations in capital data discussed above. Slower developing trends on the other hand would be much more difficult to identify. Attempts were also made to evaluate the rate of change of capital expenditure against that of population growth and of the delivery of new housing units, the assumption being that in the absence of change, some historically established and consistent relationship would exist between the three parameters. Given the theorised relative paucity of facilities in the High Density suburbs prior to independence and given the commitment of the government and local authority to achieve greater equalisation of facilities, it is reasonable to expect a change in certain types of capital expenditure in excess of the rate of change of population and housing growth..

In the third instance, as indicated earlier, capital investment involves considerable amounts financed from loan funds repayable over 15 to 30 years. In any one year only a small fraction of the total capital cost (redemption and interest) dedicated to a project, or, more importantly, to an area, is reflected in the Capital Account. The relatively short "time slice" of the study period exacerbates this problem in that expenditures completed before 1978 or still to be completed by 1984 are not shown. More importantly, substantial underspending on budgeted estimates occurs on different expenditures from year to year for reasons which range from difficulties in obtaining foreign exchange for imported plant, machinery and vehicles,

to difficulties in obtaining the requisite skilled manpower, delays or 'slippage' in the implementation of schemes, and the deferment of particular projects. . Since loans for projects are paid back over long periods capital redemption and interest payments vary from year to year. While some projects had been newly initiated, the servicing of other loan debts terminated. Thus the graphed data of expenditure on capital accounts can be expected to display considerable variability from year to year and well defined trends cannot be expected. The Capital Estimates and Three- and Five-Year Plans produced as committee agenda items more clearly reveal the intentions and the perceptions of priorities of the Council, but these do not form part of the public record and are therefore not readily available.

Moreover, even if it were possible to identify expenditure by type of project and by area no inference could be made that one area was benefiting at the expense of some other. Capital projects are costly in terms of time, money and manpower. The allocation and geographic distribution of funds must, of necessity, be sporadic and unequal. Thus it would patently be misleading to conclude, on the basis of evidence in the financial statement of a particular year, that an amount spent on a facility (say, a clinic) in one area occurred to the detriment of other areas when, in fact, those areas already possessed clinics.

Knowledge of existing physical and social infrastructure thus became an essential prerequisite in assessing trends in capital expenditure in the study period.

Finally, only Council-generated income and its expenditure is reflected in the financial records. Aid monies, for example from such donors as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for specific low-income housing projects do not appear in the annual accounts of the City Council. Development trends in the local government sector may thus be distorted.

8.2 SALISBURY/HARARE COUNCIL FINANCE IN ITS NATIONAL CONTEXT

After two years of economic expansion in 1980/81, growth in the Zimbabwean economy fell to less than one per cent annually between 1982 and 1987. In a searching analysis of the post-independence Zimbabwean economy (Hawkins, 1987, p 186) wrote, "By mid 1981 it was clear that the economy was overheating and that the manufacturing boom was unhealthily dependent both on substantially increased import allocations and buoyant domestic demand. The authorities moved to curb domestic spending with higher interest rates and taxes but these measures were soon overtaken by the downturn in the world economy and the severe 1981/82 drought with the result that overheating turned - within a matter of months - into recession". In summary, Hawkins attributed the recession to a variety of factors including:

1. A hostile and intensely competitive international market occasioned by a world recession with a concomitant slump in commodity prices;
2. A deterioration in domestic market conditions that forced industrialists to seek markets abroad.
3. A fall in export volumes below pre-independence levels.
4. An excessive dependence on primary or semi-processed products (ten exports accounted for approximately 77 per cent of total export earnings);
5. Stringent import restrictions imposed in 1983.
6. Three successive years of drought causing agricultural output to fall to its lowest level in a decade.
7. A deficit on current account which jumped from less than 3 per cent in 1979 to 11,5 per cent in 1982.
8. Slow disbursements of international aid.
9. Increasing foreign debt.

FIG. 8.1 DECLINING VALUE OF THE ZIMBABWE DOLLAR
1978 - 1984
(Consumer Price Index)

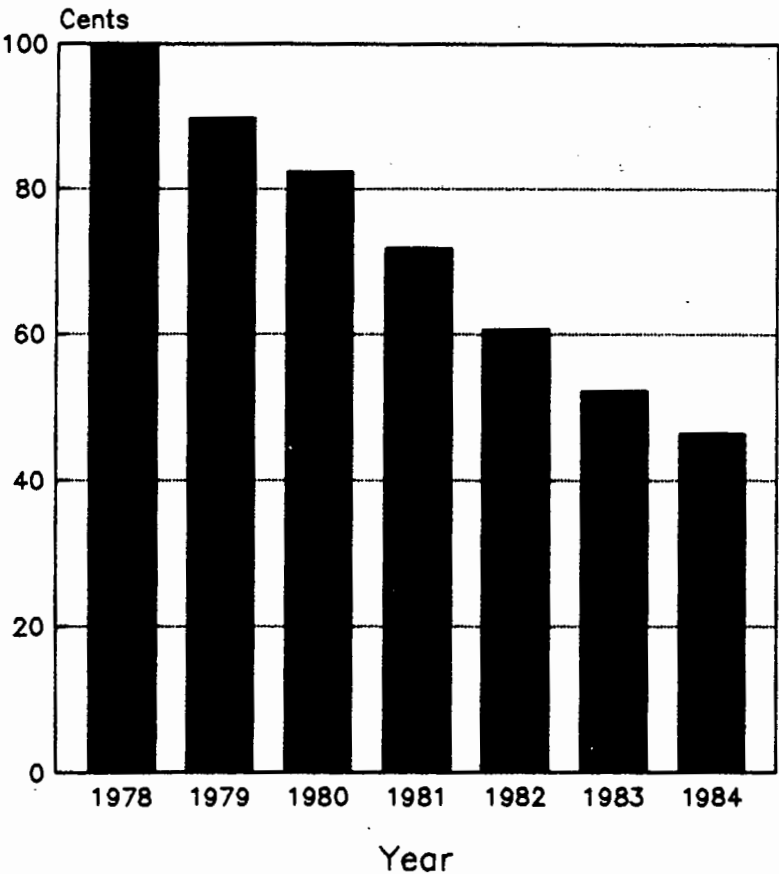
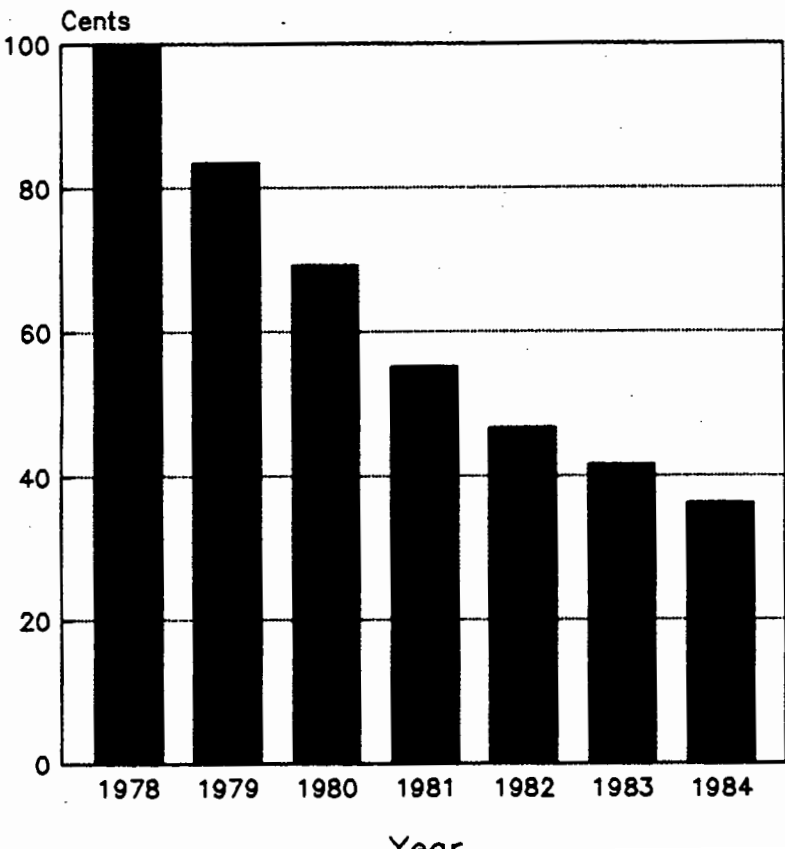


FIG. 8.2 DECLINING VALUE OF THE ZIMBABWE DOLLAR
1978 - 1984
(Building Materials Price Index)



Exacerbating the negative effects of these economic influences were the continuing decline of the Zimbabwean dollar against international currencies (Table 8.1) and the effects of inflation.

Table 8.1 Zimbabwe Dollar Exchange Rate 1982 - 1985

	US Dollar	Pound Sterling	French Franc	Deutsch Mark
January 1982	1,3804	0,7369	8,1754	3,2153
January 1983	1,0637	0,6732	7,1886	2,5362
January 1984	0,8740	0,6218	7,5265	2,4616
January 1985	0,6466	0,5712	6,2581	2,0488

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, 1985 Statistical Yearbook of Zimbabwe, Central Statistical Office, Harare.

By 1984 the buying power of the Zimbabwe dollar had dropped to half its value in 1984 (Figs 8.1 and 8.2). The price of construction materials as indicated by the Building Materials Price Index had risen even more rapidly than consumer items represented in the Consumer Price Index.

The financial operation of the Council was prejudiced by the interplay of these forces particularly insofar as it inhibited the acquisition of foreign exchange necessary for the import of vehicles, machinery and technical equipment not manufactured in Zimbabwe. Rapidly rising prices of domestic commodities, the limited availability of consumables and growing wage demands also posed problems.

The relative size and importance of Harare in the national urban system is reflected in its financial status vis-a-vis all other local authorities. With total assets valued at Z\$ 221,8 million in 1984 (Table 8.2) both its average annual capital and revenue expenditures accounted for approximately 24 per cent of the expenditures of all local authorities. In 1984 Harare's total assets represented, 8,2 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP). Its annual aggregate expenditure (revenue plus capital) averaged 2,5 per cent of GDP between 1978 and 1984.

Table 8.2 Harare City Council - Macro Finance in the National Context.

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Total Assets (as per Consolidated Balance Sheet Z\$ million)	297.9	287.7	281.1	257.0	239.4	226.5	221.8
Aggregate Accumulated Funds for Capital Expenditure -Z\$ Million	35.2	34.1	43.4	39.2	36.3	34.1	35.3
Aggregate Expenditure (Z\$ Million)	66.3	65.4	67.9	64.2	64.8	61.2	71.5
Annual % Change		-1.3	3.7	-5.8	0.99	-5.8	16.9
Aggregate Expenditure as a % of G D P	2.9	3.2	2.6	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.6
Value of Loans Raised (Z\$ Million)	6.9	10.5	13.5	5.3	11.8	7.6	13.5
Long-Term Debt as a % of Long-Term Debt of all Local Authorities	1.24	3.4	2.9	1.9	3.5	2.6	5.1
Revenue Expenditure as a % of all Local Authority Revenue Expenditure	27.6	26.5	22.6	22.8	19.4		
Capital Outlay as a % of all Local Authority Capital Expenditure	2.4	33.8	22.5	13.1	22.1		
Loans Raised as a % of all Local Authority Loans							
Central Govt. Annuities	Nil	0.03	Nil	0.02	0.25		
Local Registered Stock	61.4	69.0	95.0	1.3*	66.6		
Other	30.5	59.2	95.3	100.0	100.0		
Total	24.0	39.1	39.0	13.6	37.1		

Source : Government of Zimbabwe 1985, Statistical Yearbook of Zimbabwe, Central Statistical Office, Harare.

NOTE : 1) Where omitted, data for 1983 and 1984 are not obtainable.

2) "Other" under "Loans Raised" includes Private Loans and Private Annuities.

* This constitutes the balance of the 1980 stock issue. Flotation of 1981 stock issue was delayed until September 1981.

While the city's ability to accumulate funds and to incur debt is controlled by central government, it would not appear from the available data that its financial

circumstances are determined, in any direct manner, by fluctuations in growth of the national economy. No evident correlation can be shown to exist between annual percentage change in Council aggregate expenditure and annual percentage change in GDP (Tables 8.2 and 8.3). Correlation analysis yielded a Pearson coefficient of only -0,0004 which was not significant. Balance of payments, export earnings, and the low level of demand for the Zimbabwean dollar on international markets all affect the amount of foreign currency available. This circumstance in turn impacts directly upon the Council's ability to import essential plant, vehicles and parts as government limits foreign currency allocations and seeks to meet other perceived priorities.

Table 8.3 Zimbabwe : Aspects of Local Government Finance.

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Zimbabwe Gross Domestic Product (Z\$ million)	2257,0	2027,0	2658,0	2911,0	2802,0	2652,0	2689,0
Annual % Change in GDP		-11,3	3,1	9,5	3,8	-5,6	1,4
Zimbabwe: Local Government Expenditure (Z\$ million)	218,5	228,0	276,4	283,3	354,8		
Zimbabwe: Local Government Expenditure on Capital Account (Z\$ million)	56,2	57,5	96,7	119,0	114,7		
Zimbabwe: Long Term Debt of Local Authorities (Z\$ million)	254,3	250,9	260,3	255,9	250,6	230,2	232,7
Zimbabwe: Local Government Funds Raised							
Central Govt. Annuities	14,6	11,0	20,4	26,5	23,1		
Local Registered Stock	8,3	9,0	7,2	8,5	7,3		
Other Loans	5,9	6,8	7,0	4,1	1,2		
Total Value (Z\$ Million)	28,8	26,8	34,6	39,1	31,7		

Source : Government of Zimbabwe 1985. Statistical Yearbook of Zimbabwe, Central Statistical Office, Harare.

NOTE : 1) Where omitted, data for 1983 and 1984 are not obtainable.

2) "Other" under "Loans Raised" includes Private Loans and Private Annuities.

In terms of the Urban Councils Act, the Harare City Council is empowered to raise loans from sources other than government and to float stock issues. As a result, the vast bulk of its funds comprise local registered stock, private annuities and other private loans. Loans raised from central government annuities never constituted more than 0,25 of one per cent of government annuities loaned to all local authorities in the country (Table 8.2). The total value of loans raised increased from Z\$6 882 610 in 1978 to Z\$13 514 285 in 1984 notwithstanding considerable fluctuations from year to year. The City's long-term debt, as a percent of the long-term debt of all local authorities, rose from 1,24 per cent in 1978 to 5,1 per cent in 1984. The change suggests that a greater demand for local authority infrastructure and services is developing in the capital city relative to urban centres in the rest of the country. Given the fluctuating nature of the data, however, no established trend can be observed and any conclusions drawn can be no more than speculation. Such increase in the supply of funding and any subsequent expenditures could only have occurred after 1983. Prior to that date, in real terms, both capital and revenue outlays in Harare declined as a proportion of national urban outlays (Table 8.2).

As befits a large, complex financial organization in which continuity and stability are important, gross aggregate expenditure showed a relatively slight annual variation, ranging between -5,8 per cent and 3,7 per cent between 1978 and 1983. However, 1984 witnessed an increase of approximately 17 per cent over the 1983 figure, the result primarily of a large increase in revenue expenditure. Reasons for this sudden change will be interpreted in the following sections.

Since the provision of any public good or service requires on-going financial support, any expansion or diminution of the role of a functional unit within the municipality (eg department, branch, division, or section) or of the demands placed upon it occasioned by fundamental policy shifts,

would immediately be reflected in the annual revenue accounts of the particular functional unit. The revenue accounts accurately record the operational requirements and running costs of different service delivery systems. Any changes in the quantity or quality of particular goods or services relative to some others requires the reallocation of funds on a continuous or sustained basis and trends immediately become apparent. Conversely, capital projects are generally 'once-off' major undertakings and, for reasons that will be discussed later, income and expenditure by functional unit tends to be episodic and to vary greatly in terms of magnitude. As a result, the capital accounts tend not to reveal definitive patterns or trends in the allocation or geographical distribution of public funds, at least over a relatively short period. In short, the content and format of the capital accounts as presented in the public record (the City Treasurer's Annual Report) makes them inherently less sensitive indicators of philosophically inspired change over a limited time period than are the revenue accounts. Much longer time-series analysis would be required to enable changes in capital investment programmes to be detected.

8.3 ANALYSIS OF MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS

8.3.1 Introduction

The principal objective of the present study was to investigate whether or not significant indicators of change consequent upon the putative implementation of a new State policy could be discerned in local government in Harare. The specific focus of interest was change in the provision of public goods and services in terms of type, quantity, quality and distribution. It has been reasoned that such change as had occurred would be reflected in the official financial records of the Council and that 'interrogation' of the financial data would reveal changing trends in who gets what, where. Logically such trends would reflect the collective perceptions of Councillors on needs and

priorities in the management of the urban system and on improvement in the quality of life of the city's inhabitants whom they represent. More generally, such perceptions would stem from, and be consistent with, a broad ideological framework which informed the norms and values of the decision-makers. Initially therefore an attempt has been made to analyse the financial records *per se* to identify significant trends. Thereafter other evidence has been incorporated to expand and extend the analysis.

Given the substantial range of data and the extensive analysis conducted upon it, it is not considered practicable or desirable to submit an exhaustive, highly detailed item-by-item catalogue of all results. Such an approach would serve more to obfuscate than to elucidate and the developing argument would prove tedious to the reader. In any event it is ultimately the role and responsibility of the analyst to interpret results in the context of hypotheses formulated and to derive conclusions from the evidence presented. Accordingly the following section constitutes a summarised statement of significant results drawn from extensive numerical analyses and graphical formulations.

8.3.2 The Capital Accounts

As discussed in the section on methodology, the identification of changing emphases in local authority practice particularly with regard to the allocation and distribution of public funds, as evinced in the capital accounts, presents numerous difficulties:

- 1) Because capital developments are generally large-scale and involve a considerable financial commitment, they are generally few in number and have been scheduled well in advance.
- 2) The location of these developments is frequently motivated more by technological and economic considerations than by planning criteria concerned with positive welfare externalities - electricity sub-stations, sewerage treatment plants, water

reservoirs and industrial workshops are cases in point.

- 3) Also the benefits of such localised and major capital outlays can be experienced over a wide area and far from the site of the major expenditure. Water and sewerage reticulation from distribution points provide examples of this.
- 4) Other major municipal facilities, while offering windfall benefits of accessibility to some residents, are provided for the benefit of the entire population. While it is conceded that, under White hegemony, the location and needs of the Black population constituted a relatively unimportant planning criterion, the location of such facilities, while tending to favour the White sector, nevertheless reflected their metropolitan-scale function.
- 5) The manner in which inflation, foreign exchange shortages, and a relative paucity of skilled personnel have inhibited the rate of capital works commissions and decreased the evidence of capital works completions must be recognised.
- 6) Given the accounting system employed it is not possible to compare directly relative expenditures in the former 'Black' townships and that part of the city formerly reserved exclusively for White occupation and activities. While the Local Government Areas were meant to be self financing, much of the capital expenditure on amenities and facilities in these areas (for example on health clinics, sewerage reticulation, cemeteries and beer outlets) is debited from the Rates Account. Comparative analyses between Black and White areas will, after 1984, become virtually impossible as a result of the Council applying a 'one-city' concept to future civic administration. Essentially this involves incorporation of the Housing Local Government Areas and the Welfare

Accounts into appropriate entities within the Rates Account.

- 7) The real value of investment in the largely Black High Density suburbs⁹ is masked because considerable amounts of foreign aid dedicated to particular projects in these areas, provided in particular by the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Aid, are not recorded in the City Treasurer's annual public accounts.

8.3.2.1 *Income*

Income required for capital development projects is drawn from funds established by contribution from income and expenditure accounts, proceeds from sale of assets, interest on advances, and other contributions. The two most important funds are the Consolidated Loans Fund and the Capital Development Funds of the major accounts¹⁰ (Table 8.4). Drawings from these have remained relatively constant but government contributions have decreased possibly reflecting the determination of government to focus development resources and energies upon the rural areas. Since the substantial amounts required for capital works are funded from external advances obtained by application as and when required, and not from locally generated income, however, the sources of capital finance do not have spatial implications.

⁹ After independence the term High Density Areas acquired currency when referring to the Local Government Areas. Concomitantly the former White residential areas are now frequently called the Low Density suburbs.

¹⁰ The Consolidated Loans Fund was established in terms of the Consolidated Loans Fund (City of Harare) Scheme 1977. In accordance with the scheme, all loans received are pooled. Advances are made half-yearly to borrowing accounts and interest at the half-yearly pooled rate is chargeable on the amount of advances outstanding at the beginning of each half year. The same fixed instalment method of repayment also applies to advances from the several Capital Development Funds. (City Treasurer's Annual Report and Accounts, 1984 p V).

Table 8.4 Sources of Capital Finance as a Percentage of Net Outlay.

SOURCE OF CAPITAL	Y E A R						
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Consolidated Loans Fund	58,0	64,0	69,0	57,0	72,0	68,0	70,0
Capital Development Funds	21,0	18,5	22,0	29,0	20,0	26,0	23,0
Housing Development Fund	12,0	9,0	4,0	5,0	1,0	-	3,0
Endowment Funds ..	-	-	-	-	4,0	2,0	1,0
Contributions:							
Revenue	0,5	0,5	0,5	1,0	1,0	1,0	-
Public	1,0	1,5	2,5	2,0	1,0	2,0	3,0
Government	3,0	2,0	1,5	2,0	1,0	1,0	-
Estates Account	1,5	-	-	4,0	-	-	-
Reserves	3,0	-	0,5	-	-	-	-
Total Net Capital Outlay (Z\$ Million)	14,6	17,0	13,9	13,8	15,5	13,3	16,5

Sources : City Treasurer's Annual Report 1978-1984.

8.3.2.2 Expenditure

Given the commitment of the present government to greater equality and a relative improvement in the quality of life of the 'povo' (the masses or the people) it was hypothesised that positive increases could be expected in the capital expenditure of the Welfare, Electricity, Housing-Local Government Areas, and Water accounts. Conversely a relative diminution of expenditure was expected in the formerly White Areas, particularly with respect to those functions delineated under the Rates Account.

The co-variance by-plots of aggregate capital expenditure display no grouping or 'nesting' of account variables nor

any distinct trends in the patterns of expenditure (Fig. 8.3).

Plotted as an annual percentage of total capital outlay all accounts revealed fluctuating expenditure the average (1978-1984) range being 12.9 per cent (Figs. 8.4a and b)¹¹. Never-theless both the Electricity and Water accounts yielded statistically significant positive trends (at the 0,0025 confidence level). In both instances increases commenced after 1980 when the first Black Council was elected. Figures 8.5a and b show that while the percentage of total capital expenditure on the Rates, Estates, Housing and Parking Accounts decreased (ie largely White sector expenditure), that on Electricity, Water, Welfare and Housing-Local Government Areas increased. The increases in the proportion of electricity and water outlays reflects Council commitment to supply all houses in the High Density areas with running water, power, and light. Table 8.5 indicates the status of the electrification programme in 1985 for some of the High Density areas and the number of houses electrified in that year.

¹¹ Trends in both absolute expenditure and expenditure relative to other account entities were investigated. Having established that the money 'pool' available to Council differed relatively little on an annual basis it was thought that an average of 2.8% per annum in real terms and a maximum increase of 7.4% in any one year, expenditure on individual facilities and amenities, expressed as a percentage of the total expenditure within each major account, would better reveal any redistribution of public funds.

FIG. 8.3

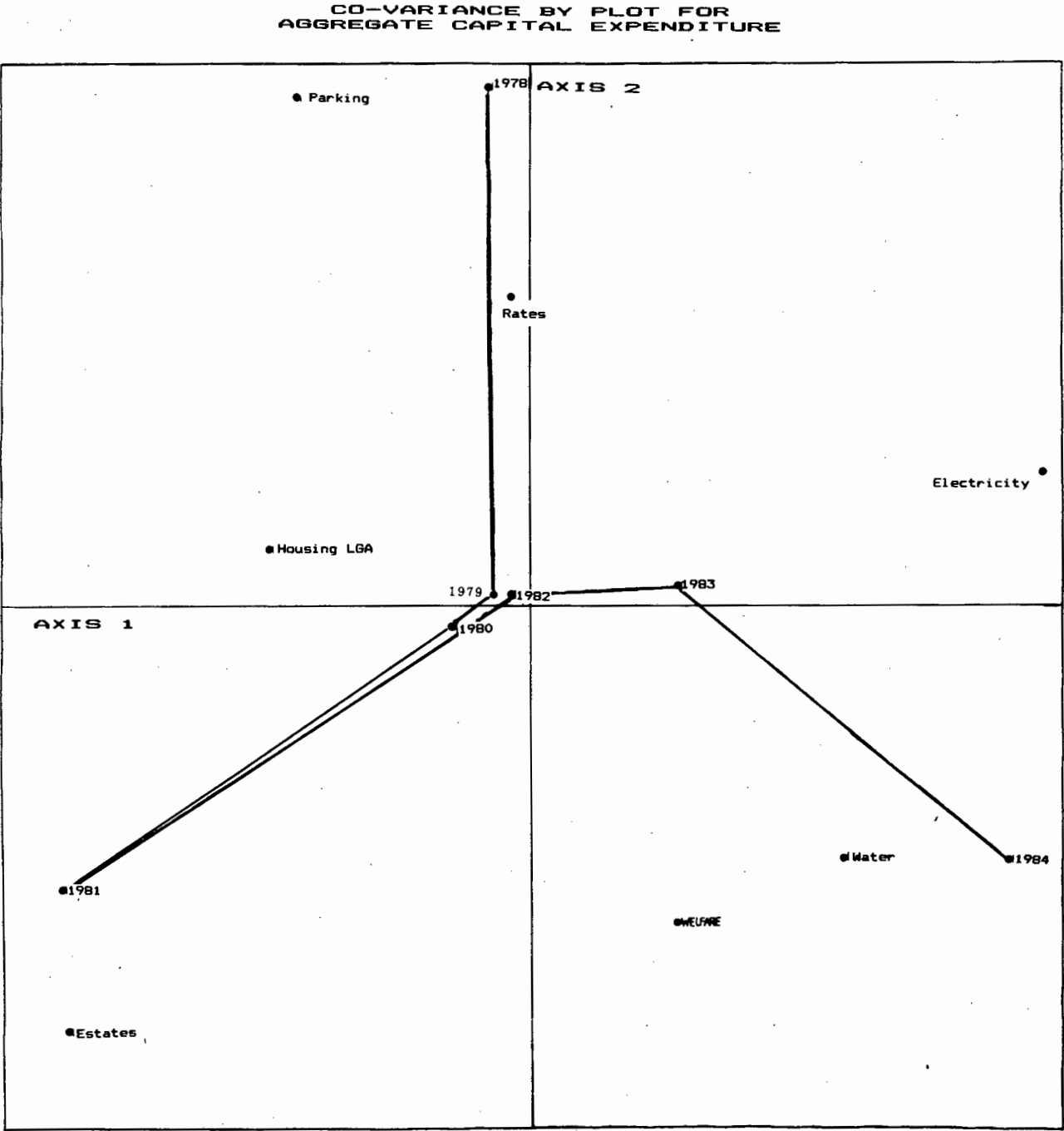


FIG. 8.4(a) **ANNUAL PERCENT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE
BY ACCOUNT ENTITY**

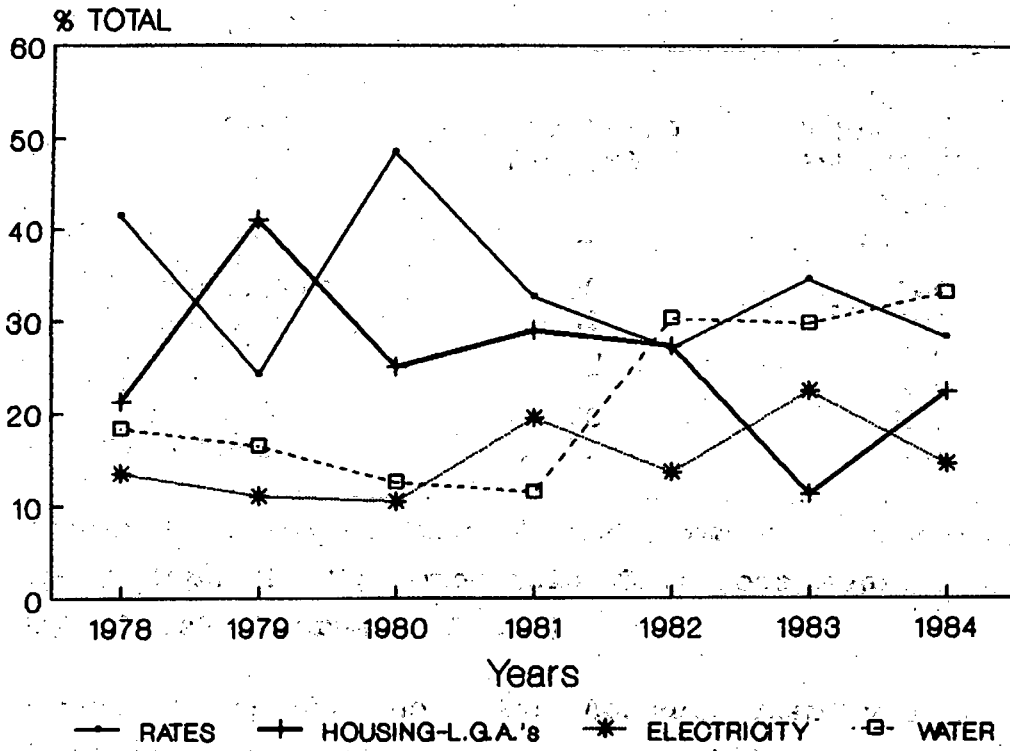
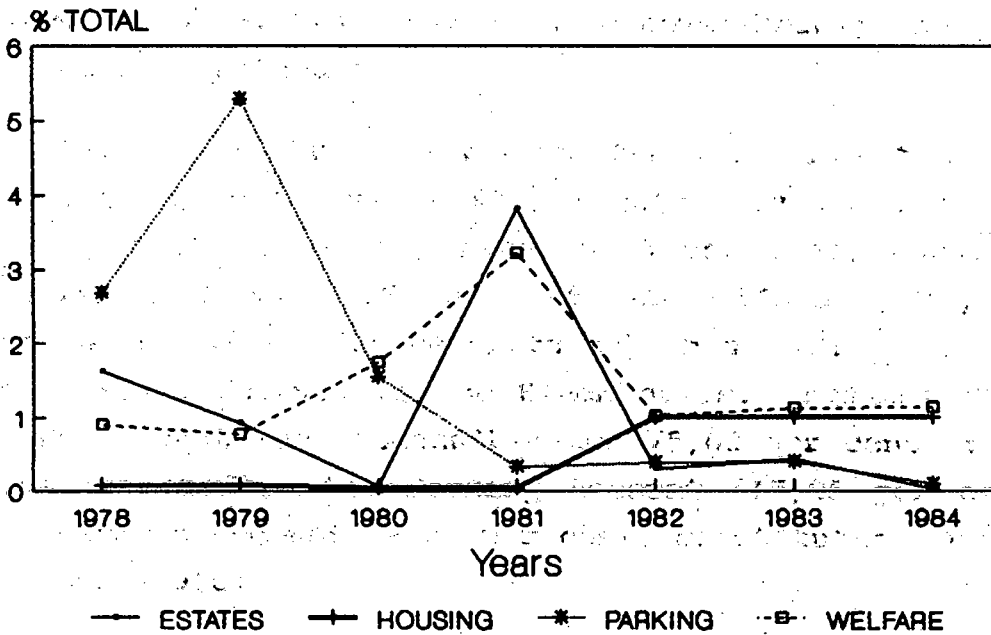


FIG. 8.4(b) **ANNUAL PERCENT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE
BY ACCOUNT ENTITY**



Both graphs are the same but have been
disaggregated to accomodate the great
range in data values.

FIG. 8.5(a) **PERCENT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - 1978**

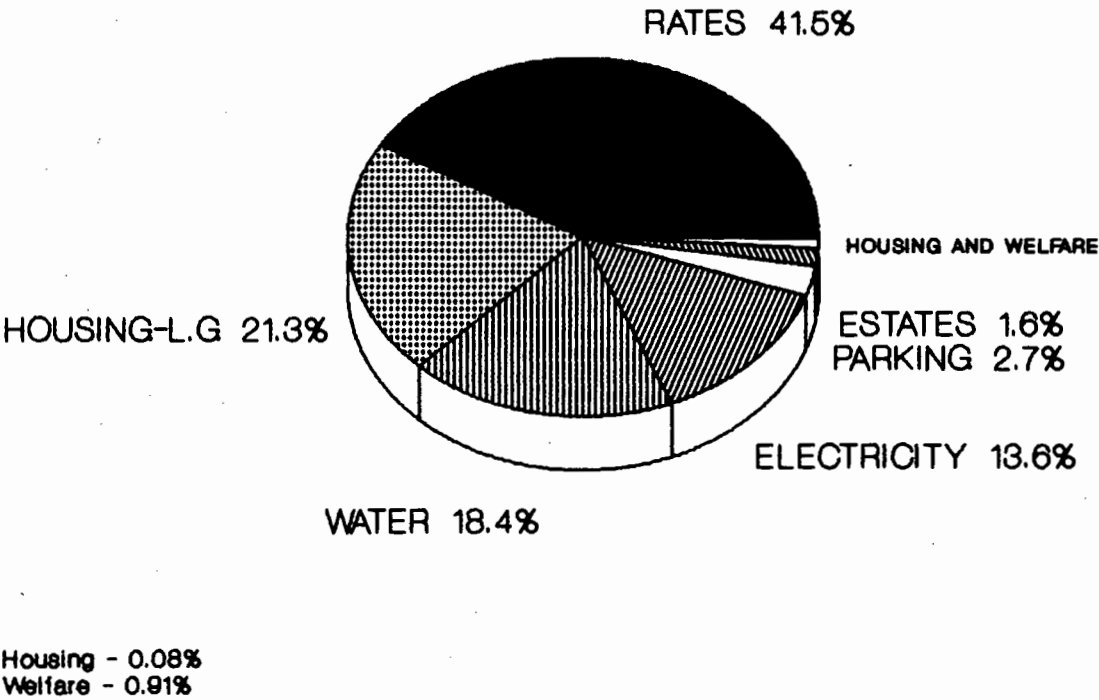


FIG. 8.5(b) **PERCENT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - 1984**

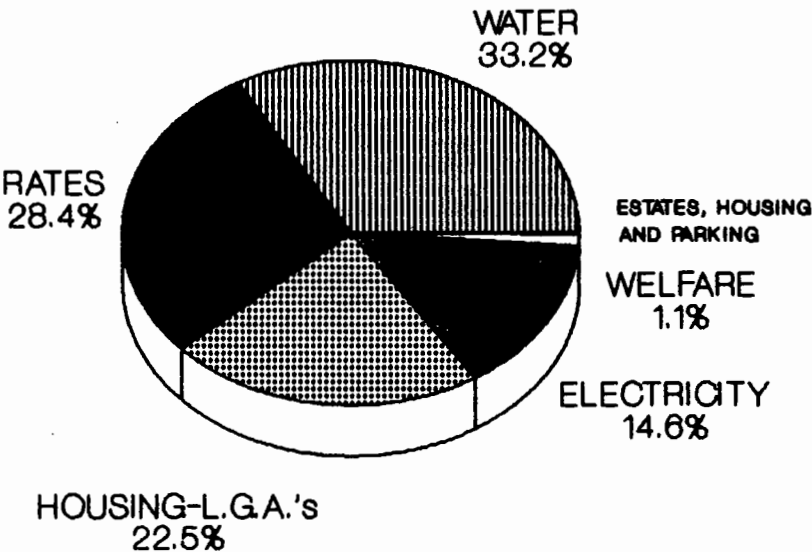
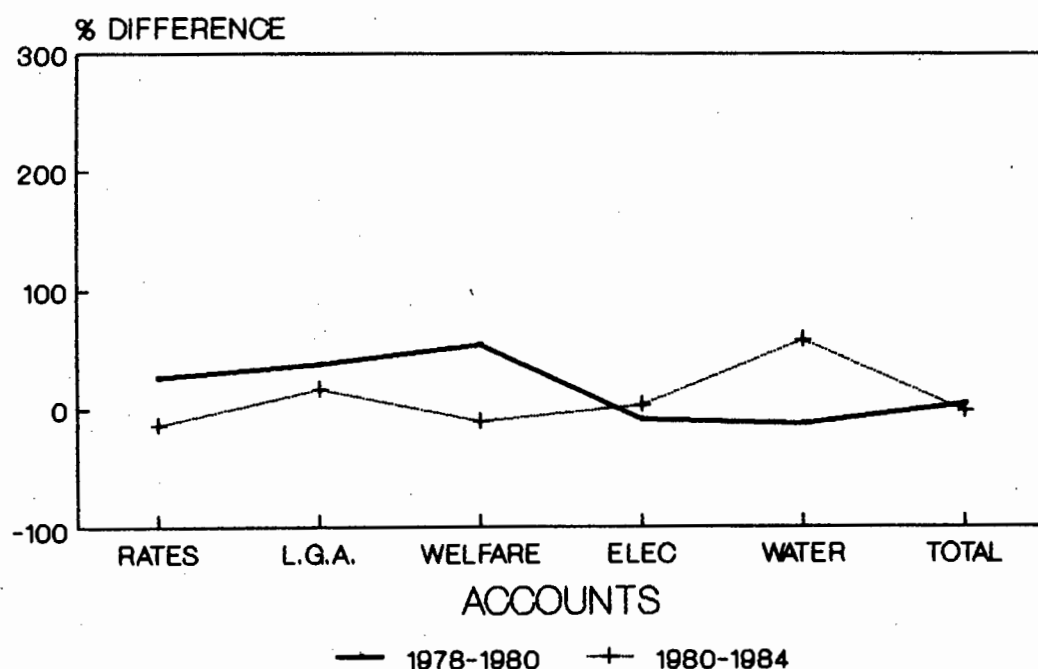


FIG. 8.6 **CAPITAL EXPENDITURE: AVERAGE PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES 1978-1980 AND 1980 - 1984**

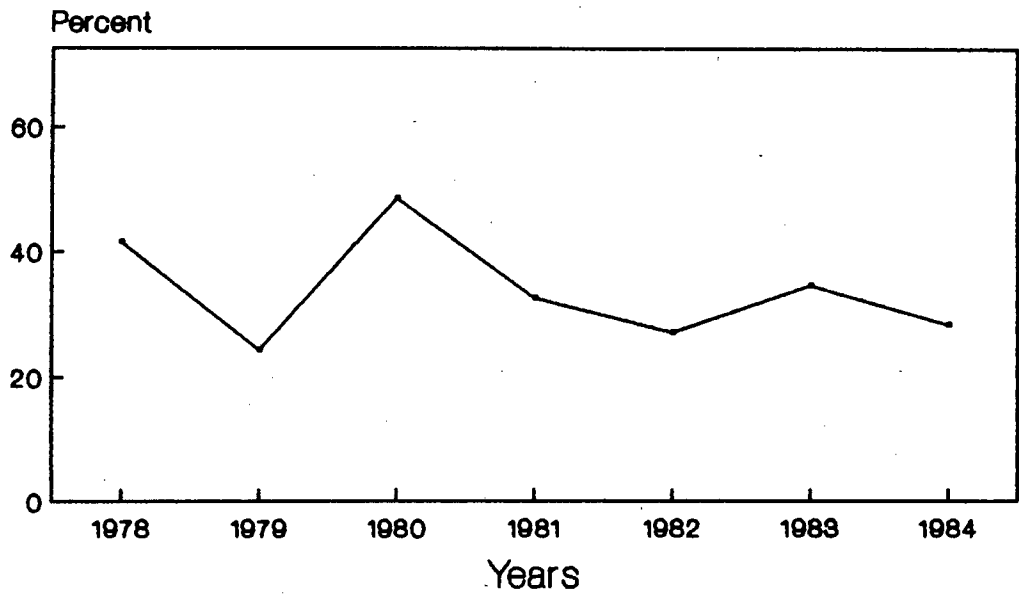


The Estates, Housing and Parking Accounts have been omitted to enhance clarity as they are insignificant.

While expenditure on the Rates Account declined between 1978 and 1984 (Fig. 8.7), the percentage of total capital outlay of the Housing: Local Government Areas Account also displayed a declining trend (Fig. 8.8) which is something of a paradox in terms of the hypothesis stated above. It can be explained by changing government policy toward the delivery of low-cost (economic and sub-economic) housing. Given the relatively 'high-profile' of housing in the political life of the country it is appropriate that attention be focussed upon changing policies in the provision of Black housing.

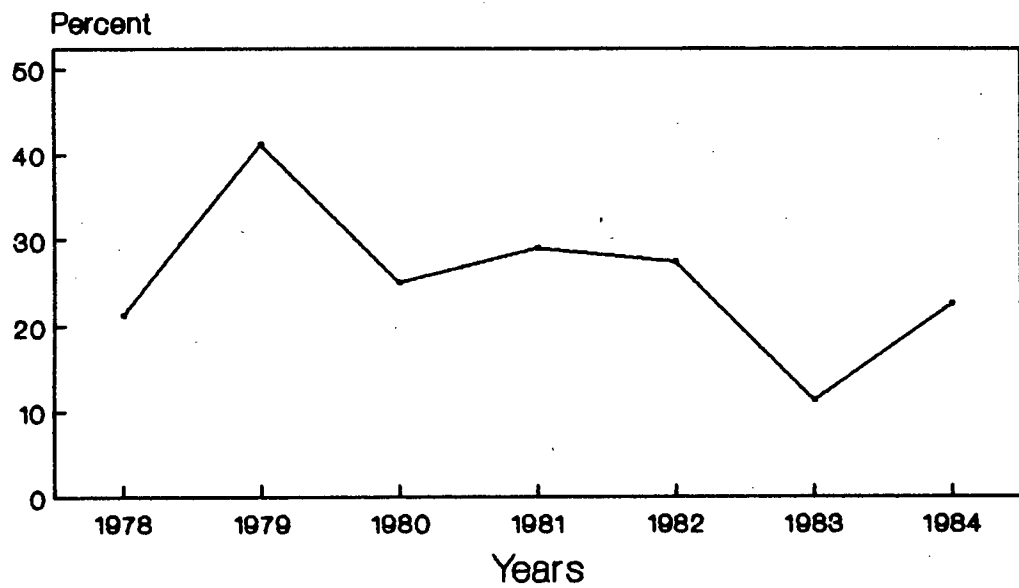
Housing, defined in terms of the quality of the individual dwelling and of the wider residential environment, probably impinges most upon the consciousness and the life experience of any urban resident. The range of goods and services

FIG. 8.7 **RATES ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.22
R - - 0.96

FIG. 8.8 **HOUSING LGA's ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.14
R - -0.460

provided within a residential neighbourhood (water, light, power, stormwater drainage, refuse removal, tarred streets, pavements, grass control, policing, health and education facilities for example) are significant factors in determining the degree to which an individual's human potential can be realised. In Rhodesia, the physical separation and differential quality of Black and White residential areas inevitably meant that housing became an important symbol of inequality and of the economic and political system that occasioned it. It was a housing system that was in many ways a derivative of the South African urban experience.

Throughout the era of colonial rule, mass housing for Blacks was provided for rental in segregated 'locations' or townships by either the central government or the municipality. Family houses and single working mens' quarters were built according to standard specifications within strict economic constraints. A rectangular grid road pattern, the absence of curbs, pavements, stormwater drains, and high residential densities enabled service costs to be kept to a minimum¹². The uniformity of building plans, building materials and construction techniques and the absence of extensive tree planting and landscaping yielded a relatively bleak and monotonous residential townscape (Kay and Smout, 1977). The housing delivery system was subject to controls arising from inadequacies of supply and access by a waiting list allocation process which, coupled with severe containment of informal and squatter housing, served also to contain the rate and scale of Black urbanisation in the city.

Home-ownership on leasehold land was introduced under the relatively liberal policies of the Federation (1953 - 1963).¹³ In 1963 the City Council developed a small

¹² The World Bank (1980) estimated that only 40 per cent of required services had been provided in 1978.

¹³ Home ownership on leased land was initiated in the State controlled township of Highfield in 1955.

leasehold tenure, aided self-help home ownership scheme in Kambuzuma township and from the early 1970's employers were able to purchase houses on leasehold land in municipal townships for rental. It was an unpopular process for it reduced economic mobility and, as a condition of ownership, tied employees to a particular employer.

Tentative White acquiescence to the concept of freehold tenure was reflected in a relaxation of the Land Apportionment Act in 1955 and the development of a small scheme for affluent Blacks at Marimba Park. Occupation commenced in 1961¹⁴. By the mid-1970's, a pronounced shift in policy emerged. It was initiated in 1974 by the introduction of economic rentals and the elimination of housing subsidies on family housing 'hitherto drawn from service levies, beer sales profits and surpluses on singles' quarters rentals. Subsidies represented a contradiction of colonial capitalism : low wages were coupled with controls over the free entry of Blacks into the economy. The elimination of subsidies implied a need for wage adjustments to meet rental demands. The fact that rental defaults were high and were to remain high (Reports of the Department of Community Services, various years) reflected failure to do so adequately.

The decision to sell suitable rental housing in Local Government Areas had been under consideration since July 1978. In September 1978 the Ministry for Local Government and Housing issued a directive changing the criteria for home ownership schemes. Then in 1979, under the Transitional Government of the Bishop Abel Muzorewa a decision was taken to place rented housing stock onto the market as a

¹⁴ As a relaxation of the rigid segregation encapsulated in the Land Tenure Act, Westwood was initially conceived of as a 'grey' or multi-racial suburb providing home ownership. However, relatively few Whites ever purchased property in the area and it rapidly became a Black residential area.

sale commodity¹⁵. This reflected both a threshold in fiscal problems, exacerbated by the war, and the culmination of moves to promote stability and self-reliance within the Black populace. This was to be achieved by incorporating them into the market economy and by creating a Black middle class with a vested interest in the capitalist system. It would, in addition, be an economic prerequisite for the proposed establishment of autonomous Black local authorities.

Housing was thus seen by colonial governments to be a key instrument in the attainment of social and economic stability. The colonial housing system was, in essence, a logical response to underlying economic, social, and political forces. Its evolving structure and dynamics were, at each stage of development, primarily directed towards meeting the perceived needs of the dominant White group and towards the creation of circumstances that would favour the stability and continuity of the prevailing social order at minimised cost.

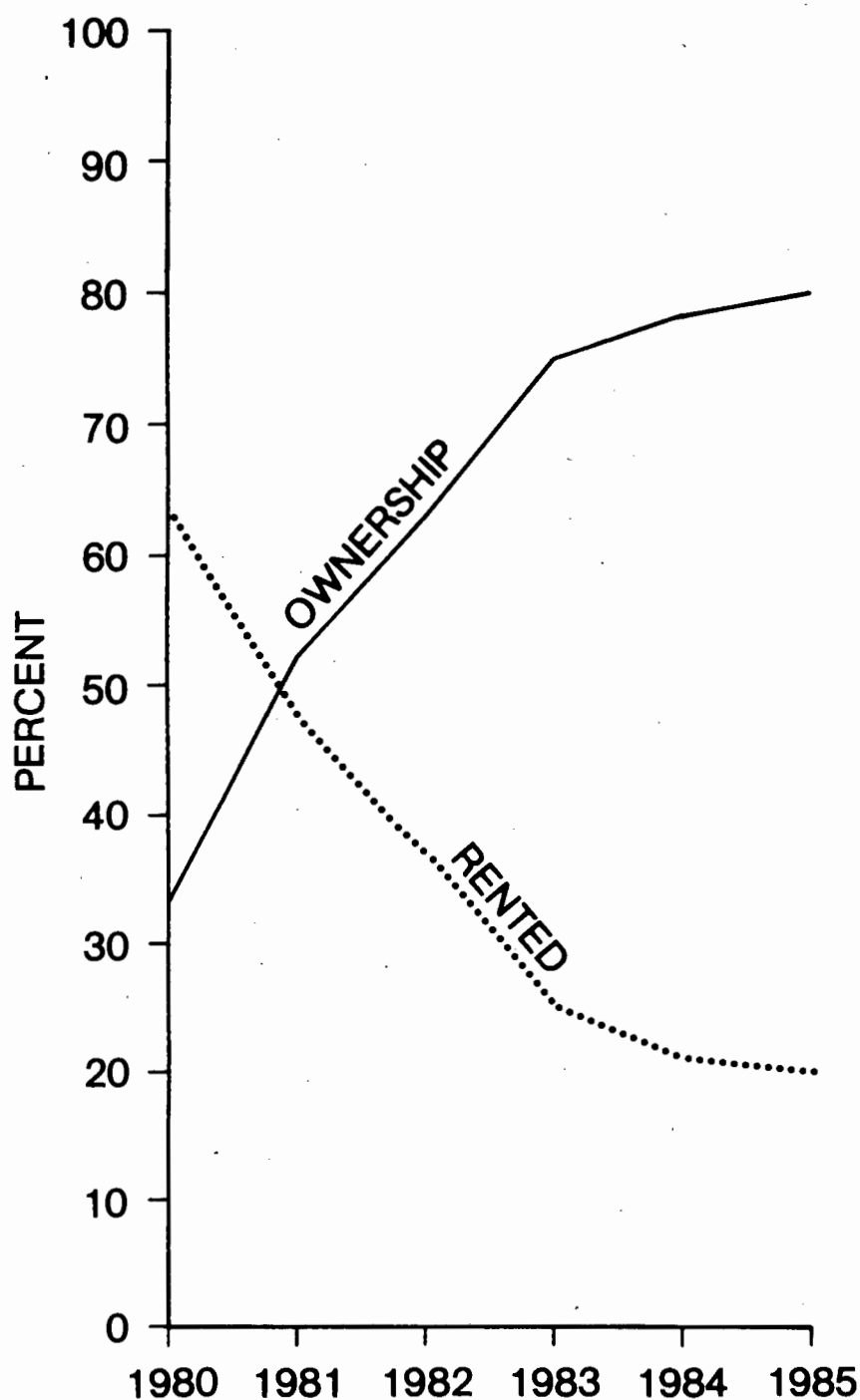
The ZANU-PF government endorsed and aggressively pursued the policy of commodification of housing. In 1980 50,7 per cent of housing in the High Density areas was owned (vs. 28,5 per cent in 1975). By the end of the financial year 1984/85, home ownership accounted for 79,5 per cent of the housing stock in these areas, an increase of 189 per cent (Fig. 8.9).¹⁶ In 1981 the decision was taken to sell rented stock to incumbents. Favourable terms for those renting housing were calculated : tenants were granted discounts in

¹⁵ On 3 May, 1979 the Committee for Community Services formally requested the Director of Community Services to prepare a pilot scheme incorporating the sale of 1000 rented houses in Dzivaresekwa, Mbare, Highfield, Glen Norah, Glen View, Mabvuku, Mufakose and Tafara - approximately 8 000 houses.

¹⁶ The Glen View housing scheme initiated in 1978 was the first ultra low cost aided self-help development. This provided 7347 serviced sites of 200 square metres upon which owners with a household income of less than Z\$150 per month could construct their own structures.

FIG. 8.9

**ALLOCATION OF HOUSING BY
TYPE OF OWNERSHIP
HARARE 1980 – 1985**
(excludes family flats and single units)



respect of the period they had paid rent ranging from 2 per cent after one year to 100 per cent after thirty years. No sitting tenant paid purchase instalments greater than his/her rental in 1981. The Department of Housing and Community Services administered municipal loan funds for prospective home owners since Building Societies would not participate in such high risk financial operations.

It is the switch from capital expenditure on the construction of low income housing to the provision of municipal housing loans reflected in the Housing: Local Government Areas revenue account, that accounts for the relatively slight decrease on capital outlay evidenced in the Aggregate Capital Account (Fig. 8.10).¹⁷ Given this observation, the relative decline in capital expenditure in the High Density Areas is misleading (Fig. 8.11). Outlays on facilities other than housing have increased relatively and are reflected particularly in the Water and Electricity Accounts (Figs. 8.12 and 8.13). While the Water Account, Electricity Account and Welfare Accounts (Fig. 8.14), when expressed as a percentage of the total capital account, showed positive trends, the Rates (Fig. 8.15), Estates (Fig. 8.16), Housing (Fig. 8.17), Parking (Fig. 8.18). Accounts (i.e. predominantly 'White area' accounts) all displayed

¹⁷ A reallocation of finance from capital expenditure on housing to the provision of municipal housing loans (and reflected in the revenue accounts) would also occasion a considerable decline in capital charges and interest repayments on the Revenue Account - Housing : Local Government Areas. That this has not yet occurred is a result of the accounting policy of the City Treasurer which prescribes that until all records have been completely updated, the original construction cost of all ex-rented dwellings in Local Government Areas remain as Capital Outlay and that no debt in respect of loans advanced to purchasers is to be raised in the accounts. Complementarily, repayments to the Consolidated Loans Fund will continue to be made in respect of advances outstanding on original capital outlay and not on loans to purchasers. Instalment payments to purchasers continue to be credited to revenue account (Appendix 5).

FIG. 8.10 **TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**
(Real and Nominal Values)

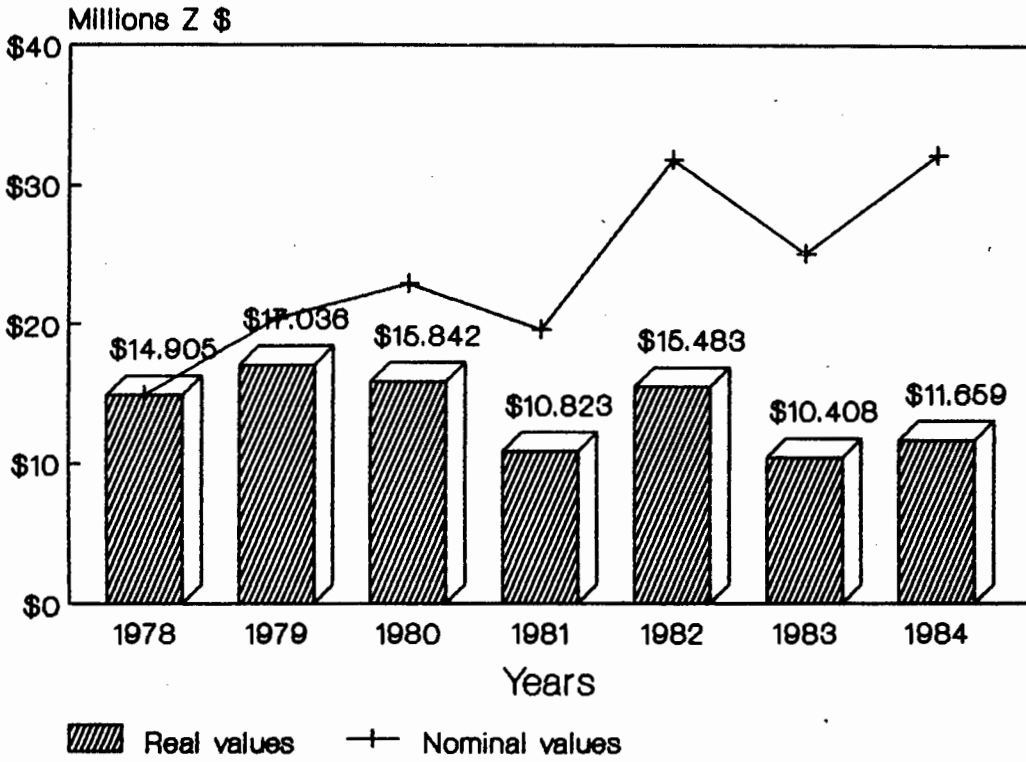
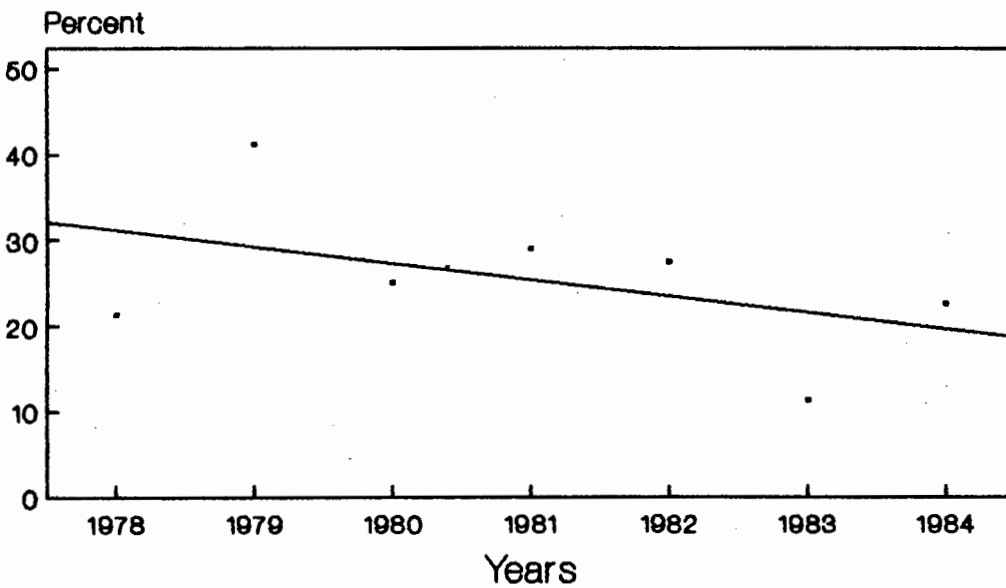
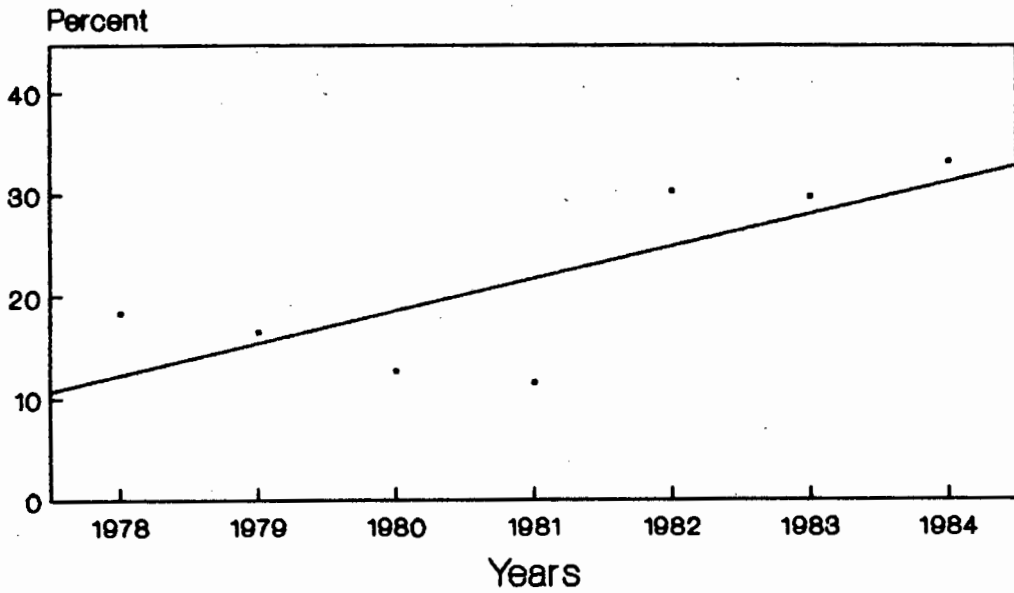


FIG. 8.11 **HOUSING LGA's ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



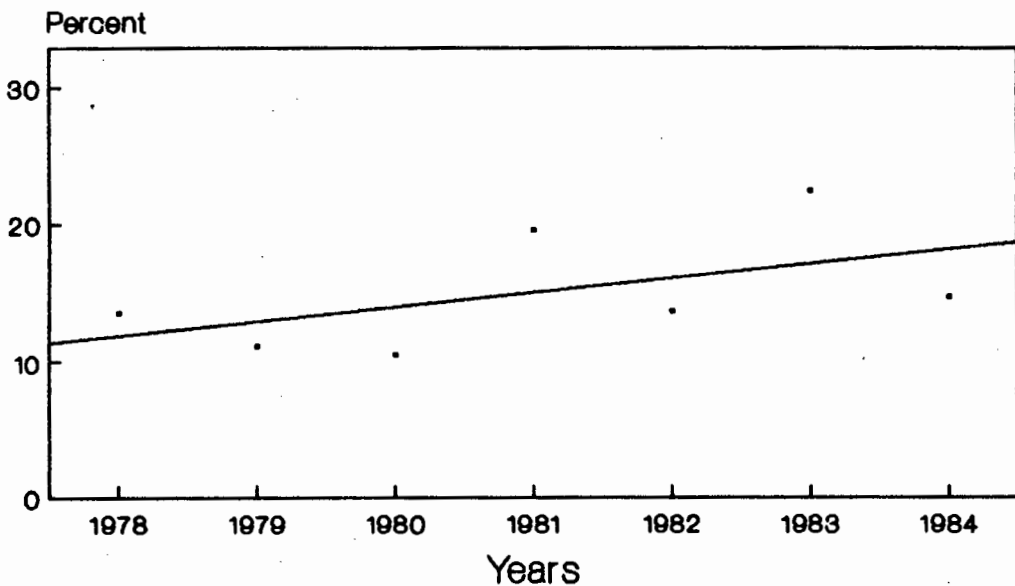
P = 0.14
R = -0.46

FIG. 8.12 **WATER ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



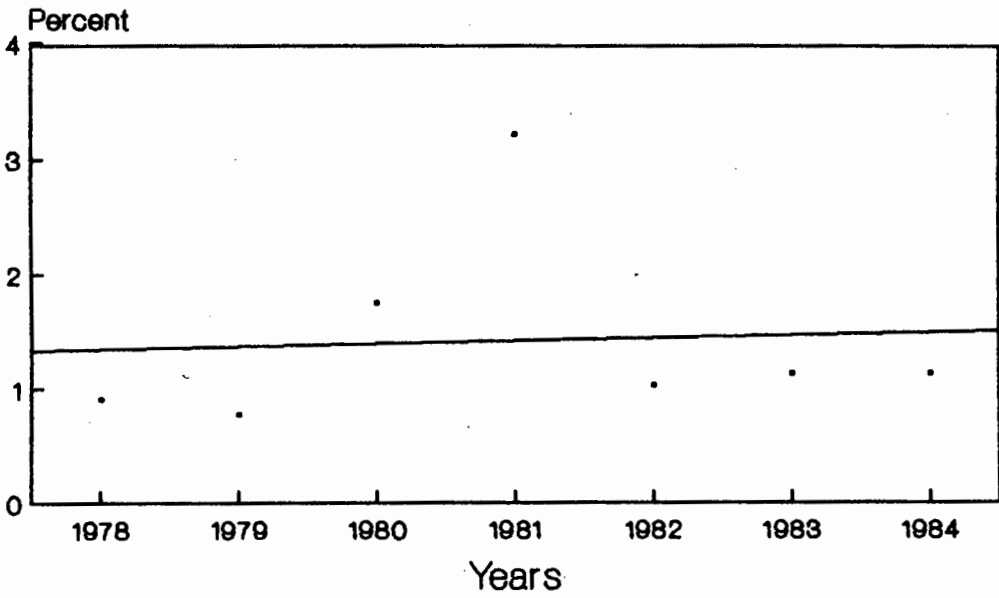
P - 0.025
R - 0.754

FIG. 8.13 **ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



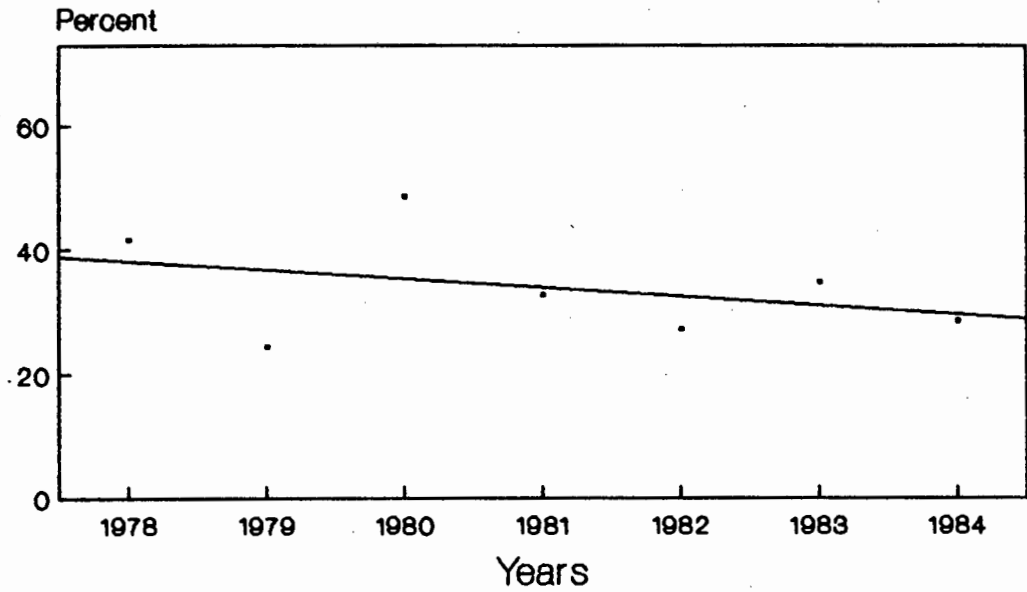
P - 0.13
R - 0.51

FIG. 8.14 **WELFARE ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



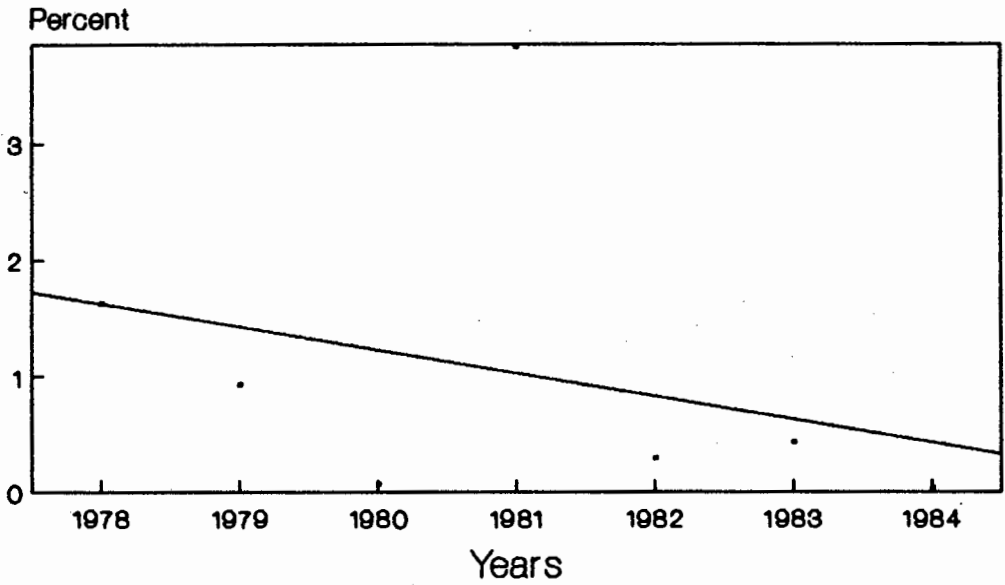
P = 0.45
R = 0.06

FIG. 8.15 **RATES ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



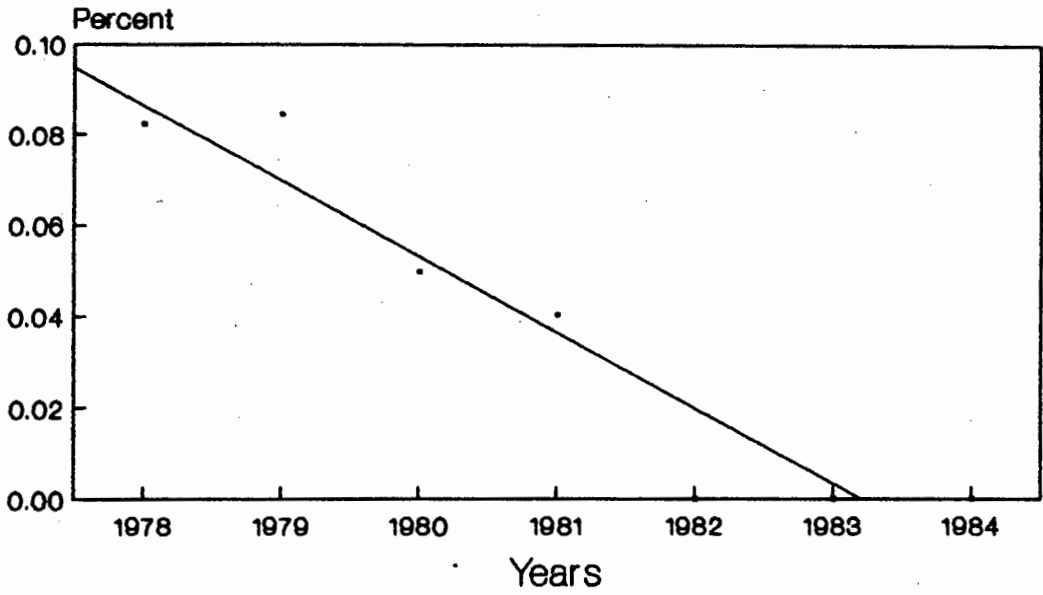
P = 0.22
R = -0.36

FIG. 8.16 **ESTATES ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



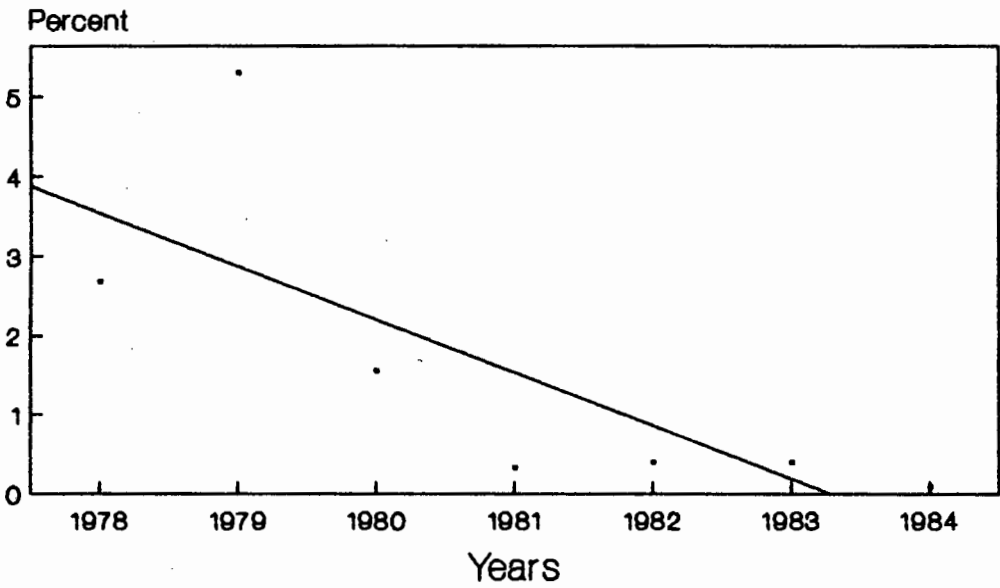
P = 0.25
R = -0.918

FIG. 8.17 **HOUSING ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



P = 0.041
R = -0.939

FIG. 8.18 **PARKING ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



P = 0.023
R = -0.762

declines¹⁸. The eroding effect of inflation upon nominal expenditures also 'dampens' the impression of increased investments. The findings indicate that the major focus of local authority capital finance allocation certainly has been directed towards the development of the High Density Suburbs, financial shortages and other constraints notwithstanding.

It is, however, not possible to compare expenditures on individual items (e.g. roads, streetlighting health facilities, community centres) between the 'White' and the 'Black' areas (i.e. Housing: Local Government Areas Account). Only total capital outlay (undifferentiated) is recorded for individual Local Government Areas and as explained earlier, capital expenditures attributed to the Rates Account are not limited exclusively to projects in former White areas¹⁹. As confirmed by the regression and probability analyses, expenditure in individual High Density suburbs reveal no definite trends. Given the different dates of establishment of each Local Government Area and the

¹⁸ Different calibration of the axes of a graph can yield strikingly different visual effects even though the same data are being used. Comparing graphs with varying vertical scaling calibrations for instance can be visually misleading unless particular care is taken to comprehend the calibration values. An attempt has been made to obviate this problem and to establish consistency (and therefore visual comparability) across all the graphs. This was achieved by computing the range between the highest and lowest values in a particular graph, dividing it by 2 and adding the result to the lowest data value. The figure obtained was thereafter multiplied by 2 in order to establish the upper limit for each graph. As a result, calibrations along the Y-axis of the graph for any particular account item, will range from zero to the appropriate upper limit calculated for that item.

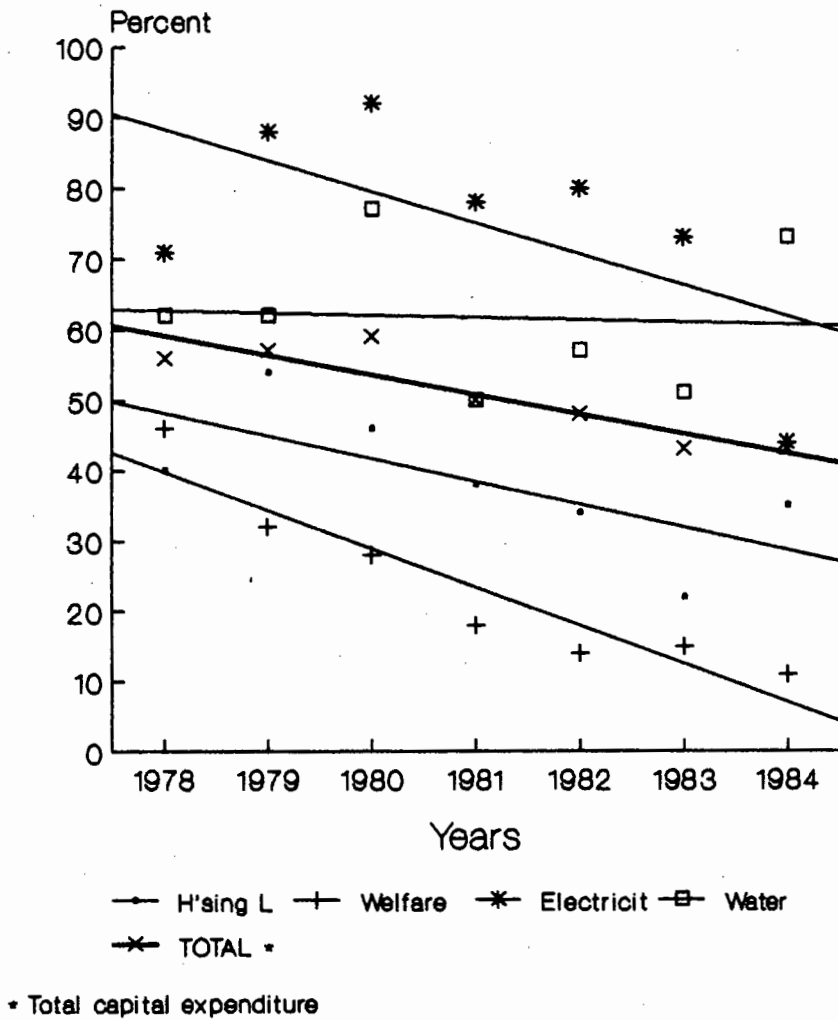
¹⁹ Only libraries and cinemas are identified as individual account entities in the Welfare Account. The local authority carries no responsibility for cinemas in the White areas and the geographic location on library expenditure is not indicated. As expected, annual expenditure on such a facility would be episodic depending upon whether or not libraries already existed in particular suburbs, the attainment of perceived demand thresholds in other suburbs, and the relative priority placed upon competing demands.

earlier provision of a particular range of facilities, this finding is to be expected. Since 1983 major investment has been dedicated to the provision of basic physical infrastructure in the newly proclaimed suburbs of Warren Park and Kuwadzana.

The net capital expenditure within different accounts, expressed as a percentage of the final revised estimates for particular years (Fig. 8.19), illustrates the degree to which underspending occurred. Capital expenditure has consistently fallen far short (an overall average of 50,85 per cent) of what were realistically budgeted estimates. These estimates would already have attempted to anticipate the effects of inflation, manpower shortages, the availability of materials and so on. Nevertheless marked declines occurred in all accounts. Those particularly affected were health services, the provision of amenities and welfare facilities and the High Density areas (*viz.* the Housing Account: Local Government Areas). For instance, between 1980 - 1984 capital expenditure on health facilities constituted only 20,5 per cent of the amount estimated and on amenities 24 per cent. Expenditure on the Rates Account never exceeded 66 per cent (in 1978) and dropped to 37 per cent and 38 per cent in 1983 and 1984 respectively.

Scrutiny of the reasons for such underspendings (Appendix 6) reveals delays in the installation of sewerage treatment works, roads, bridges, stormwater drainage and streetlighting projects, on construction of a community hall and a library in Glen Norah, on sports fields in Glen View and on commencement of various clinics. In 1984 delays on the construction of welfare facilities were partly due to a new policy of requiring Council to consult the people on the types of design of community facilities. Other reasons for underspendings included difficulties in obtaining vehicles, a cremator, fire-fighting equipment, brick blocking machines, and mechanical plant; non-commencement of projects; projects falling behind schedule; deferment of purchase of land for housing developments; and payments

FIG. 8.19 NET CAPITAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENT OF REVISED ESTIMATES



pending declaration of Kuwadzana as a Local Government Area. Underspendings notwithstanding, successive Mayor's Minutes (City of Harare 1980-1984) also indicate that the great majority of planned capital operations were located in the High Density areas after 1980. Major capital provisions in these areas in fiscal year 1984/85 included road surfacing, stormwater drainage, public lighting, peoples' markets, servicing, building and upgrading of commercial sites and shops, and the construction of service industry buildings (Director of Housing and Community Services 1984/85).

While it was not possible to compare detailed capital expenditure between White and Black areas by individual account entities because no specification was provided for the Local Government Areas, expenditure on the Rates Account was itemised. The co-variance by-plots indicate a high degree of empirical correlation between health facilities, parks and open spaces, halls and community centres, swimming baths cemeteries, cleansing services, and signs and signals (Fig. 8.20). Basically this means that, on average, and despite variations and fluctuations within individual graphs, they display a high degree of overall similarity. They are all, however, minor contributions to the total Rates Capital Account.

Expressed as a percentage of total Rates Account capital outlay, expenditures on cemeteries, cleansing services, swimming baths, highways, street lighting, signs and signals, and omnibus facilities all demonstrated statistically significant overall trends at least at the 0.5 per cent confidence level²⁰. Of these, the item "Cemeteries", (which includes capital investment on cemeteries in Black areas), (Fig. 8.21) and swimming baths (Fig. 8.22) indicated an overall upward expenditure trend while those on cleansing services, highways, street lighting, street cleaning and omnibus facilities were generally downward (Figs. 8.23 - 8.27). Although no

²⁰ However, because of the occasional extreme oscillation of annual values regression coefficients are often not high.

FIG. 8.20

CO-VARIANCE BY-PLOT FOR RATES
ACCOUNT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE
(Selected Items)

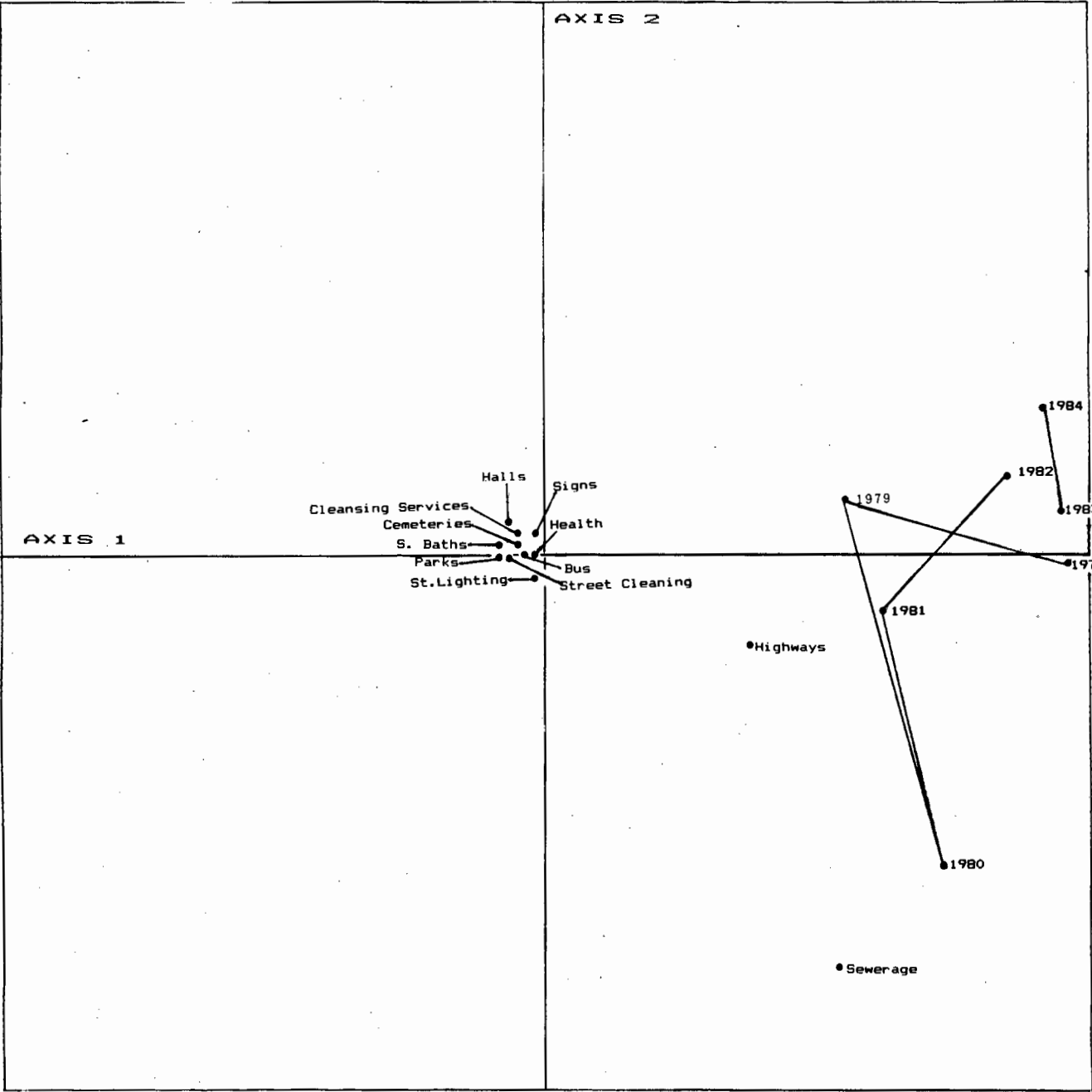


FIG. 8.21 **CEMETERIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF RATES
ACCOUNT CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

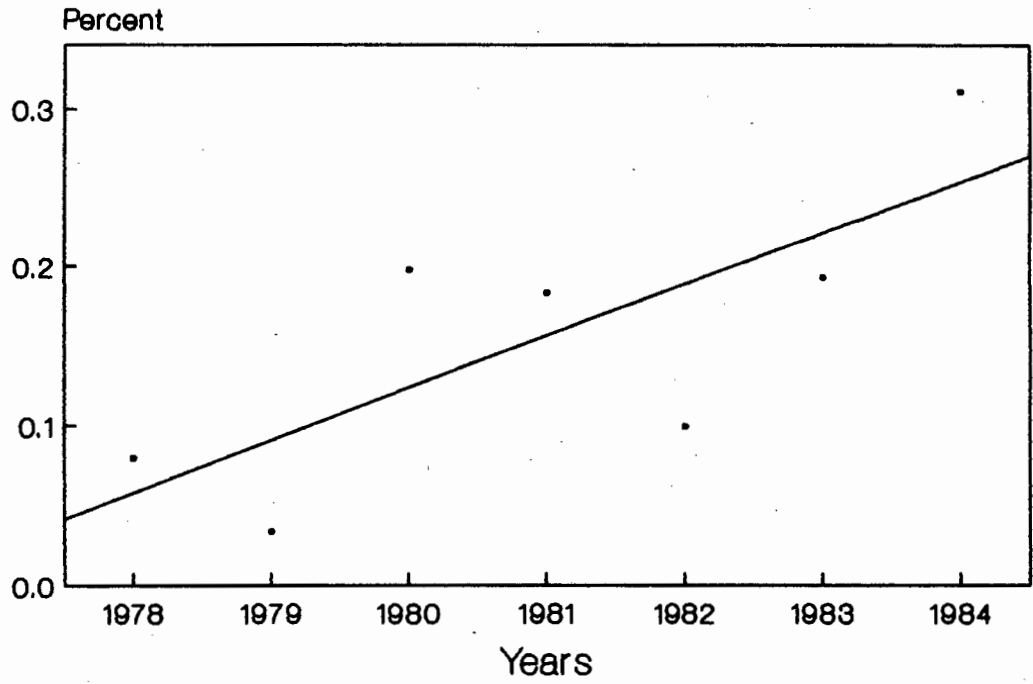


FIG. 8.22 **SWIMMING BATHS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

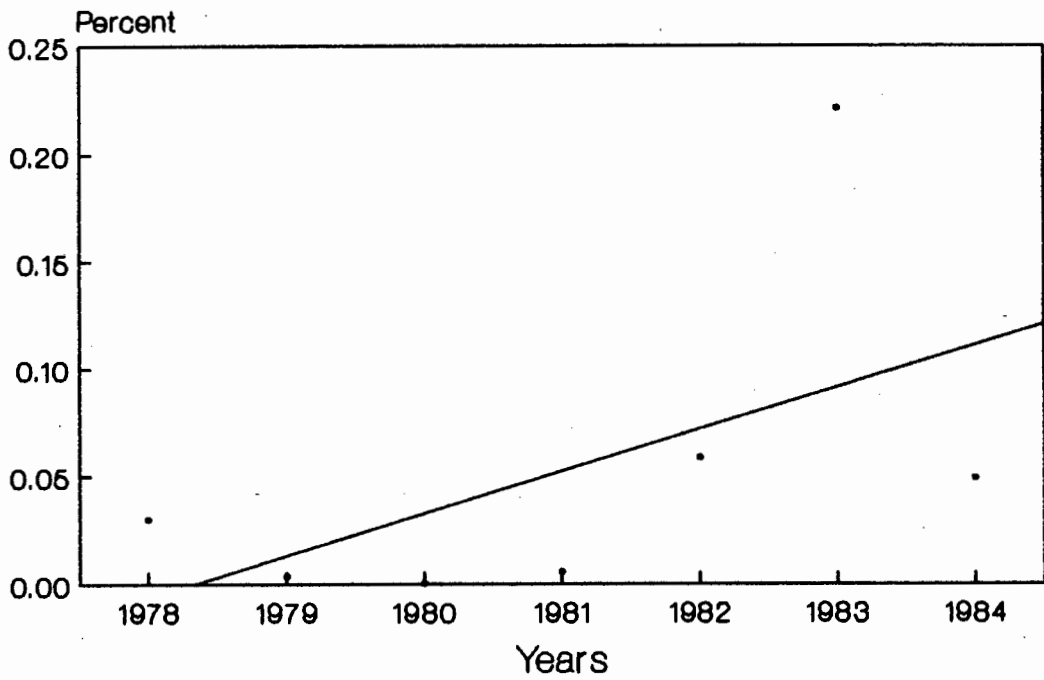


FIG. 8.23 **CLEANSING SERVICES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

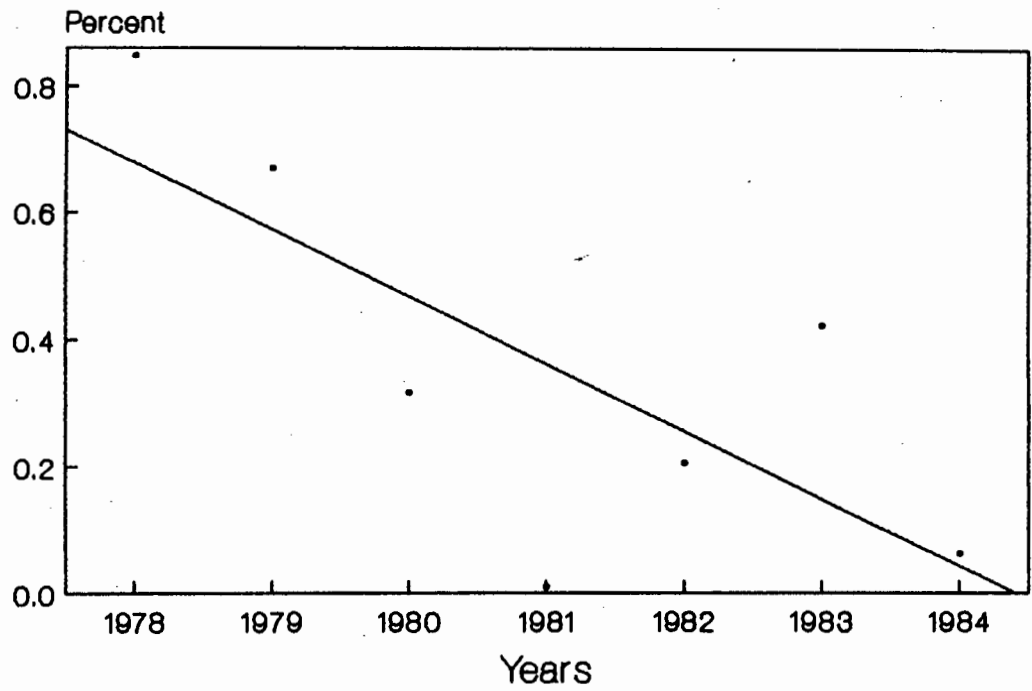


FIG. 8.24 **HIGHWAYS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

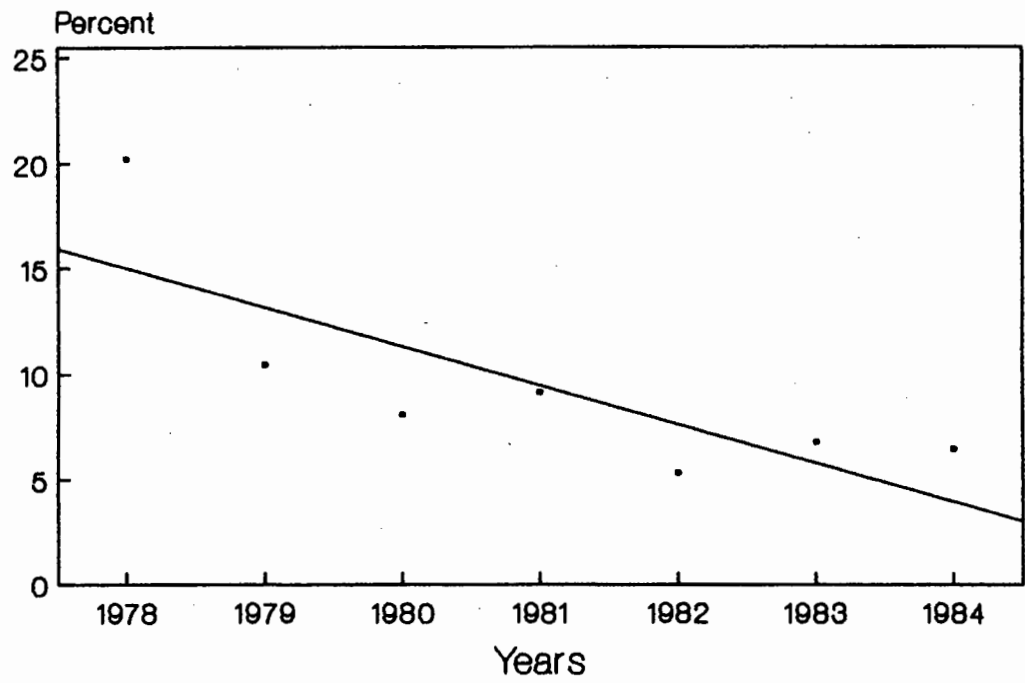


FIG. 8.25 **STREET LIGHTING AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

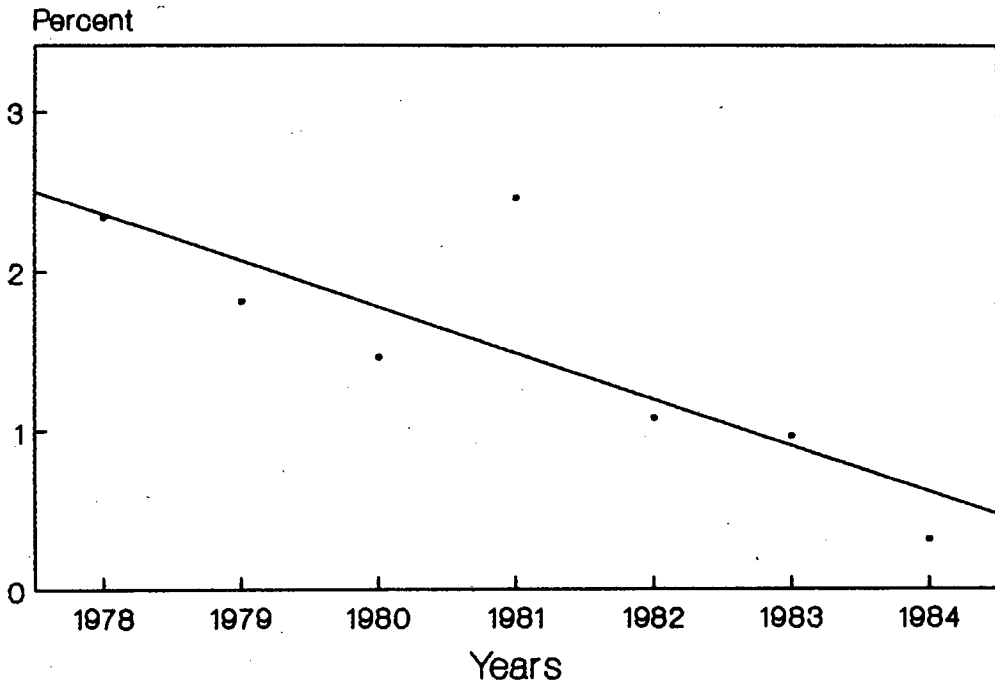


FIG. 8.26 **TRAFFIC SIGNS & SIGNALS AS A PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

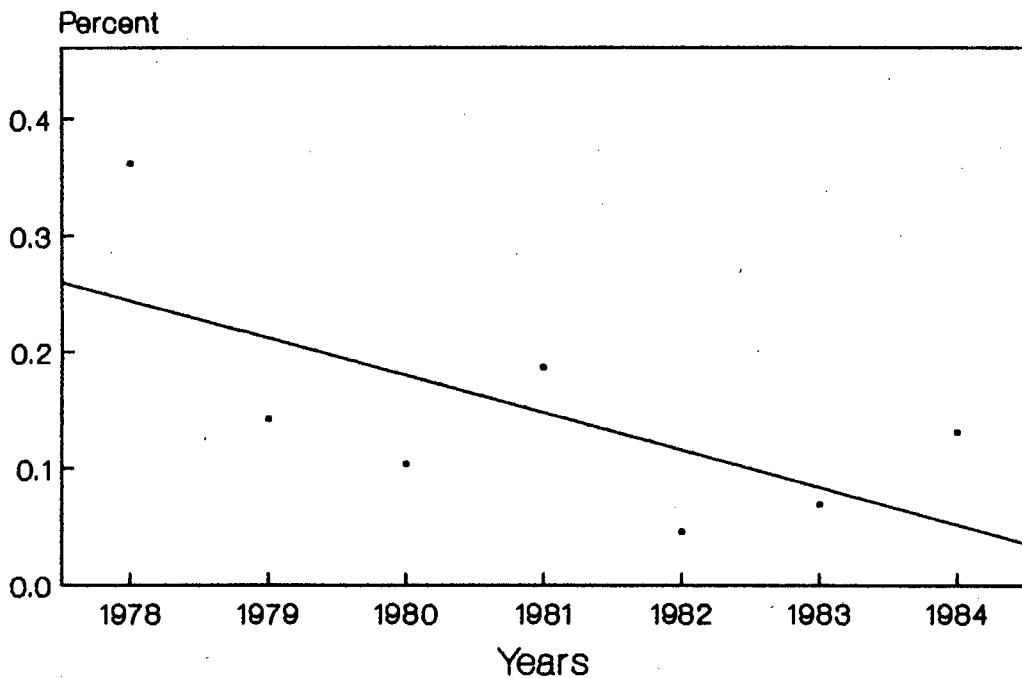


FIG. 8.27 OMNIBUS FACILITIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

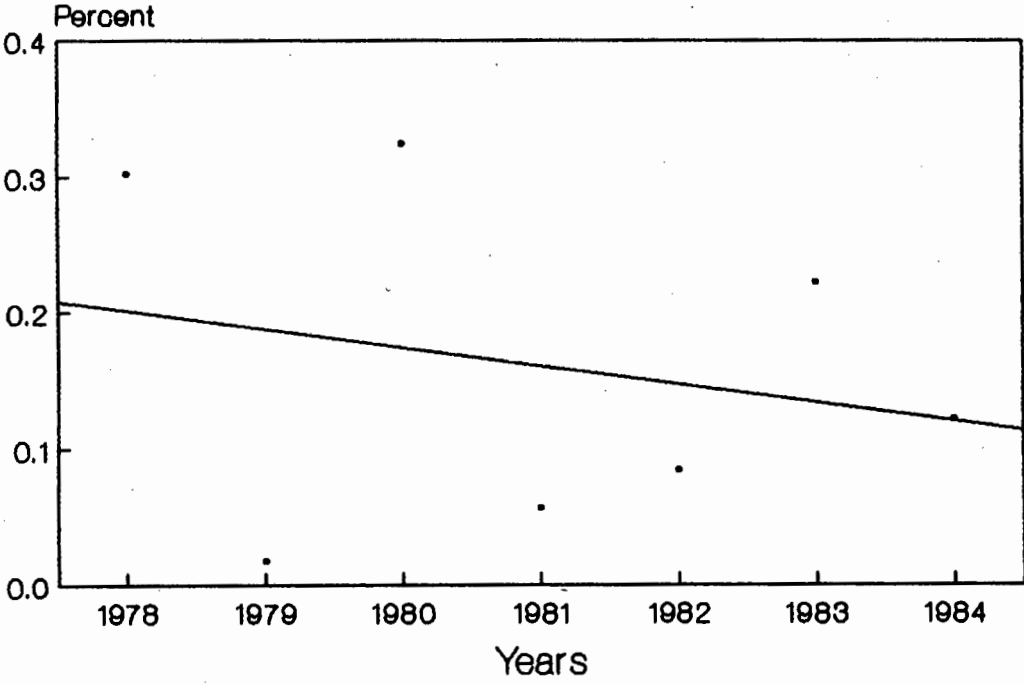


FIG. 8.28 **HEALTH SERVICES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**

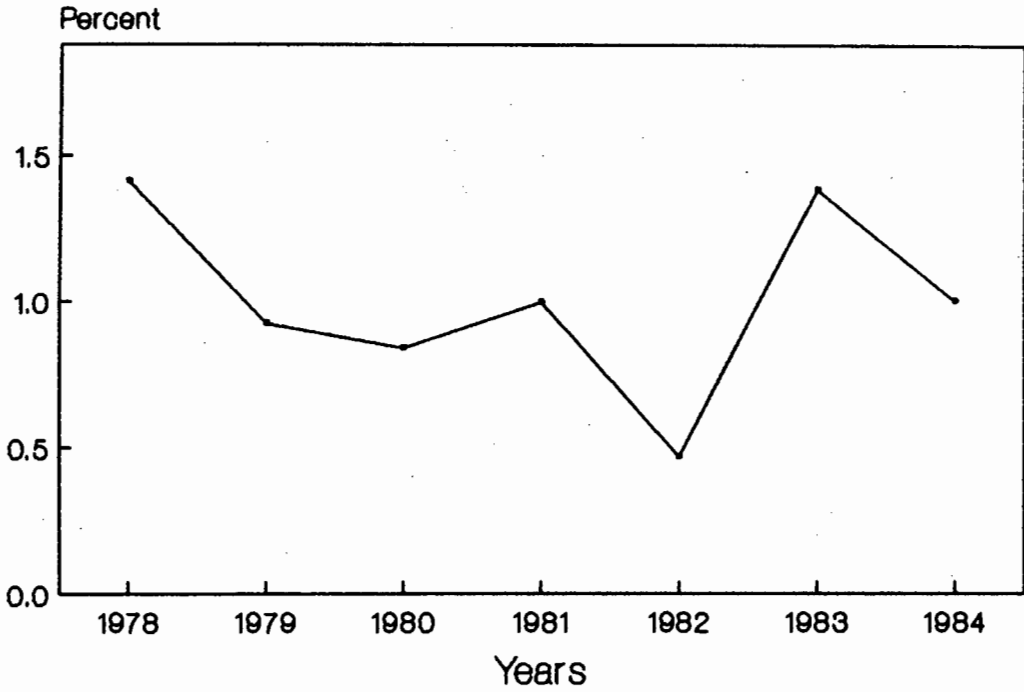
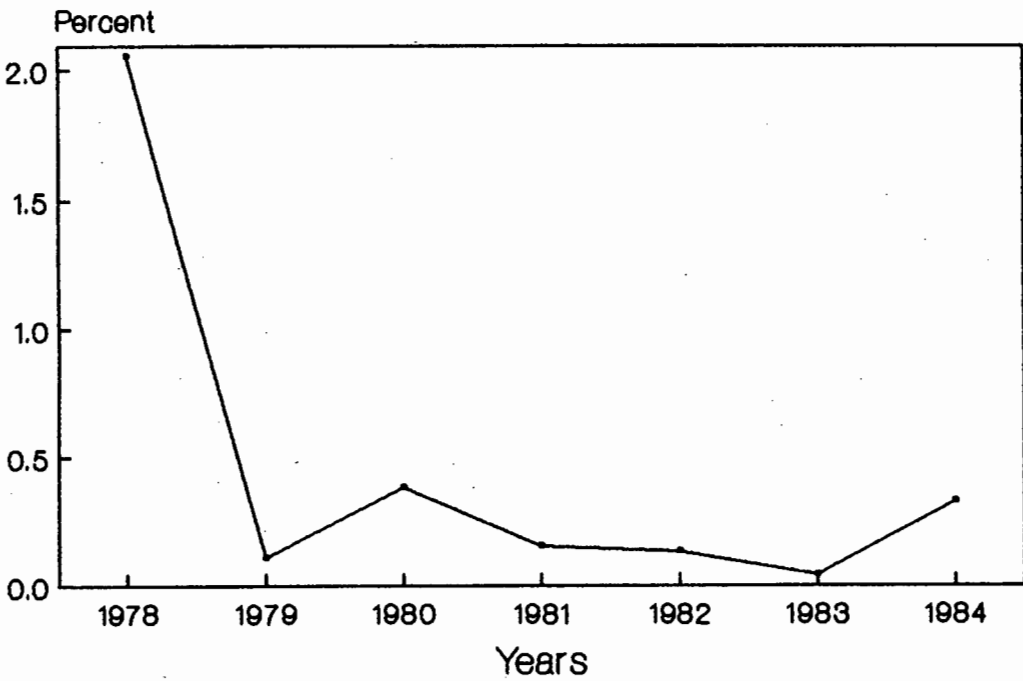


FIG. 8.29 **PARKS AND OPEN SPACES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES CAPITAL EXPENDITURE**



significant result was yielded by the data over the entire period, outlays on health facilities increased rapidly after 1981 (Fig. 8.24) while those on parks and open spaces declined (Fig. 8.25). As a percentage of total capital outlay sewerage and highways consumed the greatest proportion of rates capital by a considerable amount (for example an average of 12,77 per cent for sewerage and of 9,45 per cent for highways against the next highest average proportions of 1,48 per cent on street lighting and 1,00 per cent on health facilities). It is important to note here that Rates Account expenditures on health include major outlays in Black areas while many of the benefits deriving from highways and sewerage development accrue to the residents of Black areas.

It became possible to obtain the draft Capital Estimates subsequent to the termination of data collection in 1985 and it is apposite briefly to consider these here. A carryover of approximately 40 million Zimbabwe dollars on uncompleted works and unspent provisions followed a corresponding figure of approximately 45,5 million Zimbabwe dollars in the 1984/85 fiscal year. In this regard the Finance and Development Committee Chairman remarked that a "feature of this backlog in recent years has occasioned adverse comment regarding the productivity of municipal departments" (City of Harare 1986, p21). In the 1985/86 financial year carryover was Z\$15 million for shelter loans and new infrastructure unutilised in the development programme for the High Density areas, in addition to large provisions for unobtainable vehicles and heavy machinery which required foreign currency. All other provisions for the continuing programme to upgrade services within the High Density areas were newly incorporated within the "Operations Sector" of the Rates Account in terms of the 'One City' concept (these are street lighting, roads and stormwater drainage, "peoples' markets" and various land improvements). As a result, comparisons with the data contained within previous annual financial statements become impossible. Major items included in other accounts and directed specifically to High

Density areas are the building and modernisation of clinics and maternity centres; provision of new liquor outlets and "peoples' markets"; sewerage reticulation; water reticulation; extension of the electrical wiring of houses; the provision of libraries; the provision of shelter loans; the construction of roads and stormwater drainage; and street-lighting. Most of the remaining capital outlays are devoted to metropolitan-scale developments necessary for the efficient functioning of the entire city and which, by implication, would redound to the benefit of all the city's residents. These include the Darwendale water tunnel, various water reservoirs, sewerage Firlie treatment works, modernisation of the Beatrice Road infectious diseases hospital and highway reconstruction and upgrading (ibid. p24).

In summary, all the evidence available suggests that since 1980, and the adoption of a formal Council policy to redress what were perceived to be earlier injustices in the allocation of capital funds and the distribution of public goods and services, a concerted effort has been made to embark upon a variety of development programmes in the former Black areas. To date the emphasis, in terms of the magnitude of expenditure, is more consistent with a 'basic needs' policy than with one directed toward the satisfaction of relatively higher-order wants. Thus the provision of shelter, water, health care, electricity and education have received most attention. Aesthetics, recreation, social security, belongingness and self actualisation (Maslow, 1954), although acknowledged in principle, have received lower priority ratings. Personal visits to different High Density suburbs provided an impression of considerable activity and energy devoted to the construction of housing and essential infrastructure. These findings were confirmed in interviews with the Director of Housing and Community Services. The resources of that department were stretched beyond capacity to meet the manifold demands that had arisen from a Black population with higher aspirations and

expectations than had been the case during the era of White settler control.

8.4 THE REVENUE ACCOUNTS

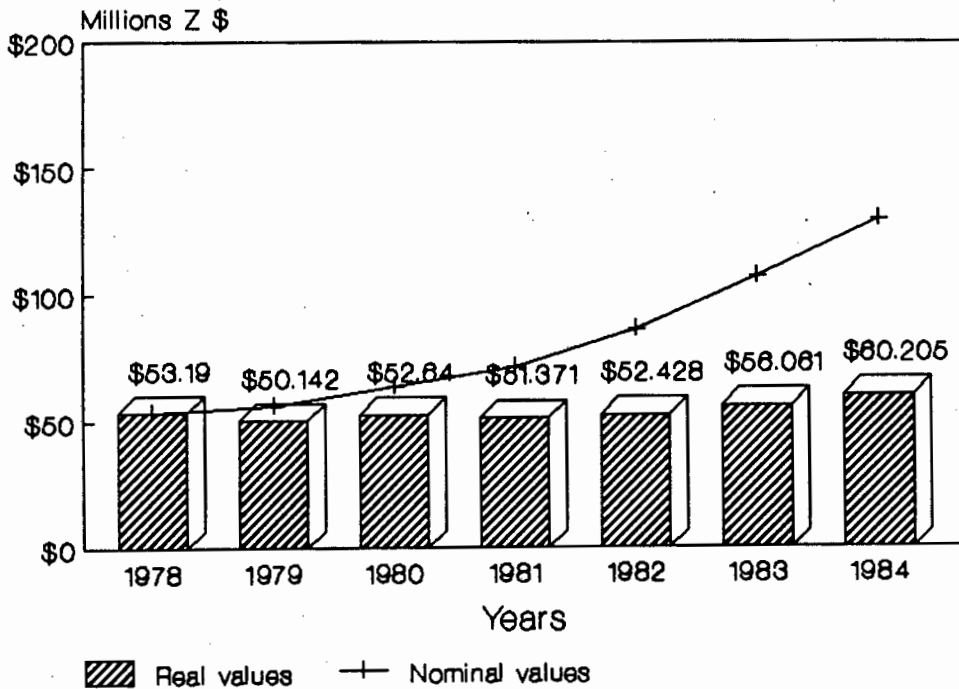
As explained earlier the revenue accounts of each department are more all-embracing and immediate than capital accounts in that they reveal the totality of on-going income and expenditure needs for every facet of municipal operations. The money flows that 'power' the local authority system derive from a certain finite 'pool' which must be 'topped up' annually. Policy changes which emphasise one particular municipal activity relative to others will, of necessity, result in the immediate redirection of money flow to that activity and a concomitant reduction of flow elsewhere in a manner akin to the opening and closing of valves in a water reticulation system. Alternatively the financial pool must be enlarged to accommodate the specific expansion or intensification of activity²¹.

8.4.1 Income

Total real income increased by 15,9 per cent between 1978 and 1984 despite the erosion of money value wrought by inflation (Fig. 8.30). The greatest annual increases of 6,8 per cent and 17,3 per cent occurred between 1982/83 and 1983/84 respectively. The major contributors to aggregate income were the trading accounts (electricity and water), household rates tax, loan repayments, rents, and services and supplementary charges levied against house occupiers in the low income (Black) housing areas. In combination, in 1984 these sources contributed 96,8 per cent of aggregate revenue income (Figs. 8.31(b)).

²¹ This, of course presupposes no, or little change, in organisational efficiency and productivity - reasonable assumptions given the current acute shortages of managerial and skilled technical manpower, the relative lack of experience of many newly appointed Blacks to positions of authority and responsibility, and the added pressures occasioned by rapid urbanisation.

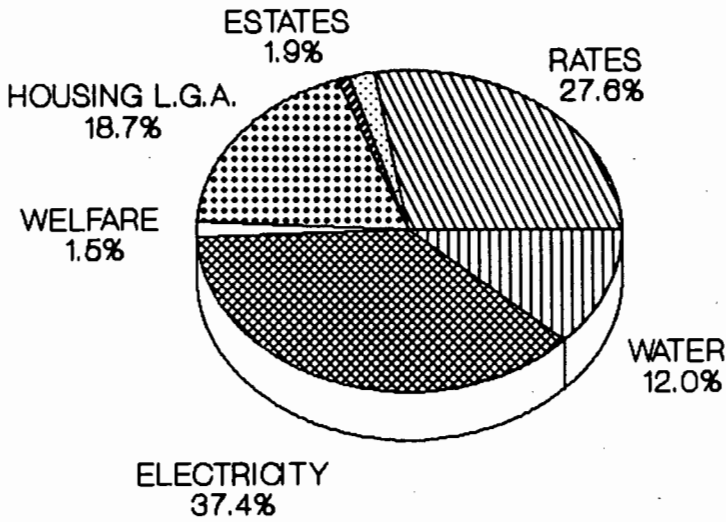
FIG. 8.30 **TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**
(Real and Nominal Values)



Between 1978 and 1984 the greatest change in revenue generation occurred in the Electricity Account (an increase of 8 per cent). Proportionately it increased particularly rapidly after 1982 reflecting both regular tariff increases and wider service areas (Fig. 8.31).

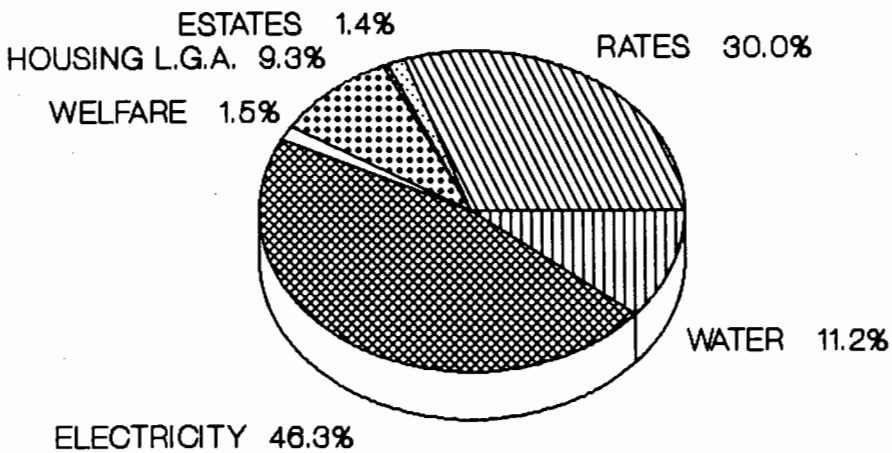
It was also the largest contributor to revenue in monetary terms yielding 46,3 per cent of aggregate revenue income in 1984. Income derived from water delivery, a more fundamental human need, remained largely unchanged. The rates tax on properties in the low density or former White residential areas increased by a total of only 1,7 per cent between 1978-1984 while the share of income generated in the High Density areas declined by 9,4 per cent (Fig. 8.31). Graphed as a percentage of total income both the Rates and Housing:Local Government Areas Accounts revealed highly significant trends (at 0.09 and 0,0005 levels respectively). The proportion contributed by the Rates Account increased steadily until 1983 (before declining as a result of a considerable rise in electricity revenue).

FIG. 8.31(a) **PERCENT TOTAL - INCOME**
1978



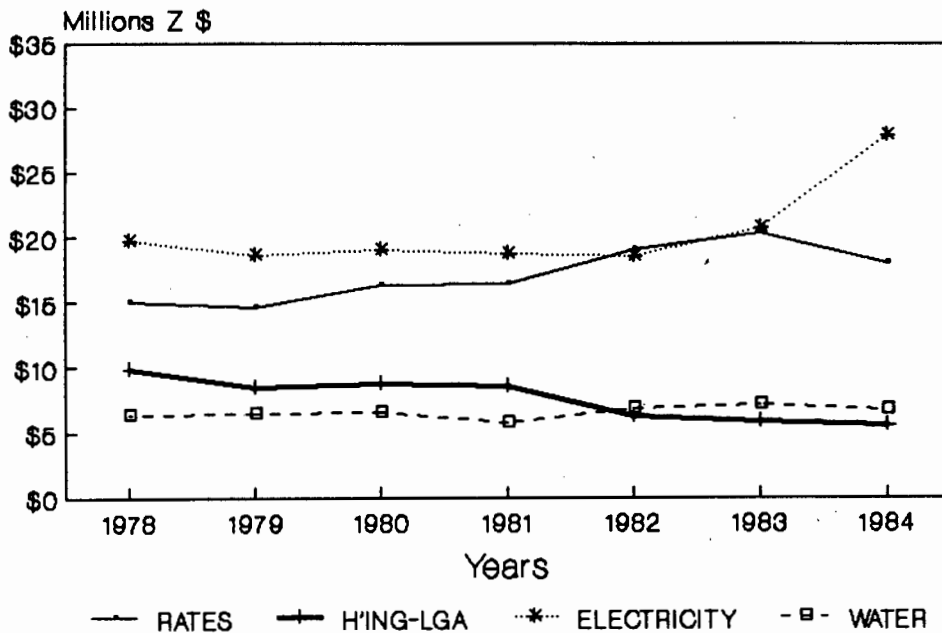
Housing - 0.94%

FIG. 8.31(b) **PERCENT TOTAL - INCOME**
1984



Housing - 0.42%

FIG. 8.32 **REVENUE ACCOUNT - INCOME
RATES, HOUSING-LGA, ELECTRICITY, WATER**



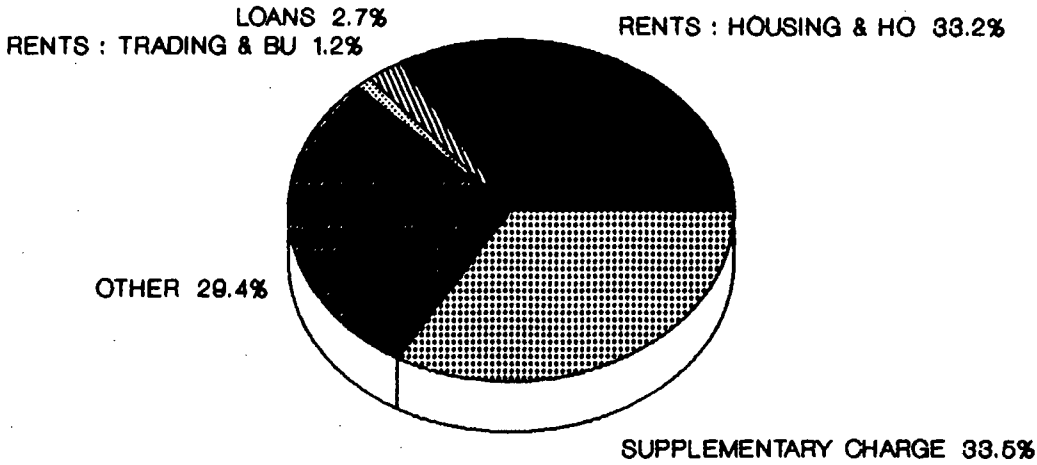
Data have been disaggregated to
accommodate the great range in values.

Conversely income generated in the former Local Government Areas decreased proportionately particularly after 1981 (Fig. 8.32). Within the Local Government Areas Accounts, rental on market stalls and loan repayments are the only income-generating items that display positive trends (Fig. 8.33). The Housing (Fig. 8.34) and Estates Accounts (Fig. 8.35) also revealed statistically significant negative trends over the study period but their percentage contribution to total income in absolute monetary terms renders them relatively unimportant. Thus the hypothesis that funds would have been diverted to higher priority welfare-related expenditures in the High Density areas is initially confirmed.

By 1985 the practice of maintaining separate accounts for each Local Government Area still existed. In 1978 only three out of the eleven Local Government Areas (Harari, Mabvuku and Glen Norah) had operated at a slight deficit (these in contravention of the requirement that they should

FIG. 8.33(a)

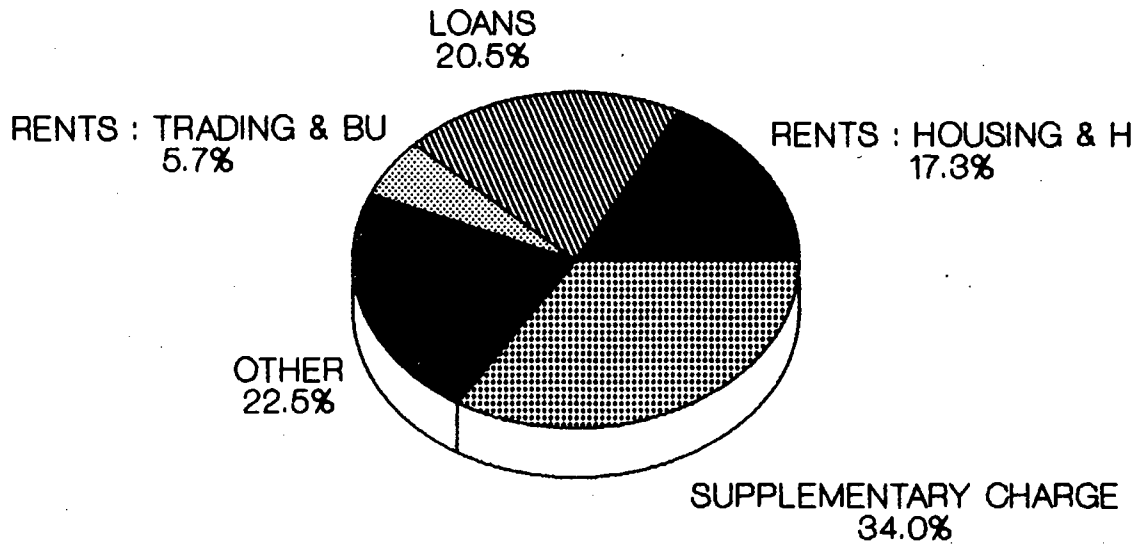
**LGA SELECTED ITEMS
PERCENT REVENUE INCOME 1978**



HO - HOSTELS
BU - BUSINESS

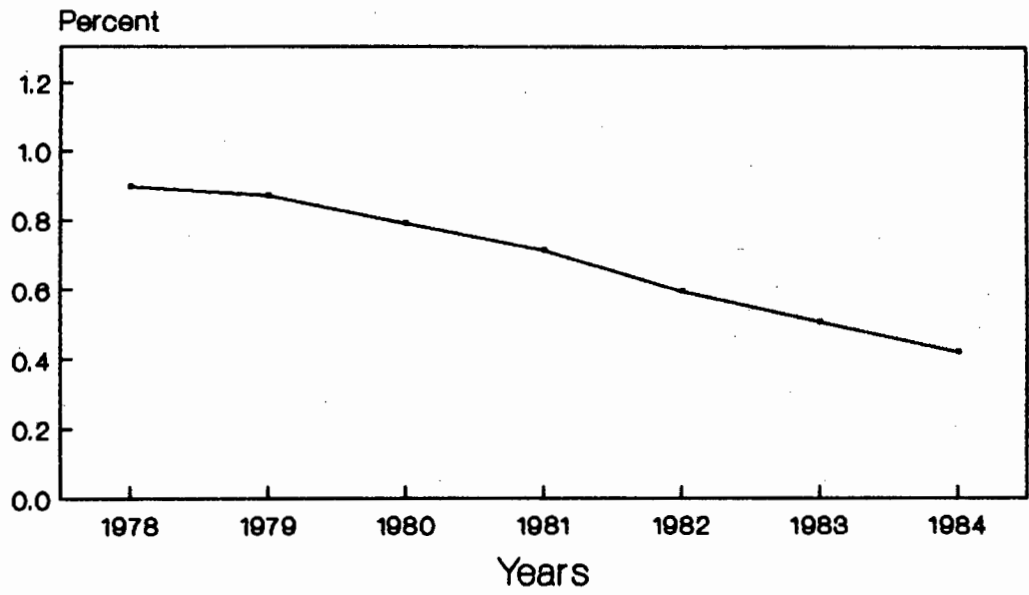
FIG. 8.33(b)

**LGA SELECTED ITEMS
PERCENT REVENUE INCOME 1984**



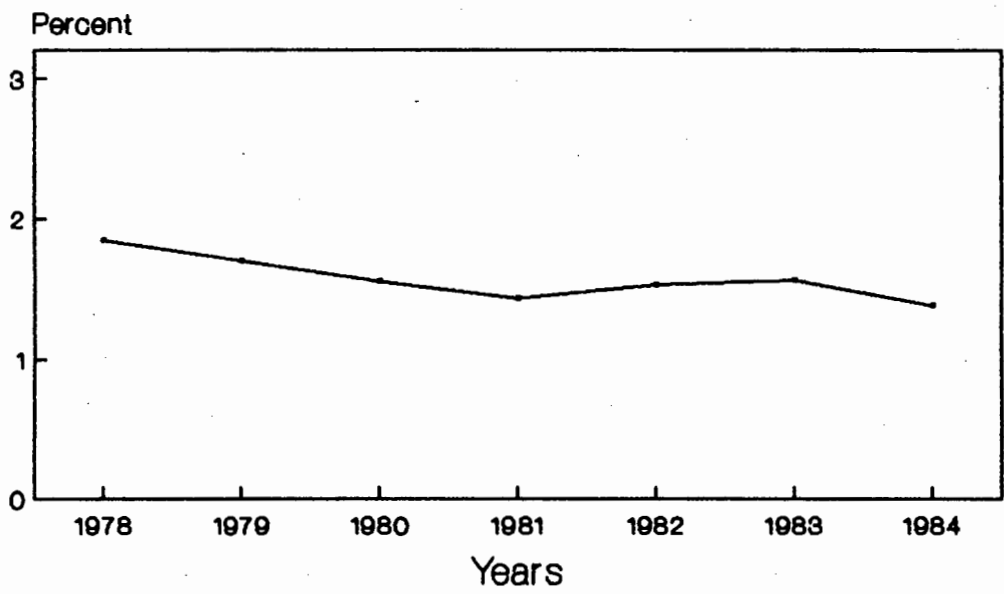
HO - HOSTELS
BU - BUSINESS

FIG. 8.34 **HOUSING ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**



P - 0.0006
R - -0.992

FIG. 8.35 **ESTATES ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**



P - 0.009
R - -0.826

be financially self-sufficient) but by 1980 only one (Glen Norah) registered a credit. However, a proviso existed in the Urban Councils Act (Section 152, Sub Section 4) for any deficits to be met by the general funds of Council. Consequently, and as an important measure of cross subsidisation, after 1980 contributions from the Rates Account and the Electricity Account increased to meet these growing deficits (Table 8.6).

Table 8.6 Contributions to Offset Net Deficits on Aggregate Local Government Area Revenue Accounts (Z\$)

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Deficit	Nil	281 390	907 897	1 550 079	970 234	1 357 509	1 584 495
Contributions from Electricity a/c	Nil	33 093	34 031	29 550	33 075	66 761	138 795
Contributions from Rates a/c	Nil	Nil	456 361	1 415 879	937 134	1 281 154	1 445 700
Transfer from Rent Equalisation Reserve	Nil	Nil	Nil	104 649	Nil	Nil	Nil

Source : Annual Treasurer's Reports 1978 - 1984.

A rates tax on all land and improvements was levied on all property owners in the formerly White areas of the city. In 1978/79 these rates contributed 36,5 per cent of the total income of the Rates account. The value increased to 49,9 per cent in 1983/84. Of total revenue income, these taxes comprised 10,3 per cent and 11,6 per cent in the financial years ending 1979 and 1984 respectively. In 1978/79 the annual tax on homeowners in the Low Density (formerly White) suburbs contributed 52,7 per cent of the total rate yield (i.e. on residential, commercial, industrial and agricultural properties). By 1984/85 residential property owners, in these exclusively White areas, contributed only

34,6 per cent of the total rate yield. Against this, the tax burden on commercial and industrial properties increased from 29 to 39 percent and 18 to 27 per cent respectively between 1978 and 1984 (Fig. 8.36) demonstrating the resolution of the new government to generate and to redistribute a greater proportion of wealth from capitalist enterprises²². The total rate yield itself increased by 62 per cent between 1980/81 and 1983/84 (against a decline of 13 per cent between 1978/79 and 1979/80). Given the influx of Black home owners into the Low Density suburbs this increased source of finance and the cross subsidisation (to the High Density suburbs) accompanying it, cannot be interpreted entirely as a White - Black redistribution although, in relative terms, this is still largely the case. Relative shifts in the rate yield are mapped in Fig. 8.37. The large positive shifts in the C B D and Industrial areas are apparent.

The annual residential rate yield per dwelling unit declined very slightly, from Z\$87,75 to Z\$82,08 between 1979 and 1984 demonstrating the erosive influence of inflation upon effective buying power²³.

The annual Service and Supplementary Charges levied against dwelling units in the Black residential areas however declined from Z\$78,39 to Z\$25.00 over the same period reflecting a conscious policy decision to lessen the

²² It requires recognition however that until 1978, commercial and industrial employers had paid a Services Levy which was intended to subsidise housing and public transport in the Local Government Areas and to offset a circumstance whereby commercial and industrial rates did not accrue to these areas. Moreover the imposition of a differential rates tax was accompanied by the right for companies to vote in municipal elections. Every company has representation but problems have arisen because a company could change the weight of its vote according to the location of its branches.

²³ "Dwelling Unit" here refers to houses and flats and excludes vacant stands and a small number of properties termed "miscellaneous" in the valuation rolls which also are rated for tax purposes.

FIG. 8.36 (a) **RATE YIELD BY FUNCTION**
1978 (Z\$)

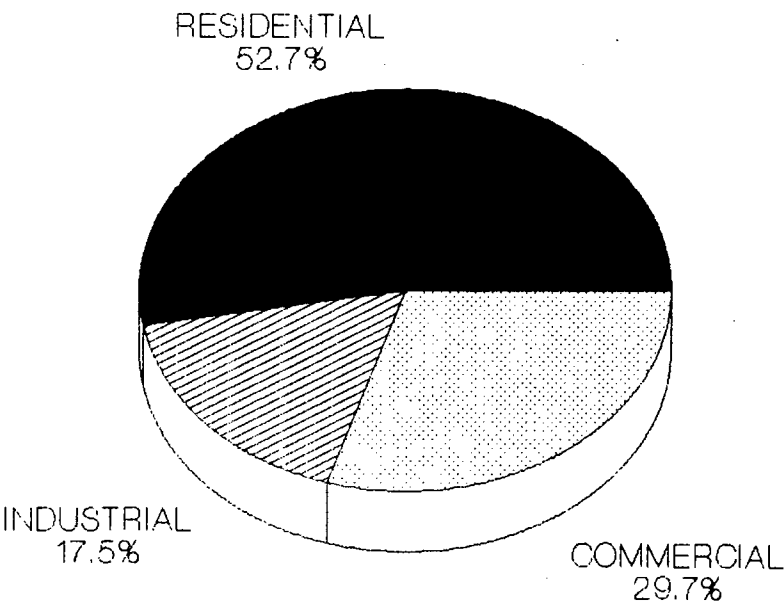
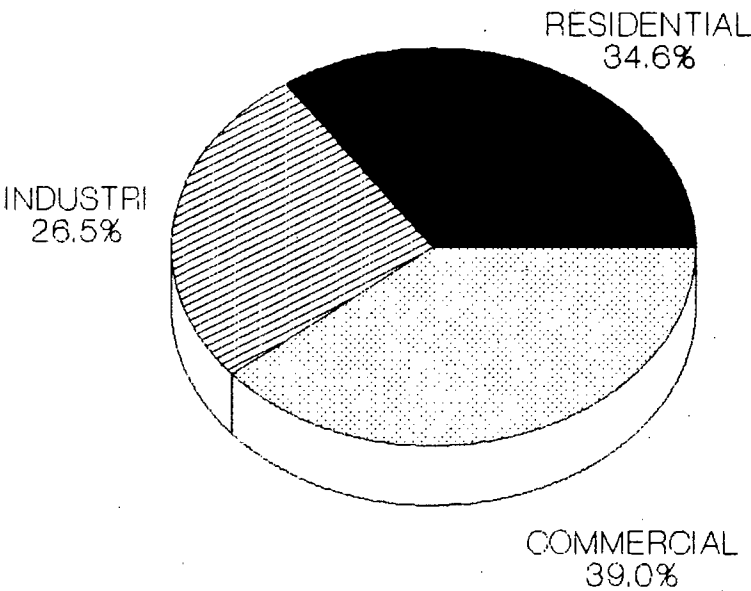


FIG. 8.36 (b) **RATE YIELD BY FUNCTION**
FINANCIAL YEAR 1984/85 (Z\$)



financial burden upon Black occupiers.²⁴ Relative to personal income however, Blacks still paid more than Whites for services. In 1984 Blacks paid a Z\$5.50 (nominal value) supplementary charge while the residential property rate (land and improvements) in the Low Density areas was 1.51 cents, in the dollar. If the average Black income was Z\$135 per month, a realistic estimate calculated from a number of income surveys (US Agency for International Development 1980), a Black occupier would have had to pay 4.2 per cent of it in supplementary charges. By contrast White homeowner earning only Z\$1 200 per month (considered well below the average figure although this could not be obtained) would surrender only 1.5 per cent of his/her income.

Given the large disparities in earning power that still exist between Blacks and Whites, Whites are still obtaining Council services relatively cheaply and have more money available to supplement Council amenities and facilities with those provided by private enterprise.

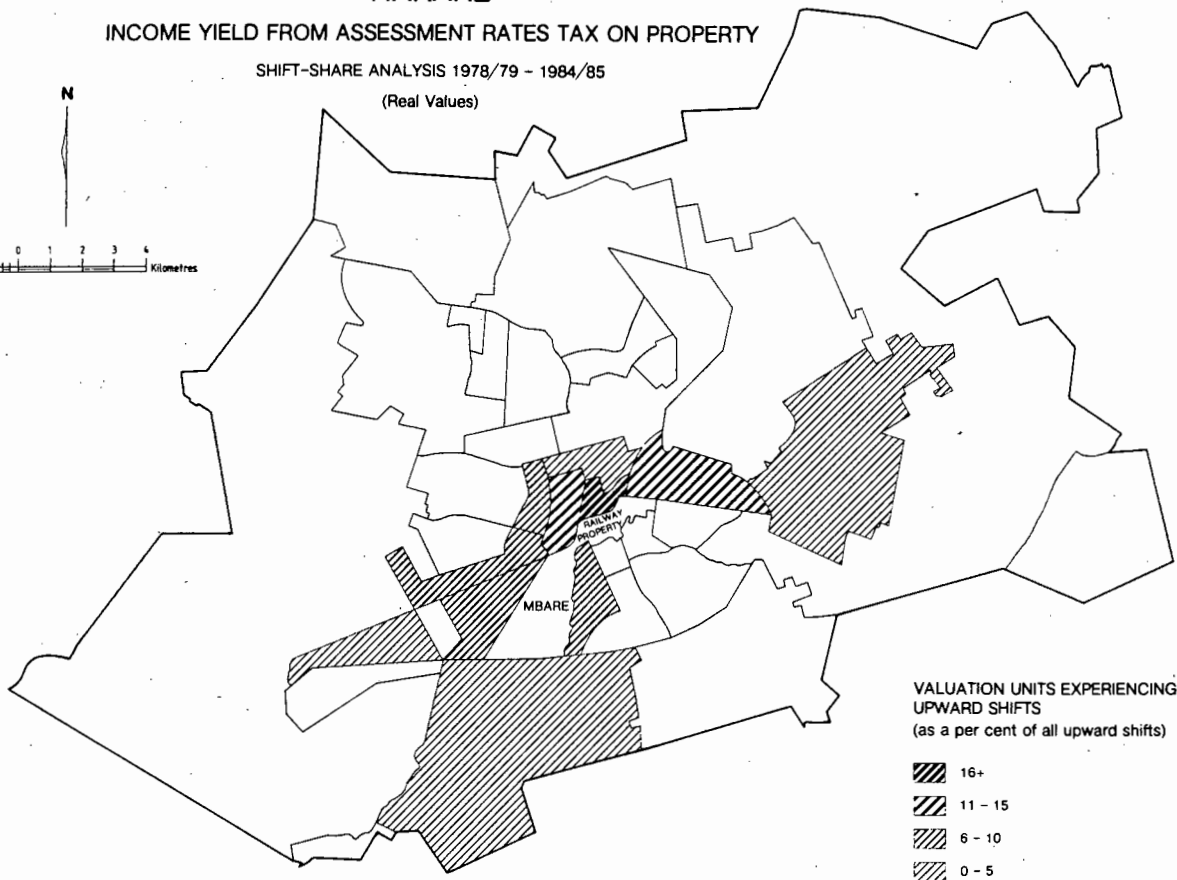
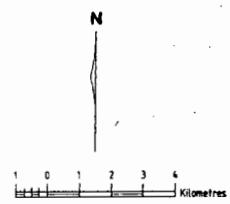
Only income accruing to the Rates and Water Accounts showed marginal annual average increases (between 4,5 and 1,6 per cent respectively) in the period 1978-1980 when White interests were still paramount. Between 1980 and 1984 however, change in annual average income was positive in the Rates, Estates, Welfare, Electricity and Water Accounts (Fig. 8.38).

²⁴ "Dwelling Units" in the Local Government areas includes single berths in hostels as occupiers still paid a service and supplementary charge for municipal services. While the number of White dwelling units increased by only 0,21 per cent between 1978-1984, those of Blacks increased by 79,0 per cent.

HARARE

INCOME YIELD FROM ASSESSMENT RATES TAX ON PROPERTY

SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSIS 1978/79 - 1984/85
(Real Values)



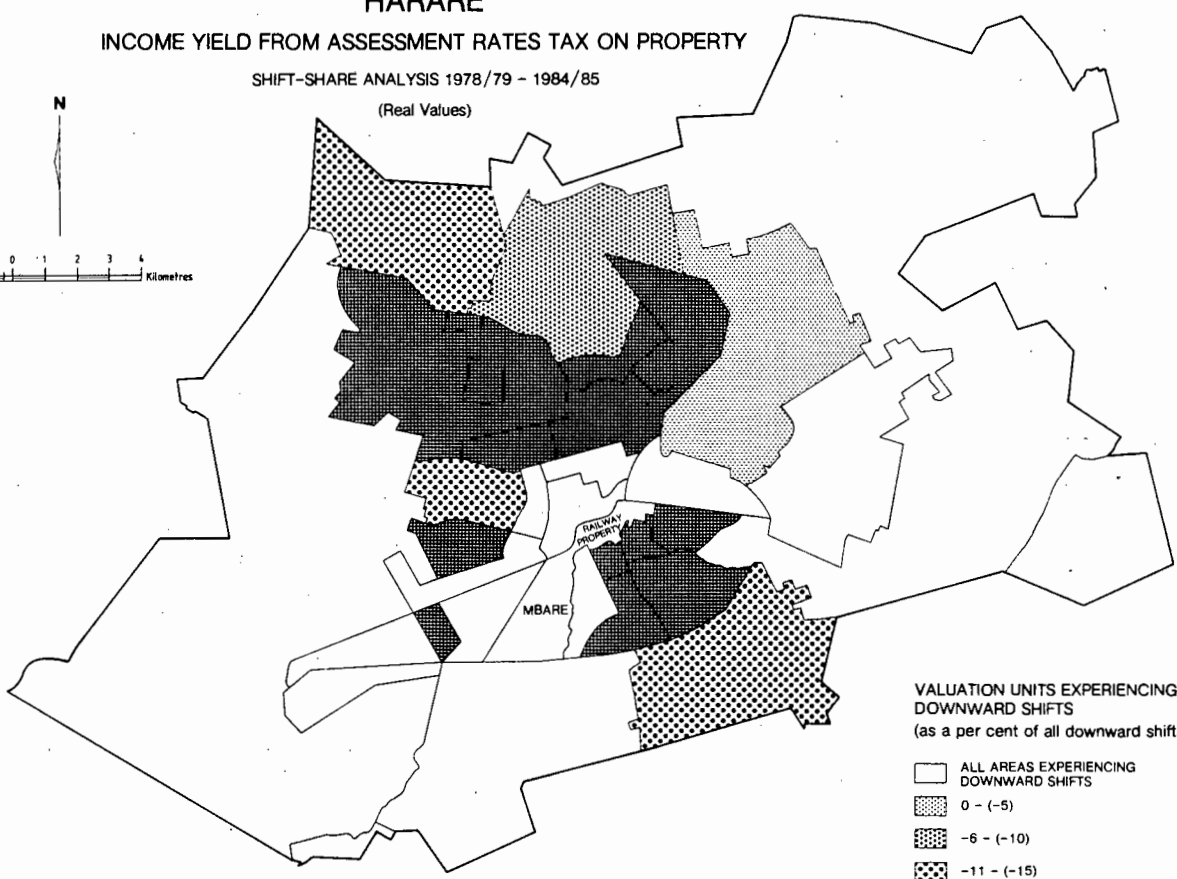
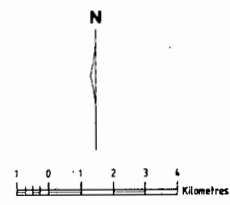
- VALUATION UNITS EXPERIENCING UPWARD SHIFTS
(as a per cent of all upward shifts)
- 16+
 - 11 - 15
 - 6 - 10
 - 0 - 5
 - ALL AREAS EXPERIENCING UPWARD SHIFTS

NOTE:
RAILWAY PROPERTY NOT TAXED
UNIT TAX AREAS AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS OMITTED

HARARE

INCOME YIELD FROM ASSESSMENT RATES TAX ON PROPERTY

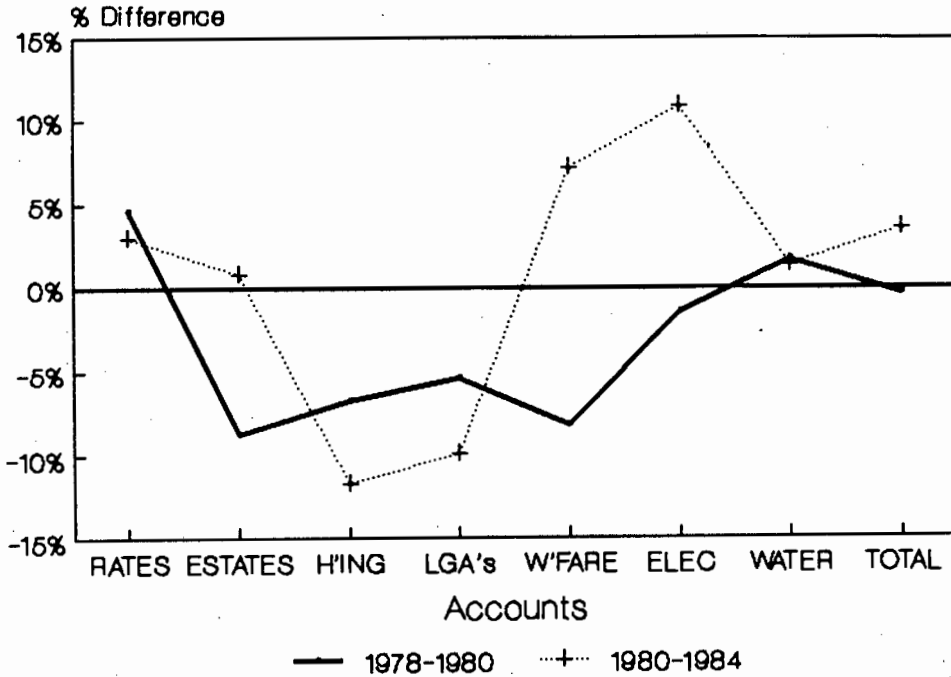
SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSIS 1978/79 - 1984/85
(Real Values)



- VALUATION UNITS EXPERIENCING DOWNWARD SHIFTS
(as a per cent of all downward shifts)
- ALL AREAS EXPERIENCING DOWNWARD SHIFTS
 - 0 - (-5)
 - 6 - (-10)
 - 11 - (-15)
 - 16 +

NOTE:
RAILWAY PROPERTY NOT TAXED
UNIT TAX AREAS AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS OMITTED

FIG.8.38 **AVERAGE PERCENT DIFFERENCE - INCOME**
1978-80 vs 1980-84



Comparison of the annual percentage movement for each account between the two periods is more revealing. Total monies directed to the Rates and Housing Accounts decreased relatively²⁵ while the Welfare Account and the Estates Account showed positive shifts. From an annual percentage decrease of 8,2 per cent between 1978 and 1980, the Welfare Account showed an average gain of 7,1 per cent over the 1980-1984 period. Corresponding figures for the Estates Account are 8,7 (decrease) and 8,1 (increase) per cent. A logical conclusion is that the Black administration is

²⁵ To compensate for this, contributions were made from the Electricity Account to the Rates Account. These declined from Z\$440 770 in 1978 to Z\$255 700 in 1982 in real terms but then increased sharply to Z\$587 029 in 1983 and Z\$991 461 in 1984. These contributions do not however match those to the Housing Account : Local Government Areas from the Electricity Account and the Rates Account which, in combination increased from Z\$33 093 in 1978 to Z\$1 584 495 in 1984.

allocating more money to Black interests in welfare and housing (the acquisition of land).

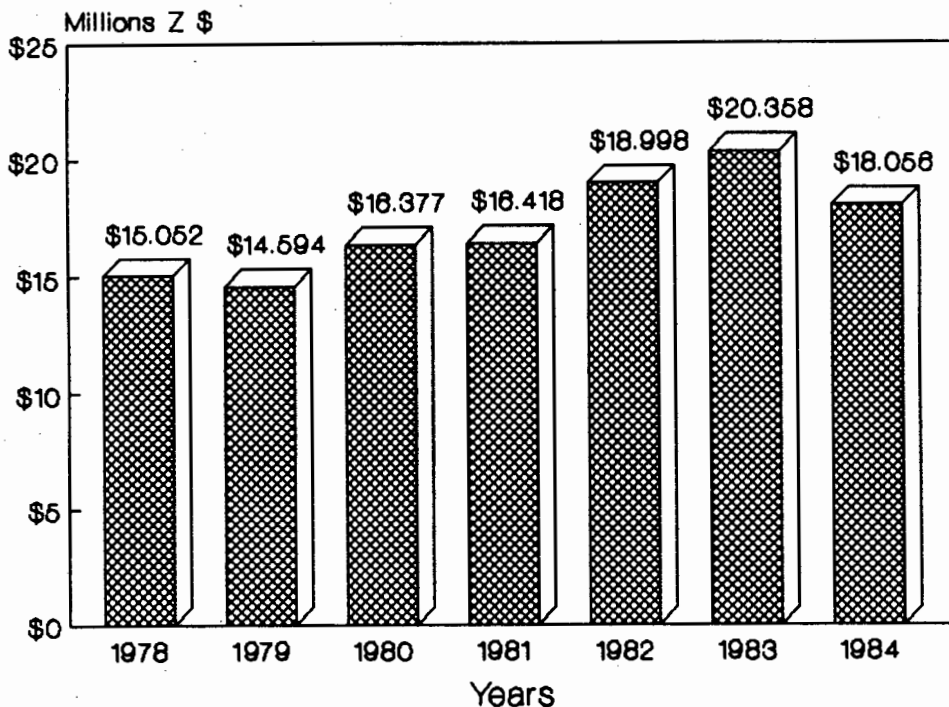
The apparently anomalous decrease in the Housing:Local Government Areas income statements (a decrease of 11,7 percent for the period 1980 to 84 in comparison to a decrease of 6,7 per cent between 1978 and 80) can be explained, in part, by removal of certain account items to different accounts viz. owners' charges on sewerage and refuse and water sales. The policy to commodify housing proceeded apace between 1978 and 1984 and led to a decline in "rent and recoveries" revenues of 243 per cent. That decline was compensated, however, by income on housing loans which increased by 335 per cent. Increasingly, as observed earlier, the Local Government Areas operated at a deficit. The trend presumably reflected the Black Council's reluctance to generate sufficient income locally through increased rents, fees, charges etc., to meet total annual costs. The Council was, after all, operating on the conviction that redistribution of existing wealth was necessary. The means employed to offset growing deficits were contributions from the Rates and Electricity Accounts (Table 8.6) that reflected a transfer of funds from the wealthier to the poorer areas of the city.

Interpretation of the 'Income' side of any account requires qualification. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as the amount of money directed into the account to sustain the operation of a particular function. By extension, that interpretation leads to analysis of increases or decreases in operating budgets and to conclusions on the relative upgrading or downgrading of particular functions in terms of service levels or Council priorities. On the other hand, 'income' may be interpreted as the amount of finance generated by a particular function (through taxes, fees and charges for example) that contribute towards the general Council pool of money. This income need not only cover recurrent expenses but is available for reallocation. It is necessary therefore to identify those functions that

generate income which is 'ploughed back' into their annual operating expenses, those that generate 'footlose' (i.e. money thereafter made available to other functions through reallocation) income and those that draw income from other sources and do not entirely generate their own (Beer Account and Government contributions to various welfare and health functions are examples here).

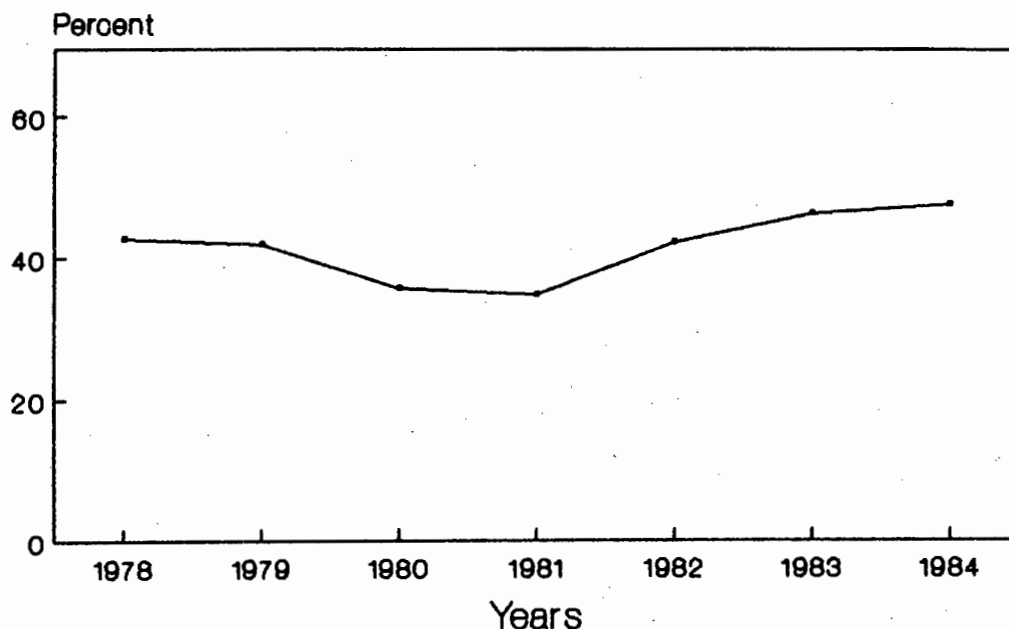
Although real income on the Rates Account, which accrued largely to the former White areas, increased in absolute terms from 1980 to 1984 (Fig. 8.39), detailed examination of individual entities within the account reveals that this was attributable mainly to a 27,6 per cent increase in the assessment rate yield (Fig. 8.40).

FIG. 8.39 REVENUE INCOME - RATES



As previously indicated, the bulk of this yield derived from a highly differential tax burden placed upon commercial and industrial properties.

FIG. 8.40 **ASSESSMENT RATE AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES INCOME**



P - 0.155
R - 0.468

Almost every other Rates Account entity displayed a negative income curve²⁶ after 1981 at the latest. Exceptions were Government contributions to the entity 'African' Family Health 'A' (Fig. 8.41) and the Traditional Beer Account contribution to formerly White oriented Family Health 'B' (Fig. 8.42). In addition the fee income for maternity and dental clinics (services used almost exclusively by the Black populace) increased after 1982 although, at their

²⁶ Statistically significant trends at or below the 0.05 level were displayed by the following account entities: Vehicle Licences; Fire Brigade; Government Contributions to Family Health 'A'; Fees and Government and Beer Account Contributions to Family Health 'B'; Beer Account Contributions to the TB Clinic; Hospital Fees and Beer Account Contributions to hospitals. The co-variation by-plots indicated clustering of Dental Fees; Government Contributions to Dental Clinics; Ambulances and Fire Brigade charges; Cattle, Dog and Bicycle Licences; Beer Contributions to Family Health 'A' and Fees from Family Health 'B' (Appendix 7(a)). No analytic inferences could be drawn from this statistically derived grouping however, except to observe that they are all very minor contributions to Rates income.

FIG. 8.41 **GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO HEALTH SERVICES AS A % OF TOTAL RATES INCOME**

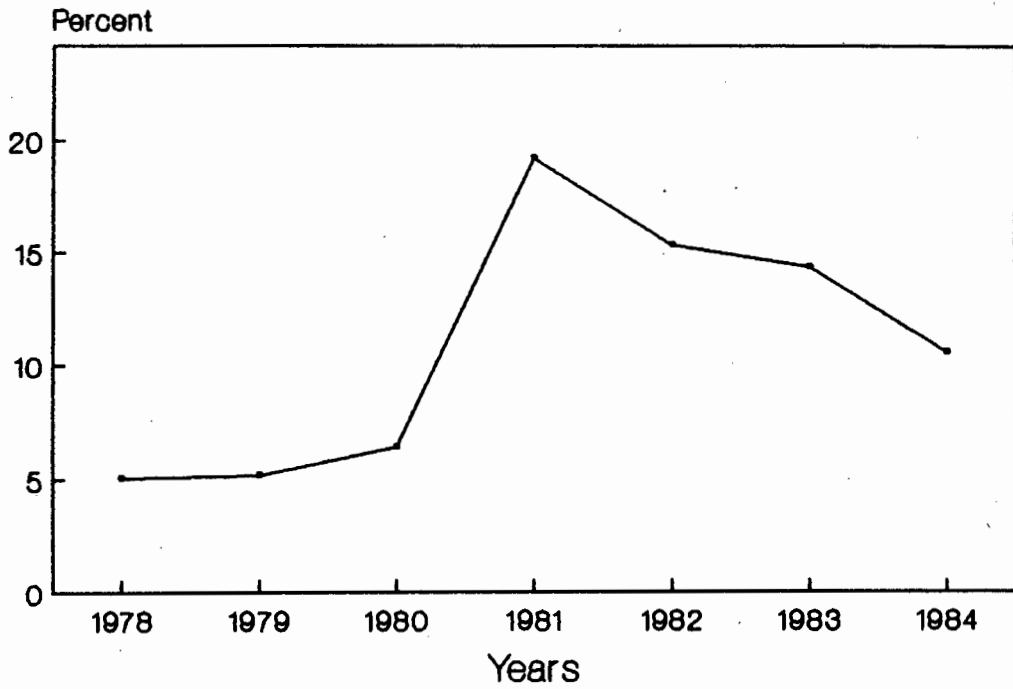
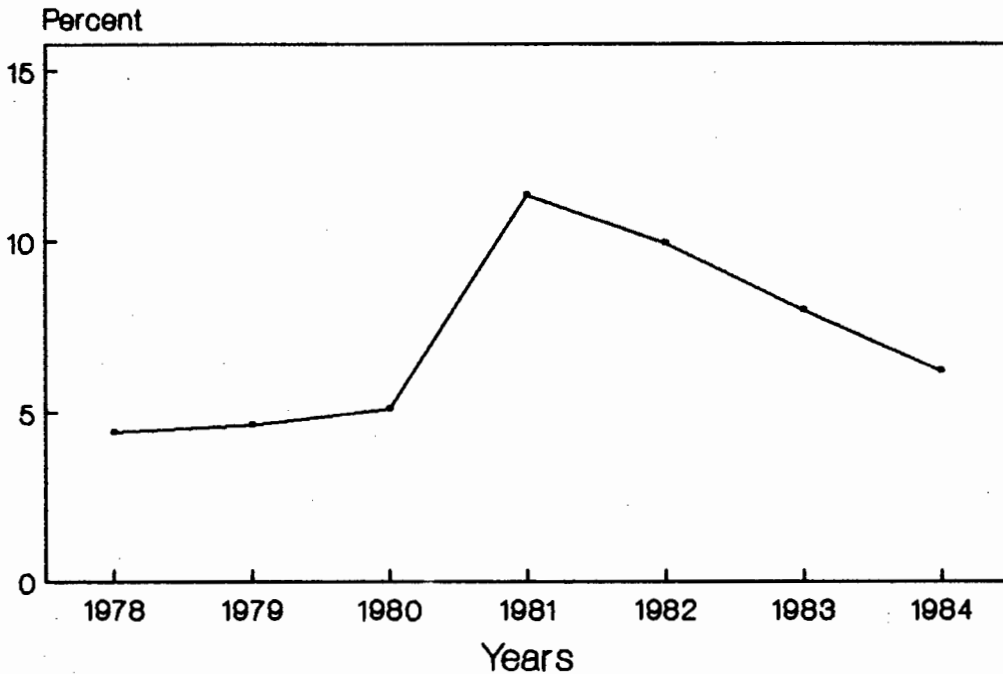


FIG 8.42 **BEER CONTRIBUTIONS TO HEALTH SERVICES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES INCOME**



maximum, they contributed only 0,31 per cent and 1,6 per cent of the total Rates Account income respectively.

The major contributors to income generation on the Rates Account were the assessment rates tax, vehicle licences, and sewerage and refuse removal charges²⁷ (Appendix 8(d)). In a changed socio-political environment, car ownership might have been considered by the new Black-oriented local government to be an item of conspicuous consumption especially since many White households were multiple car owners. Licensing fees might thus have become a valid and important source of income. In similar manner commercial and industrial vehicles could have been targeted as sources of additional finance by the new Black authorities. In the absence of accompanying data for the number of vehicles licensed, or licence defaulters, the decline in income generated through vehicle licences is therefore difficult to explain. While emigration could have resulted in a relative decline in the number of vehicles in Harare, it is also possible that vehicle taxes were not increased so as not to prejudice (and antagonise) increasing numbers of Black car owners.

The relatively slight decline on charges for sewerage services also does not conform with a hypothesis that Whites would be made to contribute relatively more to Council income than Blacks. It is significant too, that revenue

²⁷ It may appear anomalous that the decline in total income on the Housing:Local Government Areas Account could earlier be attributed, *inter alia*, to removal of certain income categories to newly created accounts (*viz.* the Sewerage Account and the Waste Management Account) while major income generators on the Rates Account could be identified as Sewerage Charges and refuse removal fees. In an effort to maintain continuity of data and to graph trends, every effort was made to maintain consistency in data entry. Consequently statistics that originally appeared in the Rates Account, and, could still be identified, were transferred from the Sewerage and Waste Management back to the Rates Account. In short, where possible, those items that appeared in the Rates Account in 1978 were continued to 1984 whether or not they actually appeared as Rate's Account entries after the creation of major new accounts in 1982.

expenditure on sewerage reticulation in the former White areas also declined over the study period and that income from charges consistently exceeded expenditure on sewerage reticulation. It would appear that, in general, the sewerage function (including effluent removal, treatment, and pollution control) was intended to 'balance its books' and was never regarded as a source of additional, redistributable income.

Because the amounts of income derived from different sources and accruing to particular account entities tended to fluctuate from year to year (for example the amounts contributed by Government or the Traditional Beer Account to 'Family Health Services'), it was instructive to consider the average percentage difference over the periods 1978 to 1980 and 1980 to 1984 for each income source.

The assessment rate tax showed a marked (13,99 per cent) increase over the period 1980 to 1984 having displayed a decline of 8,69 per cent in 1978 to 1980. This is non-committed income, insofar as it is not dedicated to maintaining a particular function, and is a major source of redistributable income. Vehicle licences, derived from all sectors of the population and used for road maintenance, signs, signals and stormwater drainage across the city displayed an average percentage decrease in both time periods although by a smaller amount in 1980 to 1984 (*viz.* - 4,79 per cent against 2,49 per cent).

Contributions to health services (family health services, the dental clinic, maternity centres, the TB clinics, primary health care services, and the hospitals) from Government and the Traditional Beer Account all showed marked average increases of the order of 40 to 90 per cent under Black administration. The only exception was 'Family Health Services B', services formerly provided for White clients, which experienced a decline of 23,92 per cent in Government funding (Table 8.7).

Table 8.7 Rates Account - Revenue Income (Selected Items)
Average Percentage Change 178-80 and 1980-84 () = Negative

ADMINISTRATION	1978-80	1980-84
Assessment Rate	(8.7)	13.8
Licensing Revenue		
Liquor	22.06	(1.15)
Business	-	(3.97)
Fire Brigade Fees	9.89	(20.39)
Ambulance Fees	12.47	(0.66)
Owners Charges		
Sewerage	(7.95)	(3.6)
Effluent	1.11	59.67
Vehicle Licences	(4.8)	(2.5)
Family Health 'A'		
Govt Contributions	19.4	40.1
Beer Acc. Contributions	19.4	76.3
Family Health 'B'		
Clinic Fees	25.0	(46.7)
Govt Contributions	3.8	(23.9)
Beer Acc. Contributions	-	200.16
Dental Clinic Fees	6.9	21.5
Govt Contributions	-	63.6
Beer Acc. Contributions	-	-
TB Centre		
Govt Contributions	-	10.4
Beer Acc. Contributions	(26.4)	(63.3)
Primary Care & Maternity		
Fees	13.9	264.0
Govt Contributions	13.3	93.3
Hospitals		
Fees	25.7	(45.5)
Govt Contributions	2.7	38.1
Beer Acc Contributions	8.4	3.4
Total Selected Items	0.023	4.537

In summary, it would appear that discernible trends could be identified in patterns of income. They suggested that the Black administration sought to contain fee increases particularly those that impinged upon the Black clientele for health services while relying on increased support from Government and the Traditional Beer Account to expand and enhance the quality of health care. Crucial functions such as refuse removal and sewerage continued to be supported by user-charges while the most important source of income, the rates tax on land and improvements was increased.

Rents on Council owned properties in the Estates Account contributed a minimal amount to aggregate income (approximately 1,4 per cent in 1984). While they increased marginally in the post independence era, having shown a decline from 1978-1981 no single rental item contributed to this significantly. Rents from public utilities showed the greatest average percentage change between 1978-1980 and 1980-1984 (viz. from -7,7 per cent to 3,46 per cent). Welfare receipts too were a minor contributor to aggregate revenue income (1,6 per cent in 1984). The most important sources were contributions from the Beer Account (contributing 82 per cent of total Welfare income in 1978 and 75 per cent in 1984) cinema receipts, and fees for recreation grounds. The latter two items displayed increases over the study period.²⁸

It has been emphasised that the Rates Account has been interpreted largely, but not exclusively, to reflect financial contributions made by Whites and expenditures made for their benefit. However, given the appreciable influx of Blacks into formerly White housing and the location of major hospitals and clinics serving Blacks in these areas, direct comparison with the Housing:Local Government Areas Account (an exclusively 'Black' account) in terms of Black and White costs and benefits is not possible.

Within the context of declining aggregate revenue income and increasing annual deficits, some items in the Housing:Local Government Areas Account displayed positive trends. The

²⁸ Other relatively minor income derived from the Vocational Training Centre's fees which declined 83 per cent between 1980 and 1984, hire fees on halls, rents on fixed property, creches and the pre-school feeding scheme. Detailed analysis on the latter items was not possible because account entities changed to become a single entry, "Pre-School Play Centres" which reflected a new tariff system. Disaggregation of the aggregate Water Account into individual account entities "Water Levy" and "Water Sales" and the aggregate Electricity Account into entries on sales for load limiters and electricity fails to advance the analysis and similarly has not been included here.

most striking of these were Council loans for self-built housing in the High Density areas which, as indicated earlier, rose by 335 per cent from a total of Z\$0,263 million in 1978 to Z\$1,142 million in 1984. Against this, and despite the rapid increase in housing provision in the new townships of Warren Park and Kuwadzana, income from housing rentals declined by 243 per cent from Z\$2,067 million in 1978 to Z\$0,601 million in 1984 emphasising the degree to which opportunities for home ownership were being realised. Concomitant declines of 232 per cent in aggregate revenue from hostel revenues (from Z\$1,204 million in 1978 to Z\$0,362 in 1984 and the decline in the number of single berths from 14 541 in 1980 to 9 852 in 1984) as a result of gradual conversion of hostels to flats, also bears testimony to the determination of the Council to improve the living environment of single working men many of whom are relatively new arrivals from the rural areas.

The major items contributing to the Housing:Local Government Areas income account were housing and hostel rentals, housing purchase loans and supplementary charges. Together in 1984 they constituted 68,8 per cent of total Local Government Area income (Fig. 8.33). Sewerage, Water, Electricity and Refuse Removal were supplied on a fully cost recoverable basis and after 1981 were transferred to separate accounts. Income derived from supplementary charges declined in real terms over the study period despite the increase in population and the introduction of minimum wage legislation after independence. Council's reluctance to use a non-discretionary personal tax on which returns are not immediate and apparent and its reticence over increasing the financial burden upon the poorer sector of the population is clearly demonstrated here. As a result individual Township's accounts have increasingly run at a deficit necessitating cross subsidisation from the Rates and Electricity Accounts.

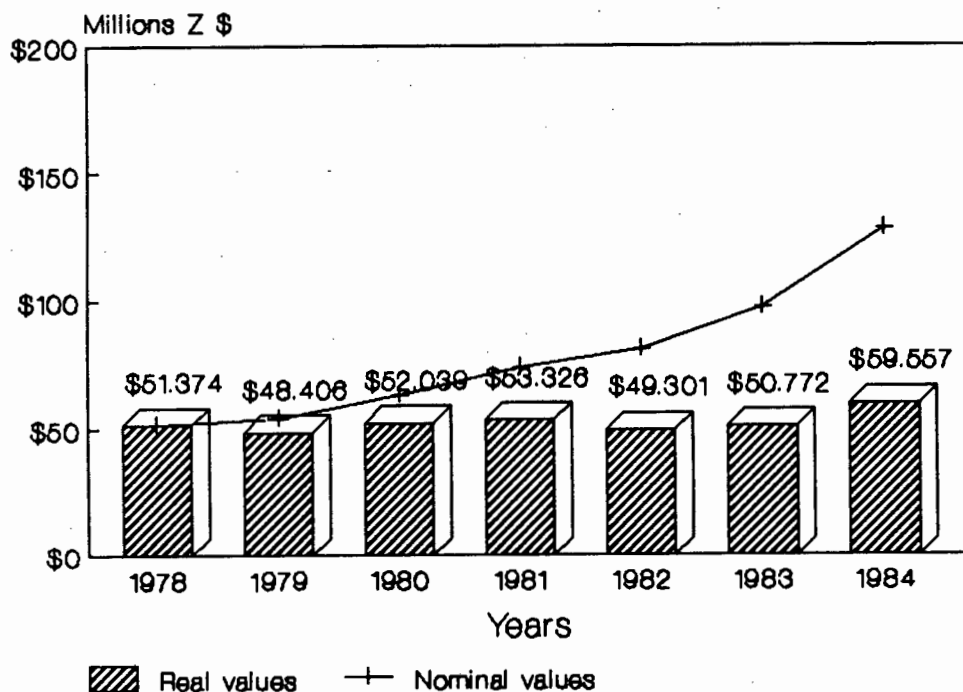
Increased revenues generated from the rental of market stalls reflect the endeavours of the Department of Housing

and Community Services to stimulate self reliance through entrepreneurial activity and the encouragement of small businesses.

8.4.2 Expenditure

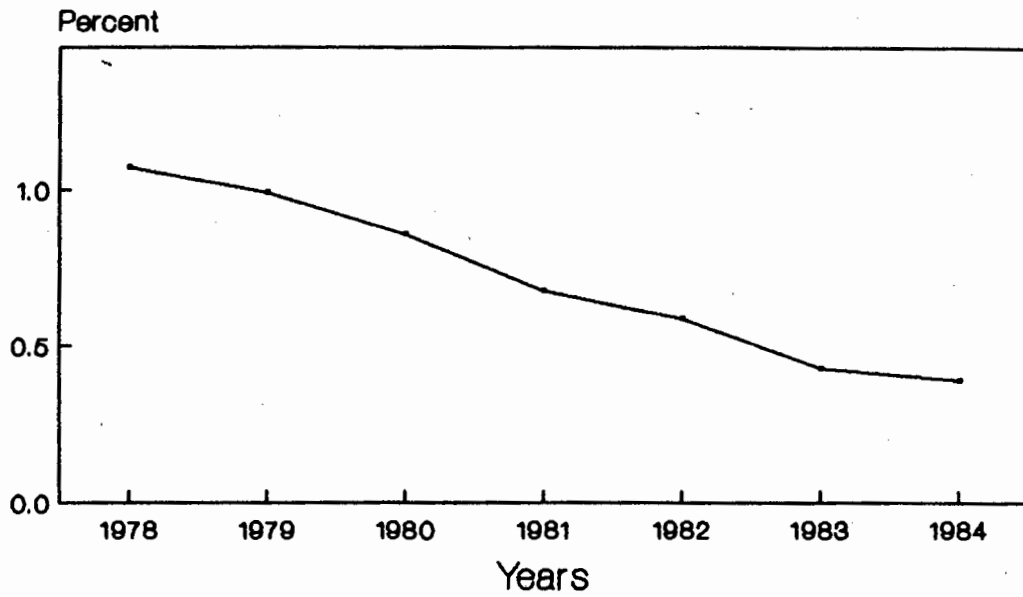
Aggregate expenditure on Revenue Account changed little over the study period. Expenditure, expressed in real terms, increased by 15 per cent between 1978 and 1984, although its nominal value increased dramatically after 1980 (Fig. 8.43).

FIG. 8.43 TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE
(Real and Nominal Values)



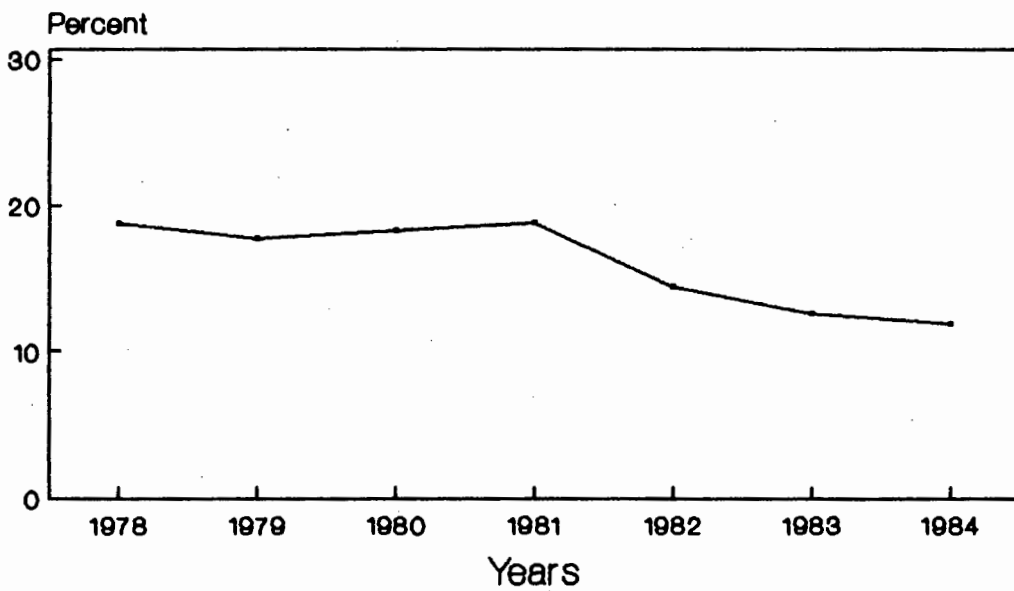
When the proportion of each account to total expenditure was plotted by year, only the Housing (Fig. 8.44), Housing:Local Government Areas (Fig. 8.45), and the Water (Fig. 8.46), Accounts yielded statistically significant trends at, or above, the 0,05 confidence level. The Electricity Account showed a marked positive increase after 1983 (Fig. 8.47). Major expenditure occurred on the Rates, Electricity, Housing:Local Government Areas, and Water Accounts. Collectively these accounts were responsible for 97,6 per

FIG. 8.44 **HOUSING ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE**



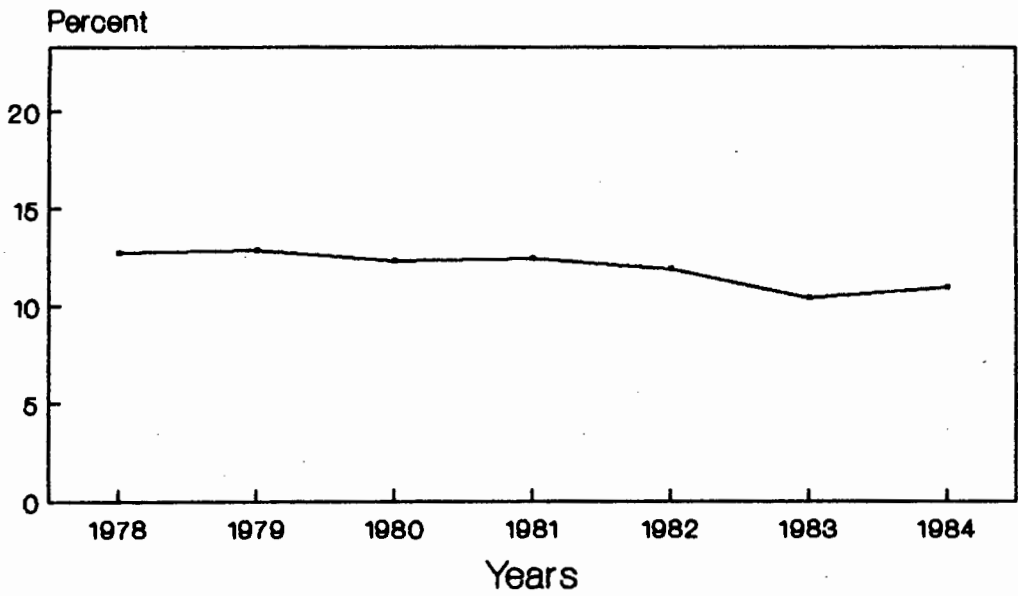
P = 0.005
R = -0.993

FIG. 8.45 **HOUSING:LGA's ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE**



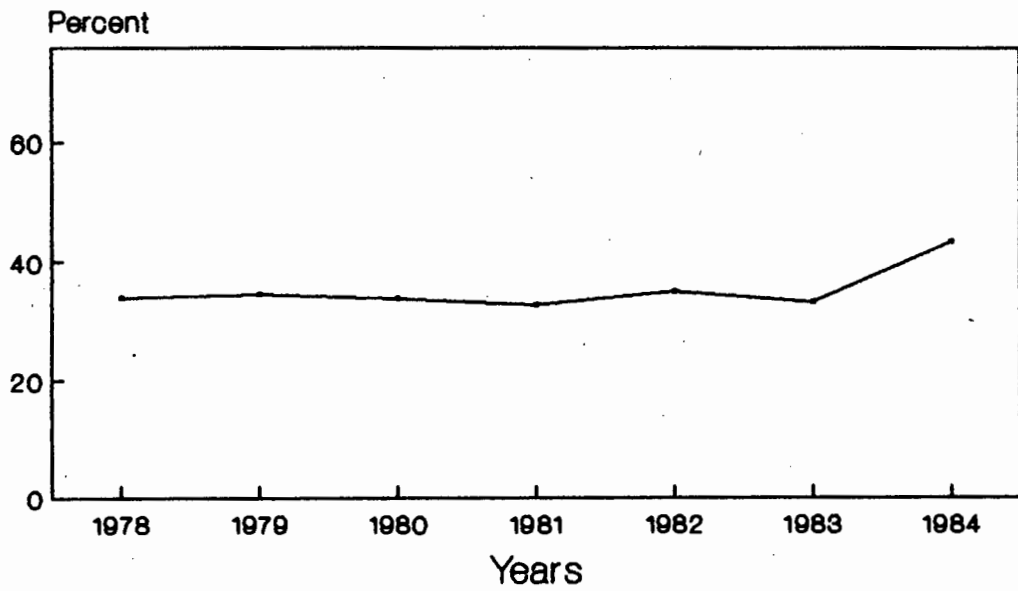
P = 0.0003
R = -0.889

FIG. 8.46 **WATER ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.0003
R - -0.886

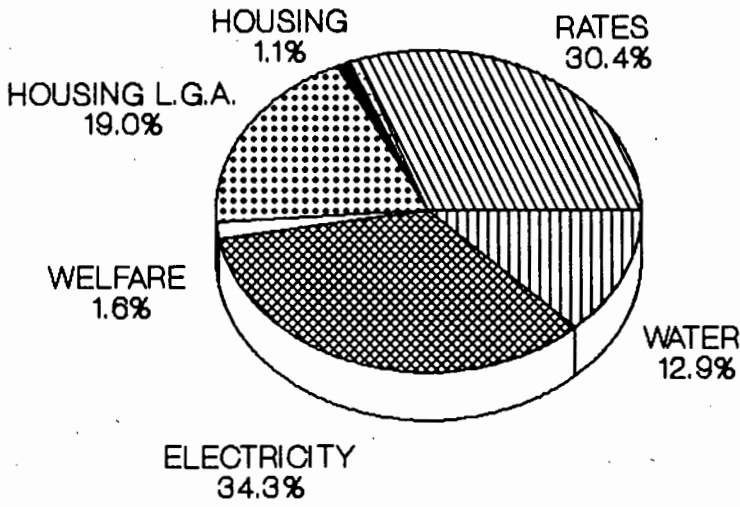
FIG. 8.47 **ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.102
R - 0.562

FIG. 8.48 (a)

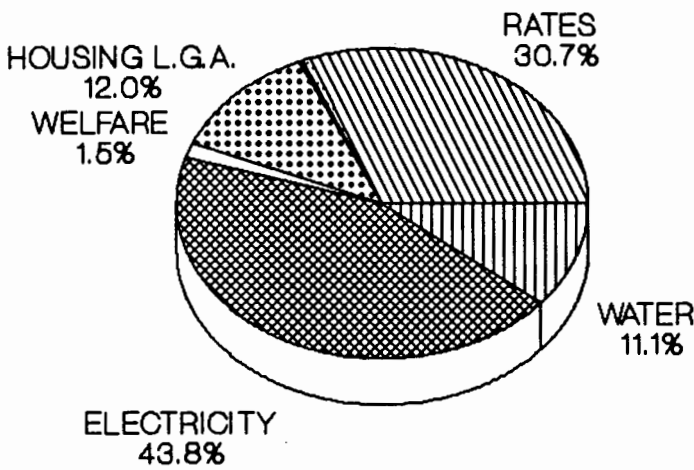
**PERCENT TOTAL - EXPENDITURE
1978**



Estates - 0.63%

FIG. 8.48 (b)

**PERCENT TOTAL - EXPENDITURE
1984**



Estates - 0.57%
Housing - 0.39%

cent of total revenue expenditure in 1984. While relative expenditure on Water services and the Local Government Areas declined by 1,8 and 7 per cent respectively between 1978 and 1984, that on items under the Rates Account remained little changed (an increase of 0,3 per cent). Expenditure on the provision of electricity services increased by 9,5 per cent (Fig. 8.48), much of which was directed toward the electrification programme in the High Density Areas. Shift-Share analysis revealed (Appendix 9(a)) that the electricity expenditure accounted for 97,12 per cent of all positive shifts with the Rates Account being responsible for the remainder. Nevertheless, as indicated above, considerable redistribution of funds from both accounts has occurred, particularly to the Housing:Local Government Areas Account.

Analysis of average percentage differences in expenditure during the pre-independence (1978-1980) and post-independence (1980-1984) periods reveals a slight relative decline on the Rates Account after independence (even though both periods experienced small percentage increases (Fig. 8.49)).

FIG. 8.49 **AVERAGE PERCENT DIFFERENCE - EXPENDITURE**
1978-80 vs 1980-84

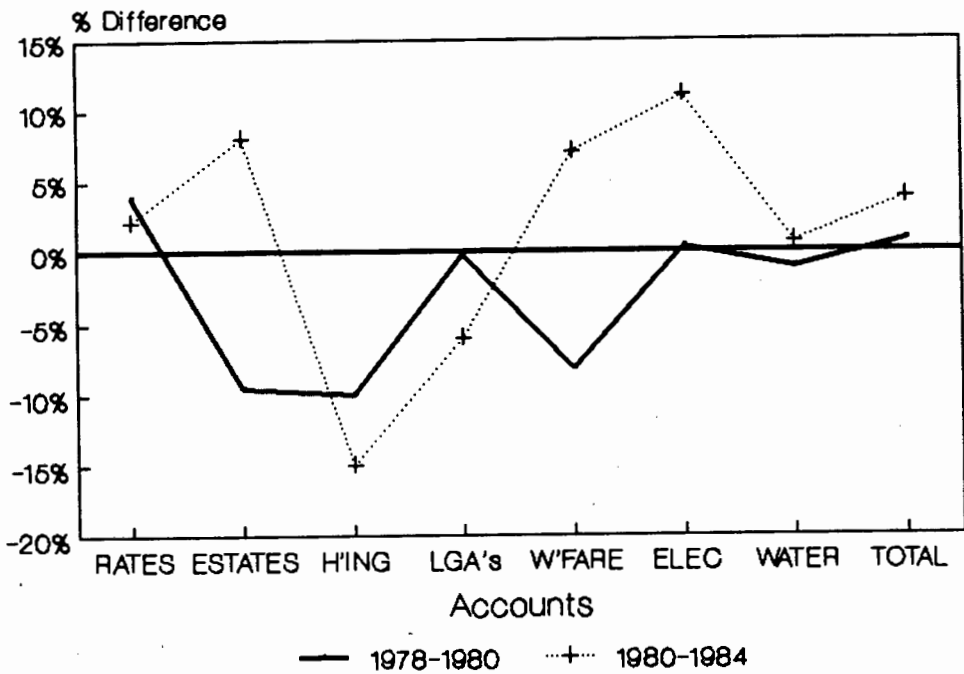
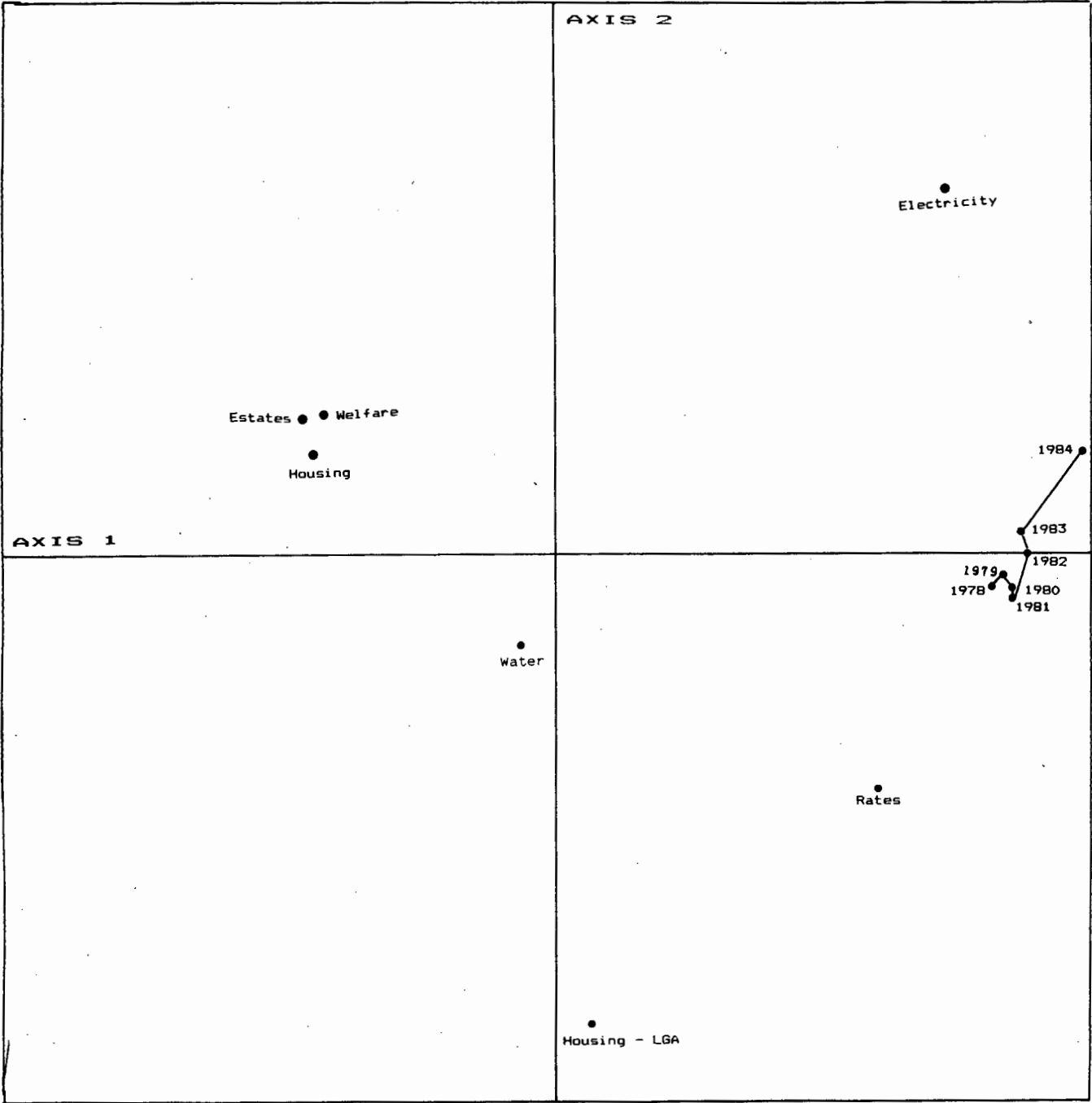


FIG. 8.50

CO-VARIANCE BY-PLOT FOR
AGGREGATE REVENUE EXPENDITURE



In the pre-independence period only the 'White' Rates Account was responsible for a slight average percentage increase in total expenditure. While electricity expenditure held little changed, all other accounts experienced average percentage declines during this period. After independence total average percentage expenditure increased by 3,8 per cent. While the Rates Account continued to experience an average percentage increase, this was less than during the pre-independence period. The Estates Account, the Welfare Account and the Electricity Account all showed marked increases. Against this average percentage change on revenue expenditure on the Local Government Areas and the Housing Accounts declined further in the post-independence period.²⁹

Co-variance by-plots revealed a distinct clustering, and therefore statistical similarity in terms of actual expenditure, of 'minor' accounts (viz. Estates, Welfare and Housing), while expenditure on the Local Government Areas located as a significant outlier in relation to the remainder of the data (Fig. 8.50). In real terms the major decline in revenue expenditure of that account occurred after it had reached a peak of approximately Z\$10 million in 1981. This however, can be attributed largely to the creation of separate sewerage and Waste Management Accounts and the consequent removal of these items from the

²⁹ In terms of the average percentage change in expenditure that theoretically could have been expected (given the percentage change in total revenue expenditure and projecting it as an 'expected' increase for each account), the Housing:Local Government Areas Account was responsible for 72,29 per cent of all items displaying a negative shift.

Housing:Local Government Areas Account.³⁰ Scrutiny of items of expense within the Housing:Local Government Areas Account, selected as indicators, (those that could be said to be directly welfare-related and were consistent entries from 1978 to 1984) tended to show positive trends indicating that resource energies continued to be directed towards improving living conditions in the townships (Figs. 8.51a and b). Against this, it needs to be recognised that the combined extent of the townships increased since independence from a total of 69 442 dwelling units in 1980 to 75 458 dwelling units in 1984.³¹ Taking this into account, and calculating expenditure per dwelling unit on selected indicator items, the increased expenditure in the High Density areas is confirmed (Table 8.8). These welfare-related items selected as indicators of changing trends however, constitute a relatively small proportion of revenue expenditure in the High Density Areas. The two largest outlays were recorded under "General Expenses" and "Capital Charges:Interest and Repayment". Between 1978 and 1984 general administrative expenses declined 29 per cent while the real value of capital redemption and interest repayments

³⁰ Neither the Sewerage nor the Waste Management Accounts identify total expenditure in the Local Government Areas as separate entities so these could not be transferred back to the Housing:Local Government Areas Account for comparative purposes. "Refuse Removal" does appear as an individual entity under the "General Expenses" of each account sub-section in the disaggregated accounts of each Local Government Area after 1981. But, taking Mbare as an example, their total in 1984 (in real terms) was only 57 per cent of the single "Refuse Removal" item in 1978. It would appear therefore that they are no longer directly comparable. Similarly "Sewerage Treatment and Disposal" continued to appear as an individual entry under the "General Expenses" attribution of each sub section of individual Townships. Again using Mbare as an example, the sum of these items in 1984 constituted only 33 per cent of the single "Sewerage Treatment and Disposal" category appearing under the single "Service ACcount: Sewerage" sub-section in 1978, thus calling into question the comparability of the data.

³¹ These figures include single berths. Source: Harare City Council, Department of Housing and Community Services.

FIG. 8.51(a) **LGA's - WELFARE-RELATED EXPENDITURE**
Repairs - Trading, Roads, Lighting

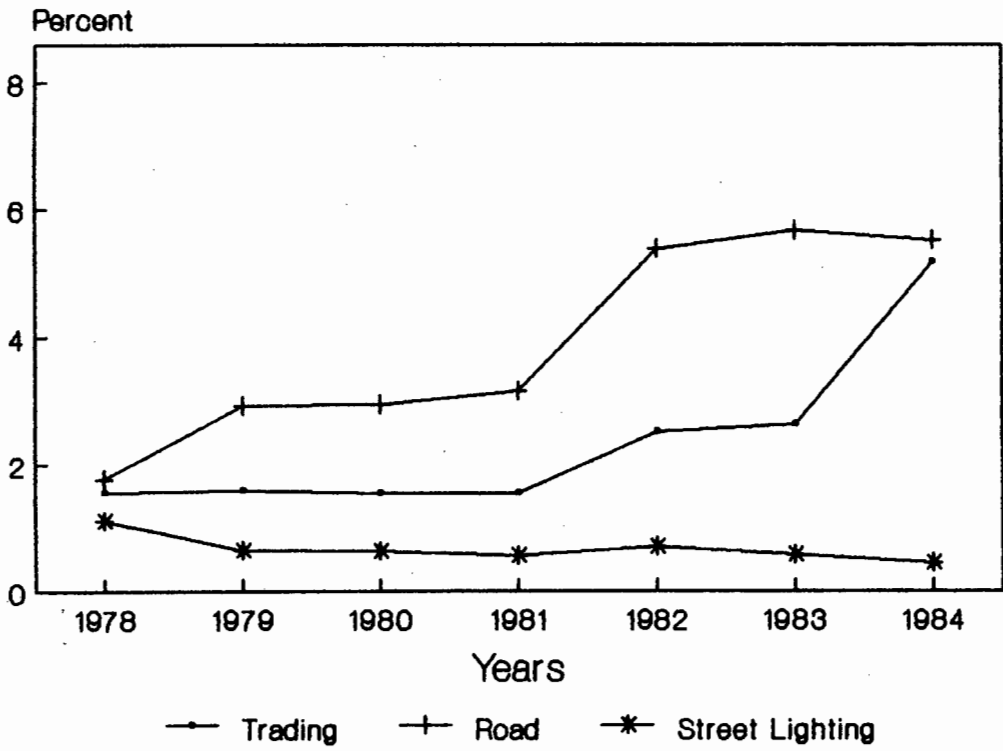


FIG. 8.51(b) **LGA's - WELFARE-RELATED EXPENDITURE**
General Expenses

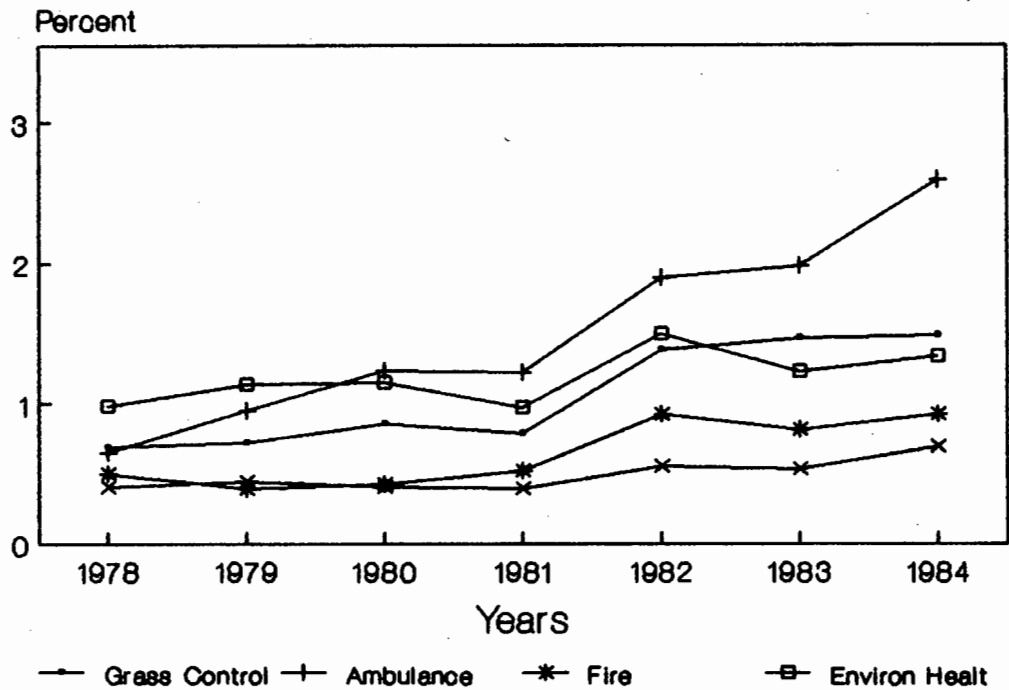
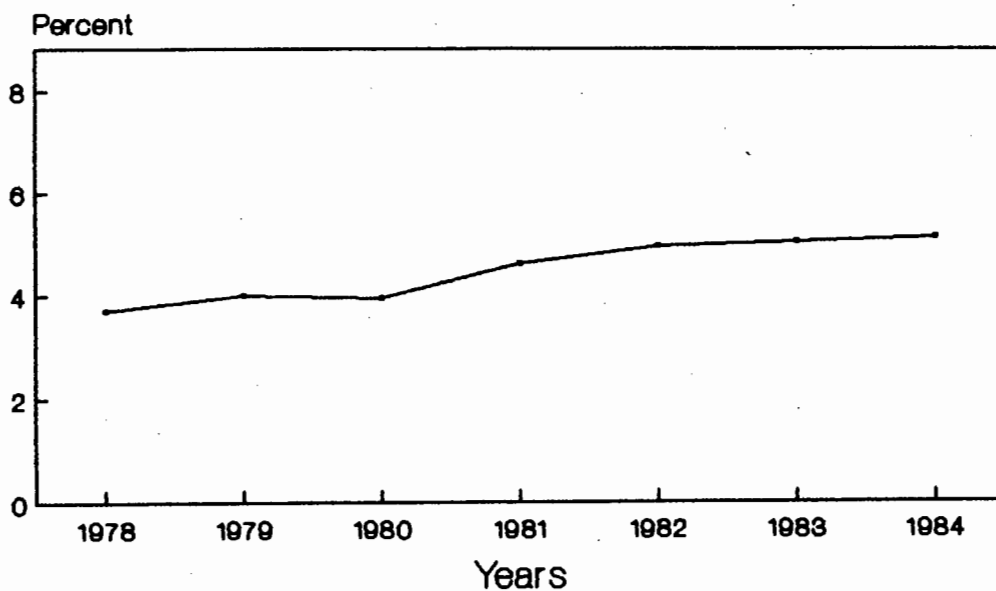
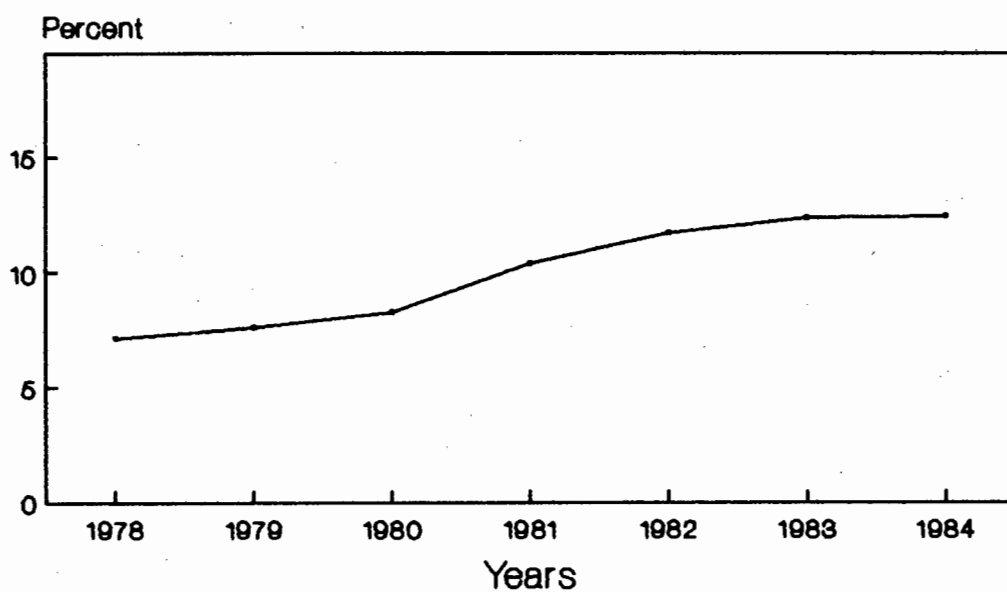


FIG. 8.52 **HOSPITALS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



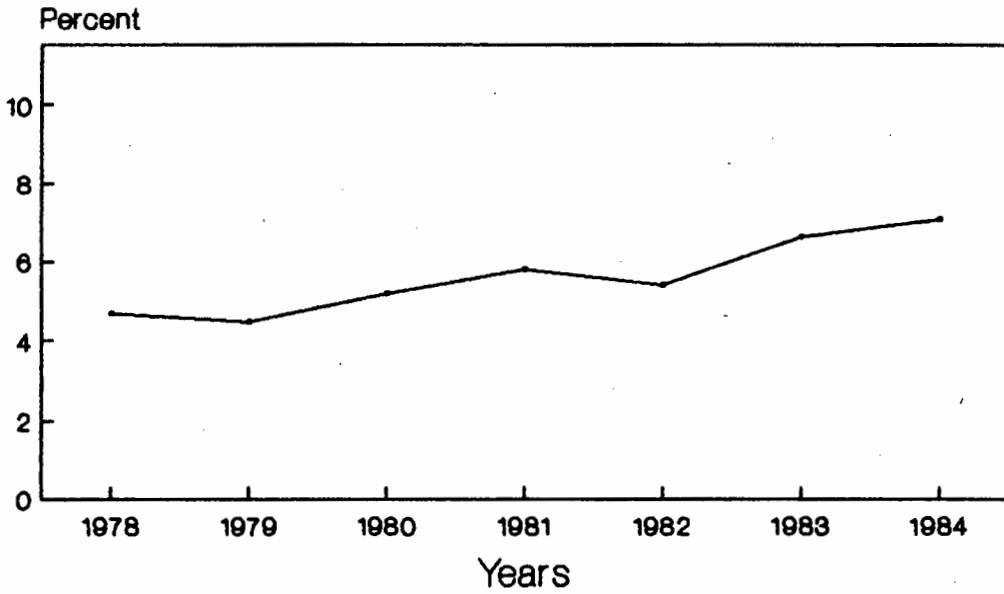
P - 0.0005
R - 0.962

FIG. 8.53 **CLINICS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.0005
R - 0.972

FIG. 8.54 **WASTE MANAGEMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P = 0.0005
R = 0.937

FIG. 8.55 **PARKS AND OPEN SPACES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**

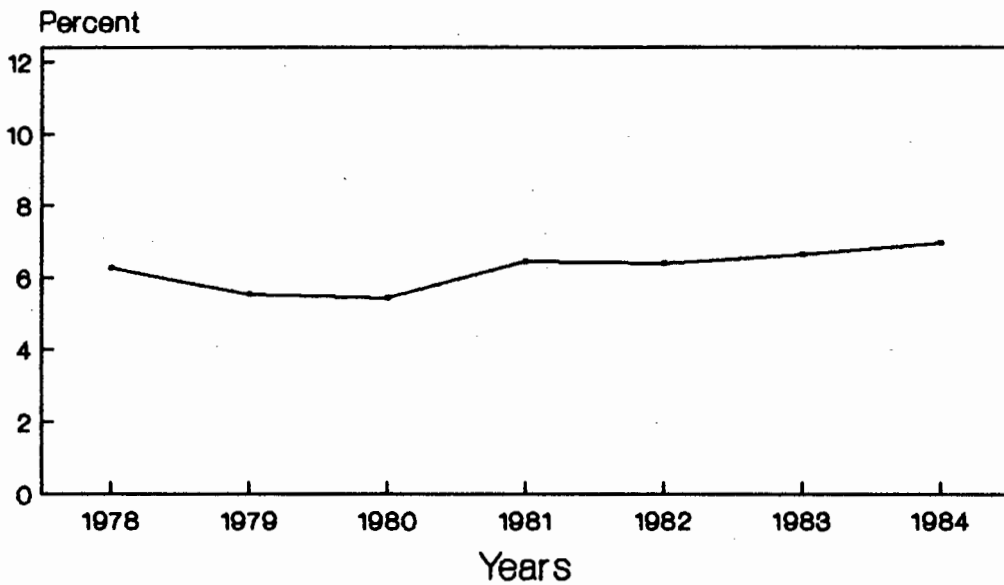
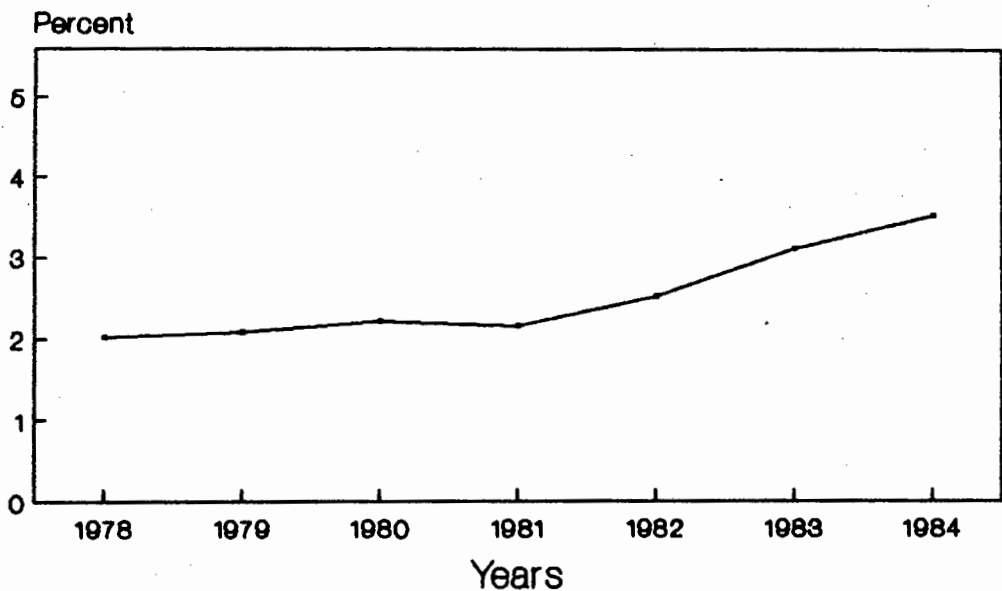
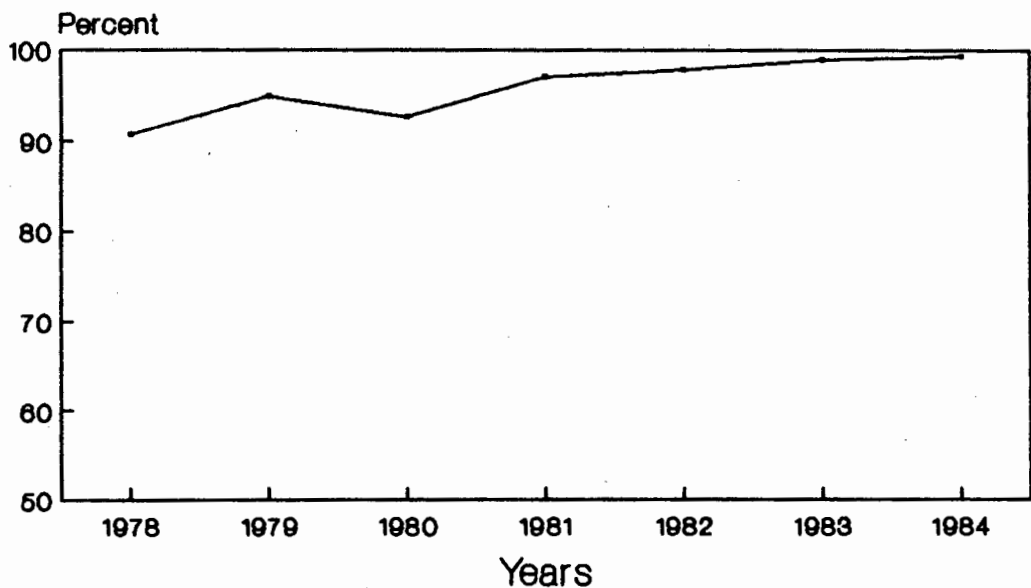


FIG. 8.56 **FAMILY HEALTH SERVICES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.001
R - 0.916

FIG. 8.57 **TOTAL WELFARE - RELATED ITEMS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.001
R - 0.918

apparent after 1980.³² Shift-Share analysis (Appendix 9(b)) established that of all those items displaying shifts greater than expected, Clinics accounted for 40 per cent of all movement, Waste Management 18 per cent, Family Health 11 per cent and Hospitals 10 per cent. Sewerage reticulation expenditure in the Local Government Areas while not rising dramatically was always in excess of the 1978 level.

Expenditure on sewerage reticulation in the former White 'City' area displayed a statistically significant decline over the study period (from 7,5 to 5,5 per cent of the total Rates Account) and was responsible for 47 per cent of all downward shifts followed by Administration (14 per cent), Environmental Health Control (14 per cent) and Pollution Control (10 per cent).

Changing Council priorities can be imputed from the financial flows within the Rates Account. The health function in particular was the focus of increased expenditure. Nonetheless the graph of selected welfare-related items also demonstrates a continuing increase after 1980 (Fig. 8.57). Relative declines on environmental health control and pollution control (Appendix 8(e)) can be interpreted as reflecting choices having to be made in the context of limited available finance. Although desirable in the abstract, in a rapidly developing African city, those items constitute something of a luxury. Waste management nevertheless continues to be a major operation³³. It should also be emphasised that, while Rates Account expenditure accrues to functions mainly located in the Low Density suburbs³⁴, the benefits were frequently enjoyed by all the

³² Although not a major constituent of total Rates outlay, Family Health Services also yielded a statistically significant increase.

³³ The theme of Harare continuing to be a clean, attractive city is one frequently articulated by the press and endorsed by officials, including the Prime Minister.

³⁴ The health functions are however distributed across the city with clinics, in particular being accessible to threshold populations in the Local Government Areas.

inhabitants of the city. Unlike the Black townships which were seldom visited by Whites, Blacks have always been a constant and considerable presence in the nominally White areas for a variety of purposes, including work and shopping in particular. The tens of thousands of domestic workers living in servants quarters in the low density residential areas are included among those Blacks. Many Blacks also traversed the city for social and recreational purposes. In so doing they took advantage of the myriad benefits stemming from the management and operation of a large urban system (including tarred, well lit, clearly signposted streets, stormwater drains, pavements, parks and other public amenities). After independence increasing numbers of Blacks legally moved into the Low Density suburbs as residents thereby creating a new pressure group for the maintenance of previously established standards (Fig 9.2(b)). The real costs of administration have changed little (viz. Z\$2,66 million in 1978 to Z\$2,72 million in 1984) although administration, as a percentage of the total Rates Account, declined slightly from 17 to 16,29 per cent. The total bill for salaries and wages met by Council declined by 41,25 per cent from Z\$23 069 753 in 1978 to Z\$16 332 211 in 1984) highlighting both the human costs of inflation and difficulties in recruiting trained personnel³⁵.

The only welfare-related items of expenditure on the Welfare Account were Council Grants-in-Aid, Libraries, Cinemas and Recreation Grounds. Considerable energy is being directed towards the enhancement of welfare functions in the High Density areas by the Department of Housing and Community Services and available finance is a major impediment to progress. While the repair, maintenance and administration of a steadily increasing number of recreation grounds consumes a large proportion of the total welfare budget (23,8 per cent in 1984), general expenses, including salaries wages and allowances for welfare staff,

³⁵ Complete details of the staff establishment could not be obtained. Changes in the structure of the staff complement could thus not be analysed.

consistently approach half the total expenditure (45 per cent in 1984). Expenditure on libraries increased by 287 per cent from 1981 to 1984 demonstrating Councils commitment to both non-formal education and to the provision of opportunity for non-active recreation.

Detailed study of individual items within the Electricity and Water Accounts did not facilitate geographical analysis of local government expenditure. Little can be added to earlier observations regarding aggregate expenditure - that it increased markedly after 1982 as a function of a determined programme to upgrade electricity supply in the former Black townships. In this instance increased annual revenue expenditure reflects an increase in the scale of a highly technical operation. Annual administration and operation of the water undertaking has remained virtually unchanged overall despite the expansion of services necessitated by the rapid increase of housing stock in the High Density areas. It is uncertain whether this pattern reflects greater efficiencies of operation or whether the larger scale of provision is accompanied by lowered unit costs of production while not increasing absolute costs significantly. Capital expenditures on the water and electricity undertakings did, however, exhibit the greatest rates of increase after independence.

8.5 CONCLUSION

Evidence elicited from the aggregate of data contained within the annual Reports of the City Treasurer points definitively towards a changing emphasis in the discharge of local authority responsibilities particularly with respect to the provision of public goods and services. Put succinctly, there has been a discernible trend towards improving both the quality and quantity of those facets of Council activity that impinge directly upon the quality of life of the Black, previously voteless, population. For instance significant increases in expenditure, both capital and revenue, occurred on the electrification of low income

housing, part of a determined programme to provide electricity to all homes in the city. Increases in revenue expenditure were also evident in the provision of clinics, hospital, fire and ambulance services and such amenity-related activities as waste management and the maintenance of parks and open spaces. Specifically in the former Townships, outlays increased on the repairs and maintenance of low cost housing, the upkeep of recreation grounds, grass control, environmental health control, the upkeep of roads (including stormwater drainage signs and signals) and the provision of markets. The move to facilitate home ownership and security of tenure has been increasingly supported by the advance of Council sponsored loans. Considerable additional injections of foreign aid, from the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development in particular, are not recorded in the official financial records of Council but nevertheless have greatly stimulated the low-cost housing programme. Great organisational effort is also being devoted towards encouraging and supporting self-build initiatives and the establishment of small-business enterprises.

Finance has been diverted from the Rates Account and trading accounts to underwrite the new priorities directed towards the lower income, less advantaged echelons of the population. A differential rates tax on commercial and industrial land and improvements introduced in 1981³⁶ and restructured electricity charges were the main sources of redistributed finance. Against this, income derived from service and supplementary charges on properties in the former Local Government Areas, on sewerage charges and on vehicle licensing showed relative declines suggesting Council recognition, that, as a proportion of personal income, Blacks in general still paid more for public services and amenities than more affluent Whites. It also indicates Councillor sensitivity about diminishing post-war

³⁶ The total rate yield increased 80 per cent over that for 1980.

Black expectations and an unwillingness to antagonise their constituency.

The foregoing purely quantitative analysis provides a point-of-departure for further discussion of local government practice under changing ideological circumstances which will lead, ultimately, to the drawing of conclusions about the hypotheses that have directed this study.

CHAPTER 9

TRANSFORMATIONS

The rationale informing the entire research endeavour, has been that ideology both informs the identification and prioritisation of problems, and determines the formulation of strategies directed toward their resolution. In the public arena, implementation of strategies requires the possession of executive power and the organisational, technological and financial means. Consequently it was postulated that the accession to power of a Black majority City Council in Harare would signal the implementation of specific initiatives designed to redress historical wrongs perceived in the organisation and operation of the city. Further, it was hypothesised that any strategies, and particularly those concerning the provision of public goods and services, would find expression in the financial records of the Council.

To this end the generation, allocation and distribution of public funds were analysed in an attempt to identify changing trends and to infer whether or not, on aggregate, they constituted evidence of ideologically motivated policy directions that would become manifest in the form and functioning of the city. It was considered important however to extend the investigation and to attempt to supplement the evidence contained within the financial data. Sources of information included Council documents, many of which did not comprise the public record, interviews with City Councillors and Council officials, Council by-laws and statutory notices, government publications, the resources of the University of Zimbabwe, the national archives, such international aid organisations as the World Bank and The United States Agency for International Development, and personal observation.

The following chapter draws upon these sources to conclude the analysis of changing circumstances within the ambit of local authority practice in Harare. No attempt has been made to evaluate qualitative change or to measure the degree to which effective accessibility of the population (spatial, economic and social) to public facilities has been enhanced. Nor is any attempt made to analyse the spatial efficiency of the location of public goods and services. Issues such as housing, health, education, and community development in Harare constitute valid topics for future comprehensive geographic research and evaluation in their own right.

The nature of change that has occurred with respect to local authority outputs has largely been identified under the rubrics of specific account entities in the previous chapter. The purpose here is to supplement the analysis of financial trends with descriptions of the more significant changes that have occurred in Council activities. It is not the intention to attempt to compile an exhaustive catalogue of the type, quantity and location of local authority outputs.

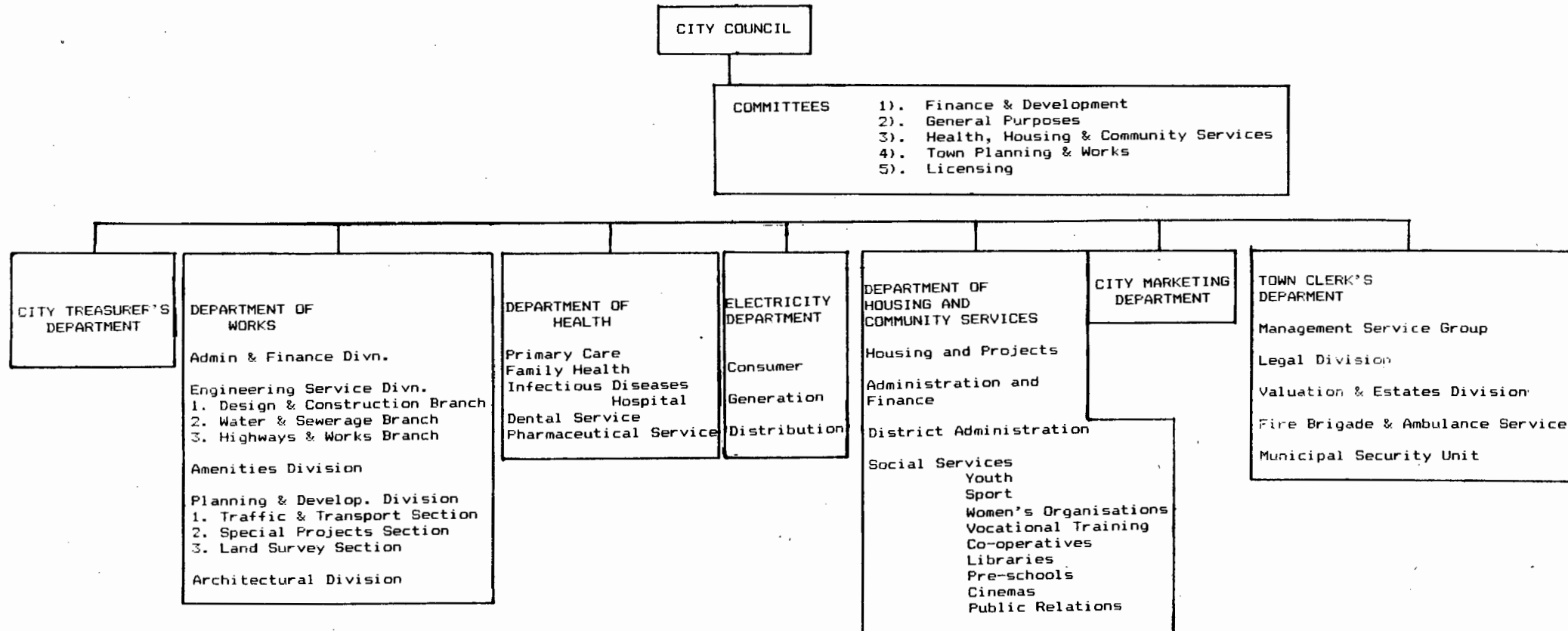
9.1 ADMINISTRATION

No fundamental change has occurred within the organisational structure and functioning of the Municipality. Save for relatively minor name changes, conflation of sections within departments and the reduction of the number of committees, as an institution the municipality has retained its procedures and functions (Fig. 9.1). Its statutory responsibilities and obligations in terms of Schedule Two of the Urban Councils Act of 1980 (as amended) remain unaltered.

The number of committees was reduced from 11 to 5 with the Licensing Committee being newly created. The Amenities and Architect's Departments were relocated within a newly constituted Department of Works. The responsibilities of the Town Clerk were expanded (the short-lived executive

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office of City Manager was discontinued in 1983). As will be discussed in later sections, the institutionalised nature of the system, the range and complexity of functions routinely performed, and the imperative of the need for their continued efficient performance, in combination constitute a considerable force for restraint in City Council executive action. Such strategies as might have developed for structural reform of the urban system can be severely compromised by the inertia inherent in the bureaucratic system.

9.2 PERCEPTIONS OF DECISION-MAKERS - INTERVIEWS WITH CITY COUNCILLORS

While data collection for this research was still at an incipient stage, interviews were conducted with City Councillors. The objective was to solicit opinions concerning issues of public finance and city development from those upon whose perceptions change would ultimately depend. Stress was laid upon identification of the most pressing problems facing the city at independence and on Councillor opinion of how such problems could be solved. The interviews also served the purpose, at a crucial stage in the prosecution of the research, of providing extensive information and explanation about the full spectrum of Council involvement in the administration of the City and of directing the course of subsequent investigation.

A structured, open-ended questionnaire provided the framework for discussion (Appendix 10). Thirteen Councillors, eight Black and five White were interviewed.¹ While the questionnaire format did not permit statistical

¹ Those interviewed were Clr. O M Chidawu (Ward 20); Clr. T M Musariri (Ward 19); Clr. T D Hunda (Ward 27); Clr J T Chiweshe (Ward 32); Clr. N T Chaya (Ward 14); Clr. O A Gara (Ward 33); Clr. G W Mukaro (Ward 25); Clr. E G Muturure (Ward 15); Clr. J A Aitcheson (Ward 1); Clr. P C Chalker (Ward 6); Clr. S Colquhoun (Ward 2); Clr. F J Mills (Ward 9); Clr. T J Stamps (Ward 4); Clr. C R Puzey (Ward 3). In accord with an agreed protocol the opinions of individual Councillors have not been identified.

analysis, and while no claim can be made that individual responses reflect the perceptions of the universe of Councillors, the responses were, nevertheless, valuable *per se* as appraisals of current circumstances and of necessary changes in post colonial Harare. Major views expressed by Councillors follow.

9.2.1 The first section of the questionnaire queried the adequacy of municipal funds for meeting current needs, and the efficacy of mechanisms used to generate revenue. It also sought suggestions for possible alternative or supplementary sources of public finance. Without exception, Councillors deplored the lack of funds available to the Council and the lack of discretion afforded them in the utilisation of those funds.

9.2.1.1 Proscriptions imposed upon local authority finance by the central state were identified as a significant problem in this regard. Government controlled the availability of foreign currency, the ability of Council to raise loans, rents, beer prices, and supplementary charges. Profits on the sale of traditional beer were subject to a business tax which tended to depress sales and resulted in the municipality collecting more for government than for itself through beer sales. Within narrow limits government also directed how specific funds were to be disbursed. At independence government contributions and subsidies to the Council were reduced in accordance with a policy decision to concentrate development initiatives in the rural areas and to direct the bulk of public spending to that end. Concomitantly, government decreed that self-reliance in the urban areas was to be encouraged. While Government had previously contributed 50 per cent of all capital costs, that support was considerably reduced as competition for limited resources from other public works increased.

Councillors recognised that for many residents it was already difficult to pay the rates tax on properties and improvements and that taxing commerce and industry more heavily could prove deleterious to long-term investment and

the future growth and development of the city. Similarly, to raise fees and charges for electricity, water, sewerage and refuse removal continuously would prove problematic. That would particularly be the case in the High Density areas where household incomes were low. A related problem identified was that the rate of population growth in many of the High Density areas had increased demand for services beyond the level of available funding.

9.2.1.2 Suggested alternative sources of funding included:

1. A Council tax on petrol sales.
2. The development and management by Council of a rapid transport system by rail, linking the High Density areas, the industrial sites and the central city.
3. Council participation in trading activities. These could include the selling of art and craft works, the ownership of produce markets and the establishment of a canteen for the approximately 15 000 municipal workers.
4. Extension of Council farming activity beyond current utilisation of sewerage farm land, the sale of farm produce and livestock, and livestock breeding. The hiring of Council land for farming allotments was also suggested.
5. Payment of the full value of rates tax on government-owned or occupied land and buildings. (Currently government is exempt from property rates tax and only pays a financial contribution in lieu of such taxes.)
6. Investment in land. Council land was considered its biggest asset and judicious utilisation of that land could yield considerable returns. It was not, for instance, considered desirable nor rational to surrender potentially high value land to low income housing. Similarly it was considered that the intrinsic value of much

Council-owned land could be enhanced through planning and zoning regulations and that betterment payments should be obtained from those enjoying windfall gains from rezoning.

7. The extension of Council's landlord function to the ownership and renting of flats in upper income areas.
8. Reintroduction of the Services Levy charged to employers to subsidise the provision of services in the High Density areas. The Services Levy had been abolished in 1976.
9. Imposition of a greater property rates tax on commerce and industry (This despite realisation that such a move could negatively affect investor confidence).
10. Charging of fully economic fees to all users of Council services to ensure the recovery of costs. Among the suggestions made was that fees for health services should be charged to all including those earning less than Z\$150 per month. In this instance Councillors were in contradiction with State policy introduced in 1980 which included an exemption from charges for those earning less than Z\$150 per month. An alternative suggestion involved charging for health services on a means test basis.
11. Budgeting against time and raising levels of worker productivity. A related opinion held that the rate of hiring of personnel after independence had been excessive, particularly since levels of expertise and training (and therefore efficiency and productivity) were low.
12. The conduct of a Council lottery.
13. Ownership and operation of a casino by the Council.

The absence of socialist philosophy or socialist formulations in addressing the problem of a relative paucity of finance was apparent. Less and not more central government control was advocated and the more active role of Council as a participant in the urban economy in a variety of ways was envisaged. The generation of greater profits from Council activities was a pervasive theme while recognition of the importance of the private sector as a source of revenue, and, by implication, its continued viability was strongly implied. None of the respondents drew attention explicitly to socialist goals or to socialist prescriptions for political and economic restructuring.

9.2.2 The second section of the questionnaire was directed towards Councillor perceptions of the colonial legacy - what constituted the most pressing of the problems facing the city. It also sought, in some measure, to establish citizen perspectives by enquiring into the nature of requests, demands or problems brought to Councillors by their constituents.

9.2.2.1 The main problem issues requiring resolution in Harare in 1980 were identified as being:

1. Inequalities that had evolved as a result of racially discriminatory regulations and practices. Different by-laws applied in White and Black areas of the city. It was considered a priority to integrate the city into a single functional and organisational system which afforded the fullest possible range of opportunities to all its citizens. The ability of the Council to influence the structure, form and functioning of the city through the application of various instruments was recognised.
2. Housing: This was recognised as being a complex, almost intractable problem and as such it stimulated wide-ranging discussion and a

diversity of opinions that are not readily amenable to succinct summary. There was nevertheless, general agreement that the quality of low-income housing environments provided by Council during the colonial period was poor and that it was no longer possible for Council to provide affordable houses by hitherto conventional means. Nor could Council hope to provide housing at the rate required to surmount a growing backlog that, by 1980, numbered 17 384 families². The lack of home ownership and security of tenure of the vast majority of Black citizens was also considered unacceptable. A search for innovative solutions to the housing problem was widely stressed, but a constant concern for the "maintenance of standards" and the development of high quality living environments was expressed. Describing sprawling expanses of sub-standard housing and shanties, one Councillor remarked, "we don't want another Nairobi here". Another held the opinion that Council core housing schemes³ were also of unacceptable standard, and "the worst thing Council could do".

3. The provision of water. Two major storage and reticulation schemes were currently under construction (the Morton Jaffray works and the Darwendale tunnel). These would enable a threshold population of approximately one million to be supported but no supplementary source of water could be identified thereafter. Moreover it was anticipated that consumption

² This probably vastly understates the actual number of eligible families. Hoek-Smit (1982, p23) estimated the waiting list at 58 500 in 1982.

³ In such schemes, for example in Glen View, Council provided a 'wet-core' comprising one room, a toilet and a standpipe and owners were expected to 'build-on' using their own resources.

would increase rapidly as a consequence of rising living standards among the Black population. It was policy to have every household supplied with running water, and where possible, water-borne sewerage.

4. The lack of electric power in many houses in the High Density areas: This had resulted in extensive deforestation at the periphery of the city as people sought wood fuel for cooking and heating. Extensive soil erosion and air pollution were secondary consequences that had become apparent.
5. The provision of health services. It was considered that Blacks had been severely disadvantaged in their access to a sufficiently wide range of health facilities. While it was conceded that the quality of existing health services had been acceptable, the number of facilities was considered insufficient and their location relatively inaccessible to much of the population. While the committed efforts of recent Medical Officers of Health were recognised, they had always been constrained by inadequate finance and an inadequate staff complement.
6. Education: The need to improve education at all levels among the Black population was identified by all Councillors. While it was considered the role of government to provide formal schooling the potential for Council to facilitate forms of informal and non-formal education was recognised.
7. Untarred roads and the absence of stormwater drainage in the High Density areas: One Councillor observed that, at independence, seventy-five percent of roads in the High Density areas had been untarred. During summer

rainstorms surface water and mud made many streets virtually impassable. The lack of drainage, curbs and tarred roads negatively affected the quality of the urban environment.

8. The inadequacy of street lighting: Lack of street lighting was considered a major contributory factor to the incidence of crime in the High Density areas. One Councillor also considered inadequate policing to be a problem in this respect observing that, in Dzivaresekwa, eight police constables and one sergeant, with no vehicle support, were expected to provide protection for 18 000 people.
9. The range and quality of recreation facilities available to Blacks including those living in the Low Density areas.

General consensus existed among all Councillors, Black and White on the problems listed. Importantly, the problems identified by both Black and White Councillors pertained almost exclusively to the former Black townships. These issues were perceived as problems to the extent that they negatively affected the lived experience (or contributed to the perception of 'illfare') of Black citizens. Save for the more general issue of statutory discrimination and racial segregation, priority problems identified by Councillors appeared to be of degree rather than of kind, problems requiring improvements in the quality and location of urban goods and services rather than fundamental structural reorganisation. Other issues constituting potential problems or requiring attention from the new Council were squatters, hawking and vending, the promotion of small business ventures, unemployment, public transportation, overstaffing and nepotism, crime and vandalism, lack of skilled personnel and road maintenance.

9.2.2.2 Black and White Councillors responded differently to the question concerning the kinds of request, demands, complaints and problems addressed to them by Ward

constituents. Whites remarked upon the general apathy of voters and the relative lack of contact they had with them.⁴ All their ratepayers associations had become defunct while occasional personal communications involved such issues as barking dogs, the maintenance of public parks, the absence of public toilets, the provision of recreational facilities for domestic servants, grass cutting, cycle tracks, road safety (the provision of road markings, signs and street lighting), tree cutting for firewood, the declining quality of the telephone service, and lowered standards of maintenance and management of public services.

Black Councillors evidently encounter much higher levels of interaction with residents in the High Density areas. Conversely they also initiate much greater communication with constituents averring that the political machinery of 'the party' (ZANU-PF) was important for politicising, educating and informing largely unsophisticated people. Fortnightly meetings at sports stadiums which were attended by Councillors had been initiated by the Mayor. Councillors remarked that local area political consciousness was high and that they received extensive feedback on Council actions. One Councillor stated that he met at least ten residents every day. Requests for jobs, accommodation, improved bus services, and trading rights were common while complaints included the quality of accommodation, the incidence of crime and the operation of hawkers operating in the vicinity of shopping premises. Many personal and family problems were also addressed to Councillors. The Councillors considered the newly introduced mechanisms for citizen participation to be very effective but emphasised the importance of adherence to ZANU-PF party principles and discipline. One opinion in this regard was vigorously expressed thus, "If people want something different from the party they must f...-off and then be re-educated." No room existed here for compromise. People were expected to

⁴ Voter participation in the Low Density areas for the second municipal elections after independence apparently declined by over half.

conform. Another Councillor conceded that it would be impossible to obtain a job in municipal service without being a card carrying party member.

The types of issues raised by Black residents were essentially domestic or "bread-and-butter" issues. There exists little evidence of a collective 'grassroots' yearning for structural change in the political-economy. Rather a low-level awareness of the nature and potentials of alternatives and a concomitant acceptance of the *status quo* by the people is indicated. Such concepts of structural change as may be held and pursued would appear to be limited to the higher echelons of the ruling party, government, and academia.

9.2.3 The third section was directed toward :

- 1) an assessment of the degree to which the allocation and distribution of municipal funds was appropriate;
- 2) soliciting opinion on the degree to which Councillor's own wards received a "fair" allocation of public funds and;
- 3) a verdict on whether or not circumstances in Harare had improved significantly and in what ways since independence.

9.2.3.1 Responses to the first question were varied. They included opinions that,

- 1) there was a need for a greater allocation of funds from the Rates Account, (previously dedicated exclusively to the former White areas) to Black High Density suburbs.
- 2) the Departments of Health and Housing and Community Services required greater funding for undertakings in the High Density Areas.

- 3) the City Engineer's Department of Works needed more funds for capital projects in the High Density Areas.
- 4) too much was being spent on beerhalls and taverns at the expense of more worthy functions. In effect people were being encouraged to drink alcohol to generate funds for other welfare expenditures.
- 5) too much money was directed to City Marketing. It was the only department that did not have to pare its most recent budget.
- 6) the computer operations of the City Treasurer's department consumed excessive finance while a substantial need for jobs existed.

Generally however, opinion held that current allocations were reasonable. An almost unanimous expression of a need to divert greater expenditure to former Black Townships was evident and was strongly held by many White Councillors.

9.2.3.2 Councillors were relatively non-committal in their perceptions of requirements and inequities of expenditure in their own Wards. It was evident that many Councillors "short-circuited" the procedure of processing minor parochial claims through full Council, preferring instead to address requests or problems direct to Heads-of-Department.⁵

9.2.3.3 In relation to the second issue, Councillors agreed in general that departmental assessments of urban problems and priorities provided adequate guidelines for final decision by Council. They responded positively to the rule that broader needs of the city as a whole should be placed above those of their Wards.⁶ At the same time it was

⁵ This tactic was against Council policy and apparently frequently caused bureaucratic resentment. (Conversation with a senior-officer in the Department of Housing and Community Services).

⁶ Sentiment would appear to contradict practice however. The Deputy Town Clerk in private conversation expressed

accepted that solicitation for specific developments in individual Wards would receive due consideration in Council. It was also recognised that money spent beyond the geographic confines of particular Wards could still produce direct or spill-over benefits for Ward residents. Different Black Councillors did, however, stress a need for specific expenditures in their Wards. They listed housing infill developments, community halls, creches, shopping centres, people's markets, clinics, sheds for car repairers and carpenters, kitchens, stormwater drainage and clinics. By inference the list supports earlier discussion concerning priorities in the city. White Councillors thought that the system of financial allocation operated well and that sources of residents' grievances in their own Wards in no way compared with the nature and scale of problems encountered in the High Density areas. In their view those areas should, as a result, receive priority for income redistribution.

9.2.3.4 The third question concerning post-independence improvements in Harare again drew a variety of responses. Understandably Black Councillors were unequivocal in their assertion that circumstances had changed for the better, if only for the reason that Blacks were in control and could direct their own future free of legal discrimination. White Councillors expressed reservations about bureaucratic efficiency and the reluctance of Black colleagues to make decisions independent of ZANU-PF party policy, and frequently, of central committee authorisation. They were, however, understanding of the learning process and sympathetic as regards Black aspirations. One White Councillor considered that the Council had become excessively reactive rather than proactive in meeting the

the opinion that the attempt to run a Black ZANU-PF Caucus within the Council, with a junior Councillor acting as Whip in order to ensure uniformity of voting, had been shown not to work. Ward interests often dominated over city and party interests and interward conflict often arose over matters that were "highly visible".

needs of the city. Improvements identified in the relatively short period since independence included:

- 1) the continuing high quality of public parks;
- 2) the maintenance of cleanliness throughout the city;
- 3) the rapid progress of the electrification of housing in the former Black areas;
- 4) the fact that every house now possessed tap water;
- 5) the increased number of clinics;
- 6) the fact that 90 per cent of all roads were tarred and that spending on public roads had doubled;
- 7) the creation of a municipal police force;
- 8) the organisation of municipal dumping and the improved quality of liquid waste removal;
- 9) progress with the Darwendale water tunnel;
- 10) improved availability and quality of toilets and sewerage reticulation;
- 11) improved parking in the central city area;
- 12) provision of high-quality low cost housing;
- 13) provision of people's markets and the outward appearance of market places;
- 14) an understanding between Council and the people that had not hitherto existed. Blacks now felt part of Harare and there was a tangible feeling of "oneness" in the City Council.

The final question was more abstract and conjectural. The intention was to ascertain whether Black Councillors perceived a more 'African' Harare in the future; whether a desire existed to transform the city in that image and, more generally, what features of city life might combine to project such an image. The underlying purpose of the

question was to identify possible directions in which change might be actively pursued by the Council to transform the form and character of the city.

It soon became apparent that thoughts on this issue had never been entertained. Black Councillors even when provoked by the question could not move beyond their own experience. Contemplation yielded reassertion of the imperative to 'maintain standards', to keep the city clean and beautiful, "a showpiece" befitting its role as the capital city. One Councillor advocated the utilisation of youth brigades to maintain cleanliness in the markets. Another observed that, "there is no place for huts or goats or cattle in the city. They can do it (sic) outside". Another opined that "people must stop growing mealies (on open tracts of land) or this place will look like a desert". Peoples' markets were identified as an important feature of life of the people while a need to change 'colonial' building and street names was expressed by one individual. So too was the need to develop one integrated functioning urban system and to overcome the colonial legacy of partial functional separation between a 'White city' and a 'Black city'. No advocacy existed for uniquely different spatial forms or architecture. The images of urban function and form expressed, derived from Western-industrial-capitalist antecedents. By implication it was expected by Councillors that residents would assume behaviour patterns and values rooted in this ethos.

If the absence of a vision regarding a uniquely African or Zimbabwean city was informative, the absence of advocacy for the development of a city cast in the form of the socialist city was highly significant (Bater, 1980; French and Hamilton, 1979). There is a stark disjuncture between the purely functionalist view of a future socialist order as expressed in party rhetoric and a view of city form held by Councillors that does not accord with such an order.

9.2.4 The fourth section of the questionnaire probed Councillor attitudes towards specific aspects of the growth

experience of the majority of cities in the developing world. These issues drew much more animated discussion from Black Councillors, presumably because they were more immediate to their everyday concerns and experience.

9.2.4.1 Squatter camps had long been present in and around Salisbury. Their proliferation had, however, been contained by the municipal authorities as a result of constant monitoring and intermittent clearance programmes, many of which were considered oppressive and elicited vehement opposition from diverse organisations in opposition to White minority rule. Members of the Harare City Council nevertheless also considered squatting to be undesirable and potentially a major problem. Comments and opinions from Black Councillors were often forthright: "... people who have jobs can come. those who have nothing to do must do it (sic) in the communal lands"; "Many are vagrants. Half to three quarters are not there because they have no accommodation. Some get homes, rent them, and squat. They are crooks. They brew illegal beer ..."

Council policy is that no one may squat. Squatters are screened by the Department of Housing and Community Services to ascertain whether or not their need is 'genuine'. Attempts are made to provide accommodation for those with productive employment while those without are treated differently according to their circumstances. Immigrants and refugees become wards of the government Department of Foreign Affairs prior to repatriation. The unemployed become the responsibility of the government Department of Lands and Resettlement and nationals are returned to their place of origin in the rural areas or to rural land resettlement schemes. Councillors strongly endorsed government policy of developing rural growth points and of improving conditions in the rural areas in the belief that this would diminish the relative attractiveness of the capital city. Pervading their replies was a concern to maintain high standards in accommodation and living

environments. The image of proliferating slums in other Third World cities was anathema.

Related to these views were attitudes towards the provision of housing for low income groups. Again the concern for the maintenance of standards was paramount. Notwithstanding recognition of housing supply as a continuing problem, there was a general pride in what had been achieved since independence in Harare with regard to housing delivery, and an attitude that Harare could serve as a model for much of the rest of the world. It was considered that municipal funds would not permit house construction on the scale required in the future and that the resources of the private sector and individual residents would have to be mobilised. This was seen to complement and give expression to the governmental goal of developing greater self-reliance among the people. The achievements of the Council Department of Housing and Community Services in facilitating aided self-help housing schemes were a source of satisfaction although concern was expressed about short-term dependence on foreign-aid support and longer-term sources of housing finance.

9.2.4.2 The issue of the rate of urbanisation of rural migrants did not elicit much response save to perceive it as government problem that was being addressed aggressively through a policy of integrated rural development. Problems of adaption to urban life were recognised as a legitimate concern of the Department of Housing and Community Services.

9.2.4.3 A distinction was drawn between informal manufacturing and retailing and the encouragement of legitimate small business enterprises. The location of petty commodity production in open lots and backyards in the residential areas was considered a problem because of nuisance and unsightliness. Appropriately equipped and located yards that would enable centralisation of these activities were advocated as was the establishment of co-operatives. A greater need for control over hawking and vending was also expressed particularly with respect to vendors of raw meat and cooked foods where health problems

were appreciated. Under the all-White City Council of Salisbury, the issuance of licences for hawking and vending had been the responsibility of the department of the Medical Officer of Health. Since it was intended that such activities should be confined to the Townships, little discrimination had been exercised. After independence the philosophy had been that any vendor had a right to trade but objections from established formal shopkeepers over unfair competition and health considerations forced a reappraisal of policy. By 1982, 18 000 licences had been issued. The new City Council had adopted a policy of greater control. The result was that applicants needed to apply for particular types of licence and were restricted in both the type of goods purveyed and the location and duration of trading in all areas of the city. It was thought that, ultimately, "peoples markets" should provide the sole premises for small traders and that, when sites in such markets had been fully taken up, no further trading licences should be issued. In addition it was suggested that extensive kitchen facilities should be constructed by Council in appropriate locations to facilitate the hygienic production of retail foodstuffs.

9.2.4.4 Meeting local health needs was regarded as a high priority but this having been said, little was proffered in specific criticisms of the prevailing system (save for general comments on the size and location of facilities), or to possible solutions. A demand for more large clinics was expressed since patients at existing facilities often had to queue for up to five hours. The first new clinics had only been opened in 1983 (in Mbare and Highfield) while three more were planned. Shortage of funds was identified as a major problem which had been exacerbated by inflation. As a result of escalation costs, government appropriations in 1980 had proved to be insufficient by 1983.

9.2.4.5 The nature of social problems occurring in the city elicited superficial responses. While petty crime, vandalism, prostitution, drunkenness, vagrancy and

unemployment, high birth rates, young mothers and illegitimate births were recognised as important issues, Councillors did not pursue them in any depth of discussion. These problems were regarded as the responsibility of government and beyond Council⁷ competence. Family planning, however, was held to be an important Council responsibility. It was noted furthermore that the incidence of petty crime had diminished as a direct consequence of the creation of a municipal police force. After the release of ex-combatants from assembly points where they had been confined for the duration of the national elections, Council had employed and trained 750 men as municipal police. It was observed however that their effectiveness was limited because they did not possess the power of arrest.⁸

9.3 ANALYSIS OF COUNCIL BY-LAWS

Analysis of Council by-laws, published as Statutory Instruments in the Government Gazette (Appendix 11), revealed little change after 1980 both with respect to annual frequency of promulgation (Table 9.1) or content.

⁷ Government however, viewed the problem seriously and instituted a month-long crackdown on prostitutes, squatters and vagrants towards the end of 1983. The Cape Times (1983) recorded that more than 1 000 people were taken into custody in Harare squatter camps. "At least 1 000 prostitutes and beggars were also picked up ... Many of those arrests (of prostitutes) apparently were illegal as Zimbabwean law at the time only made it illegal to solicit for prostitution. The government changed that last week by using its emergency powers regulations (left over from the Rhodesian UDI state of emergency days) to pass a sweeping law against vagrants and prostitutes. In effect anyone found in an urban area without a job can now be arrested as a vagrant and shipped to a camp".

⁸ No Councillor was prepared to voice criticisms of either the City Council or the system of local government save one White Councillor who was critical of attempts by his Black colleagues to organise a party caucus under a Whip. In his opinion this limited the possibility of local area representation and stifled innovative thinking.

Table 9.1 Council By-Laws 1978 - 1984

	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Number of By-laws promulgated	15	12	28	15	10	9	16
Number of By-laws relating only to Black Areas*	5	1	13	8	2	3	4

* Control of shanties and of hawking and vending have been included as applying solely to Black citizens.

In the two years prior to independence, by-laws provided controls and regulations for such 'problems' as parking meters; parking garages; traffic; boating; food hygiene; noxious weeds; smoking in theatres and cinemas; dog licensing and control; the protection of lands; pedestrian malls; and the proceedings of Council. Others addressed issues specifically related to the Black population, for instance hawkers and vendors; rents of Council houses; model building regulations; control of shanties; adjustment of supplementary charges; taxi-cabs and repeal of the services levy.

After independence the concerns of Council implicit in the promulgation of by-laws were very similar (and equally mundane) viz. fishing in municipal waters; control of vegetation and waste material; electricity supply; speed limits; litter; waste management; licensed premises; street collections; use and occupation of land and buildings; control of advertising signs; physical examinations; and abandoned vehicles. Many were simply amendments of existing legislation. Those applying explicitly to Local Government Areas and the specific concerns of Black residents included rents; water charges; waste management charges; sewerage charges; peoples' markets; the long-distance omnibus station; service charges; supplementary charges; and hawkers and vendors. None of the above could be interpreted as being indicators

of designs to effect a radical restructuring of either social, economic, or political circumstances in the city which would be consistent with Marxist-Leninist formulations. The same argument is valid for Ministerial Regulations and Government Notices applying to Harare which are also published as Statutory Instruments in the Government Gazette. Indeed, in terms of continuity of practice, and given the statutory abolition of all discriminatory legislation, it is significant that separate by-laws should continue to be promulgated specifically for the Local Government Areas.

9.4 NEW DIRECTIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The nature and range of Council's activities in pre-independence Salisbury were reviewed in an earlier chapter with particular emphasis being placed upon selected determinants of human welfare. Patterns of Council expenditure on these functions were traced in a subsequent chapter. Quantitative analysis of that sort fails often to identify the specific type and qualitative nature of targets of expenditure however. As indicated earlier, Council is statutorily obliged to provide a particular range of public goods and services. This it does within a limited budget. Shifts in priorities and emphases can therefore only be relative. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the need for the continuation of essential functions, reallocations and redistributions of public funds have occurred.

Perusal of Reports of the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mayor's Minutes and annual Reports of municipal Heads of Department before independence reflect pragmatic and parochial concerns. Topics covered revised administrative structures, repairs of buildings, the future of the Council brewery, the selling of low-cost rented housing, servicing township projects, grass-cutting, refuse removal, the replacement of aqua-privies in the townships and increasing (White) staff shortages. Elsewhere the yearly productive outputs of the various divisions and

sections within departments were listed. Nowhere were issues of principle or social justice articulated. The annual reviews of the Medical Officer of Health consistently displayed keen social awareness and the need for an equitable and efficient distribution of health facilities across the city. The Department of African Administration (later the Department of Community Services) performed its responsibilities routinely and efficiently within a budget limited largely by sales of Council-brewed traditional beer. Except in the field of low-cost housing little innovation was evident however.

After independence a clear new orientation to Council activities in terms of focus and priorities became evident. While the general appellations ascribed to different Council functions and the format of reports and memoranda might remain relatively constant, the emphases attributed to different functions changed. For many functions the nature of operations also differed in degree or in kind. It could be argued that change is an inevitable concomitant of the process of reappraisal and evaluation of current practices whereby those considered obsolete or inappropriate are refined or replaced. Much of this would be a direct consequence of evolutionary technological and cultural change. Changing building techniques and delivery systems for low-cost housing in Salisbury are cases in point. However reevaluation of any situation must be set against certain values or criteria which are either made explicit or remain implicit in perceptions and attitudes located in a broader ideological context. The precise nature and degree of change within local authority practice in Harare reflects a relatively abrupt ideological shift and cannot reasonably be interpreted in terms of the dynamics of inevitable progression and change.

Perusal of Council documents after 1980 reveals this ideological shift by changes in tone and emphasis of subject matter. While routine operations continue to be described, reflecting continuity in the supply of essential goods and

services, the nature of issues regarded as being particularly significant activities or achievements provides a marked contrast with pre-independence documents.

The themes of greater social equity and the redress of historical inequalities and discriminatory practices are constant. Senior officials quote execution of central government policies as departmental aims. Topics discussed show a spatial bias towards conditions in the High Density Black residential areas. For example, these topics include the provision of housing, building brigades, peoples' markets, pre-schools, community services (including women's organisations, youth development and sports) polyclinics, co-operatives, ex-combatants in the security unit, woodlots, neighbourhood taverns, hawking and vending, small business development, the provision of public phones in the High Density areas, keeping the city clean, increases in service tariffs and supplementary charges, squatters and tree-felling.

Inauguration of the Mayor of the first majority Black Council on 7 April, 1981 presaged ensuing change in Council operations. In his acceptance speech Mayor Gwata served notice of new directions when he outlined a 10-point policy directive which was to become the basis for future policies.

- "1. Realisation of the fact that, as a City, we are not in an insulated island but a segment of the population as a whole.
2. To avoid discordance between national policies of central government and those of the City Council.
3. The majority of the Councillors were voted in by the ruling party and it is reasonable to expect them to respond to the expectations of their electorate.
4. To improve the career structure of all levels of City Council employees including response to the Presidential directive with regard to racial

balance and the principle of equal pay for equal work.

5. To ensure adequate distribution of available resources, material and human, among institutions of the City including clinics and hospitals.
6. To improve the cleanliness of all parts of the City including measures to control street vendors and ensure adequate refuse disposal.
7. Provision of proper facilities for the sale of foodstuffs.
8. Provision of adequate facilities like -
 - a) neighbourhood taverns which will discourage people from drinking in shebeens;
 - b) widening the definition of welfare projects sponsored from beer profits.
9. To examine the housing situation with regard to,
 - a) examination of the title deeds;
 - b) houses and stands to be sold only to those with no other properties;
 - c) new building projects for houses.
10. To provide good service to all the people of this City" (City of Harare, 1981 p2).

These themes will be developed in greater detail below. It is apposite to observe however, the singular lack of radical or revolutionary rhetoric or intent. Save the intent to avoid discordance between national policies and those of Council and to expect Councillors to respond to the expectations of their electorate, the speech was devoid of intention to effect fundamental change within the urban system. Perception of the need for greater equity in the allocation and distribution of Council resources, given the colonial legacy of discriminating practices, was to be expected.

The rapid diffusion of Blacks into previously exclusively White residential areas (Figs. 9.2a and b) became a powerful

HARARE

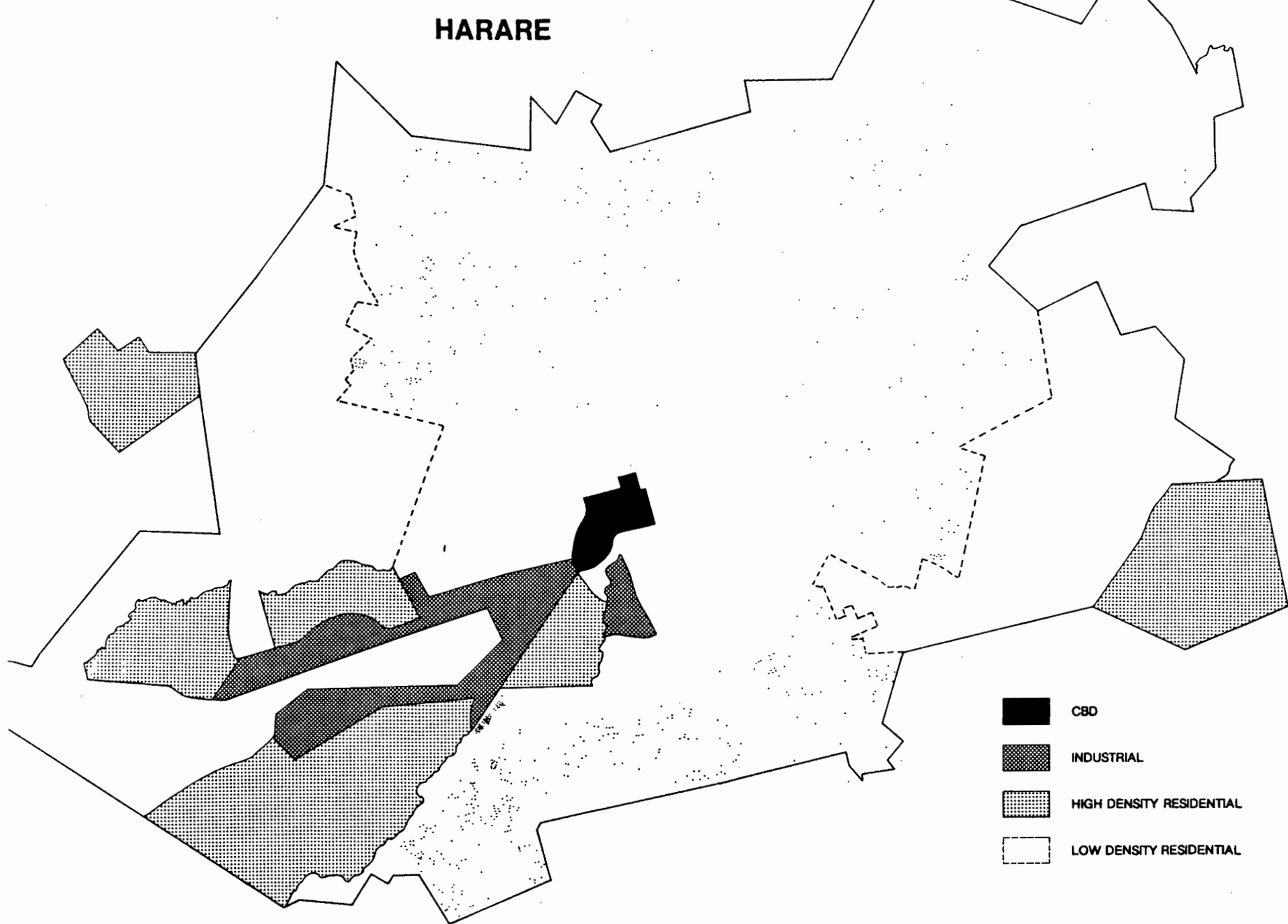


FIG. 9.2(a)

HARARE

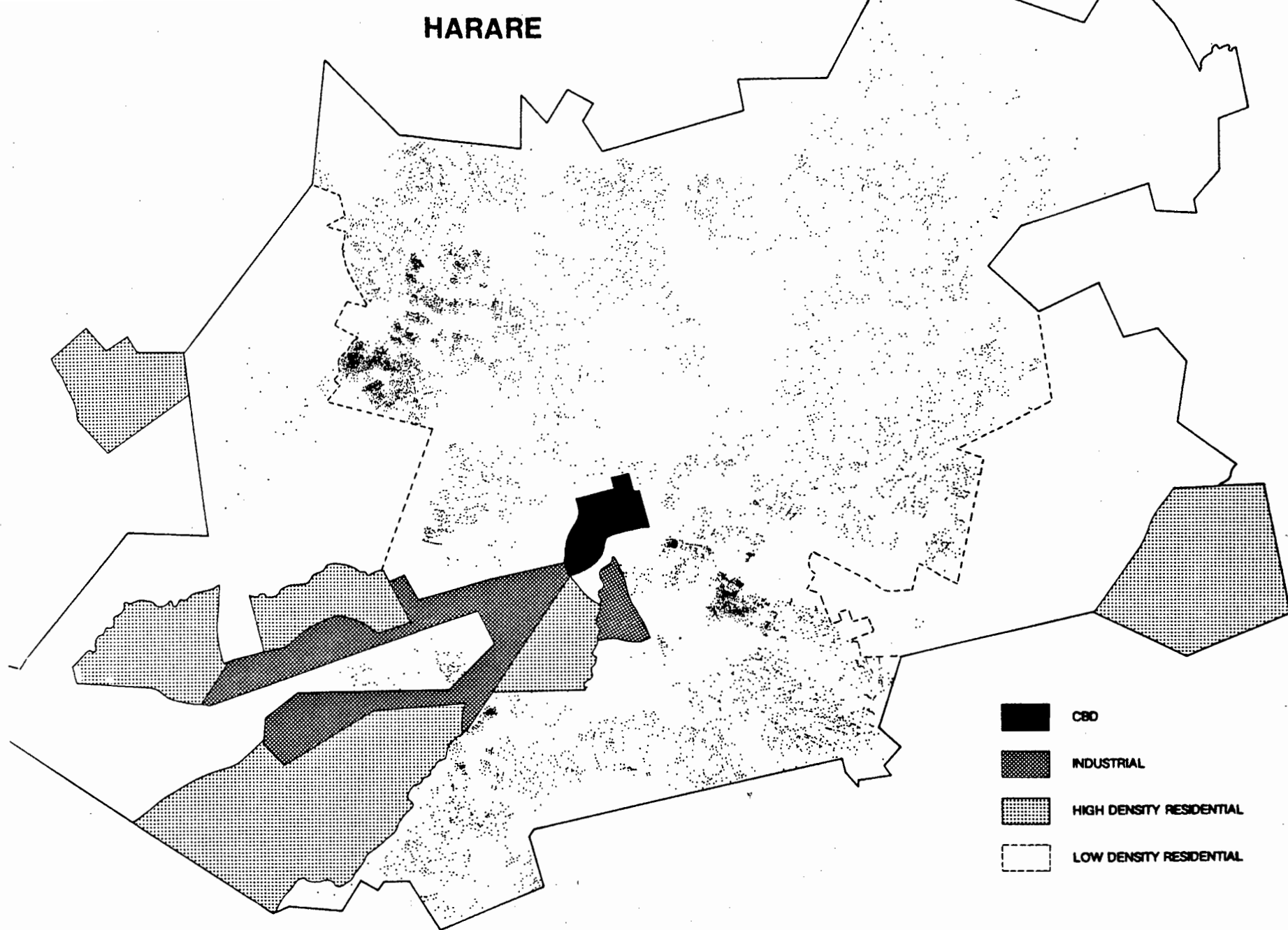


FIG. 9.2(b)

moderating force upon future Council actions. These new home-owners became full ratepayers with an investment in their land and property and a vested interest in its capitalisation potential. Consequently they were in accord with their White neighbours in a concern for the maintenance of standards with respect to the provision of Council services. By virtue of their ability to purchase relatively expensive properties they generally occupied higher-level positions in the commercial, industrial or public sectors of the economy. As a result their bargaining and accessibility resources, their ability to influence Council decision-makers was considerable. Geographic analysis of the diffusion of Blacks into the Low Density residential areas and of its social consequences are the subject of a separate study (Davies, 1988).

An important consequence of this diffusion, specifically with respect to Council operations, and particularly with respect to local authority finance, was recognition of the city as an integrated functioning whole. Under colonial administration, a "two-city" attitude had been maintained; Black and White areas had been administered, financed, and located separately and the citizens had been accorded different treatment in almost every facet of their lives.⁹ The abolition of legal discrimination gave Blacks the right

⁹ It is possible however that the existence of a separate department (the Department of African Administration) served to ensure delivery of a level of services that might otherwise not have occurred had service provision been administered under a single City Engineer's department which had to satisfy the competing demands from the rest of the city for its services. Having a separate department with terms of reference specifically directed towards the problems of the Black populace, and staffed by officials who frequently displayed high levels of professional competence and personal commitment, precluded the possibility of White group interests being served to the exclusion of Black interests. While each township was expected to be self-financing provision always existed in the Municipal Act for any deficits to be met from the Rates and Electricity accounts. As a result, levels of public authority, provision of essential goods and services remained relatively high.

of access to all the opportunities offered by the urban environment.

A 'One City' administration had been envisaged since 1979 as a result of political changes occurring at that time (Galletly, 1979).¹⁰ In essence this involved eliminating duplication of responsibilities within Council management structures. Each specialist department would discharge its functions on a city-wide basis. The Department of Housing and Community Services retained its offices in Mbare but broadened its activities to include the Low Density Suburbs. District Offices have been established in the Low Density suburbs but to date their function is largely restricted to revenue collecting.

With respect to urban finance, the costs of all programmes to upgrade service provision in the High Density areas (e.g. street lighting, roads, stormwater drainage, land improvement) were transferred to the "Operations" section of the Rates Account. The most important aspect of the merger is the plan to implement a uniform rating system across both High Density and Low Density residential areas. The aim was to unify the fiscal system without a loss of fiscal strength.

A valuations roll was compiled for the High Density areas in 1986/87 but implementation of the rating system was delayed pending surveying and pegging of individual properties. In the interim Supplementary Charges in the High Density areas were to be increased by almost 20 per cent in 1986 (City Treasurer's Budget Estimates 1985/86). Despite an expected immediate operating deficit of approximately Z\$10,7 million occasioned by the realignment, major fiscal advantages were anticipated in the long term. In the opinion of the World Bank (1980, p56-57), "the present low-density, high-income areas will be a rapidly declining portion of the

¹⁰

The idea was only developed in 1985 however and given substance under the Urban Councils (Specified Areas) (Rating) Notice of 1986.

municipalities, and if new properties are not assessed and taxed, the rate fund will be unable to sustain the financial burdens of city growth. Moreover, growth is likely to take a much different form in the future; in newly urbanised areas, income levels and building standards will be diverse as the old, mass-produced approach to low income housing is abandoned in favour of more flexible forms. Arguments of equity seem to demand that these unequal properties be taxed according to their value, which is not possible under the old flat rate".

9.5 THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES AND FACILITIES

Under colonial administration a marked demonstration effect had been caused by spatial income inequalities and disparities in the living environments between the Low Density and the High Density suburbs. In consequence, Blacks' perception of relative deprivation was acute. Promises of greater social equity and equality became both effective political inducements and the bases of expectations for the future. At independence Council turned immediately to redressing past grievances. For persons as yet inexperienced in the complexities of urban management, issues of social welfare were more readily recognised and presented more practical problems than did the relatively more abstruse issues of socialist socio-economic restructuring. Moreover great reliance was placed upon the expertise and established procedures and practices of the existing municipal bureaucracy. Pahl's (1975) model of local government by professional managers was the most applicable.

Expressing Council's new priorities, the Director of Housing and Community Services wrote that, "the Department is conscious of the role it is destined to play in shifting the emphasis of development and concern from the rich heart of the old city to the bustling and sometimes barren high density suburbs of its lower income inhabitants. Close control has been maintained with Ward Councillors who have

It is this attack on causes, rather than symptoms, which distinguishes municipal social services of today from those of the past

Clearly the City must provide basic necessities such as shelter and sanitation but we ignore the human aspect at our peril. Urban influx, population growth, the number of school leavers coming onto the job market, and the inability of the public and private sectors to provide formal employment for all, highlight the potential for urban decay. If we accept that there will not be formal employment for all, then every effort must be made to improve opportunities for, and the productivity of, the rapidly expanding informal sector. Council should be seen to take the lead in providing opportunities for income-generating, co-operative, and self-reliant ventures. Funds spent for this purpose would be a prudent investment for the future. Dividends may not be reflected in balance-sheets, but the emergence of responsible, contributing and participatory citizens of this city will be a very tangible asset".

Despite an explicit awareness of being "on the cutting-edge of transformation" no revolutionary socialist goals or objectives appear in this statement of intent. Indeed the aims expressed are entirely consistent with liberal welfare approaches.

What follows is a description of the number, type and distribution of the social services and facilities provided since independence (Fig. 9.3). The purpose is to 'flesh out' and supplement earlier analysis of trends in City Council finance, the 'engine that powered the system'.

9.5.1 Housing

Aspects of low-cost housing provision in Harare have been discussed in previous chapters. The types of housing provided and the system of delivery employed during the colonial period were discussed in Chapter 5.2.2. Post-independence change insofar as it was reflected in Council finances was discussed in Chapter 8.3. The intention here is to provide a summary and brief qualitative supplement to changing directions in the housing sector delivery.

HARARE: DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SERVICES 1985

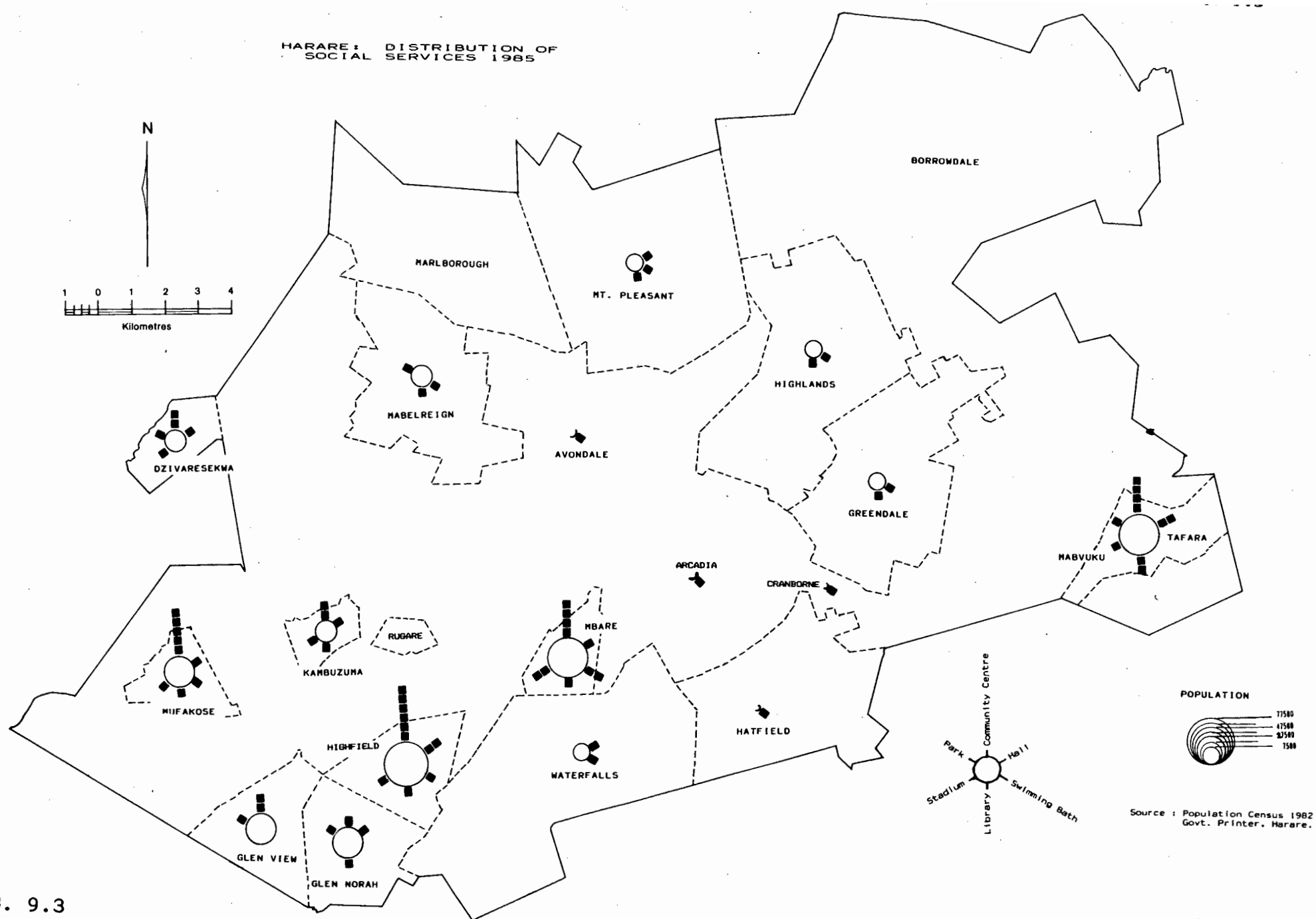


FIG. 9.3

Detailed analysis of the many dimensions of the housing problem (e.g. the rate and scale of increase in demand, affordability, costs of constructions and services, building materials, plot sizes, residential densities, construction techniques, building standards, provision of finance and so on) are provided by the World Bank (1980;1983), USAID (1980), Hoek-Smit (1982) and numerous in-house fact-and-discussion-papers of the Department of Housing and Community Services (e.g. City of Harare, 1982;1983;1985;1986). Overviews and commentary are provided by Davies and Dewar (1988) and Teedon and Drakakis-Smith (1986).

It has been emphasised that housing is the major physical and financial component of urban settlement. At independence, Council control of low income rented housing for the Black population made housing a potentially key element in implementing physical planning changes that reflected and demonstrated new socialist priorities. The opportunity still existed for implementing a housing delivery system in keeping with a socialist political-economy (Fig. 9.4) wherein state ownership and centralised control enabled houses to be allocated and a greater redistribution effected. The result would have been socio-economic convergence (variations by occupation and privilege notwithstanding) and greater equality of distribution of housing qualities. Importantly, private housing as a commodity would have been abolished.

Instead, as already observed, the state elected not only to endorse, but to pursue aggressively, earlier¹¹ White

¹¹ This policy can be traced back to the late 1950's. The Plewman Commission of 1958 had recommended freehold tenure of land in Black townships. Initial government response was to grant 99-year leasehold but, in an amendment of the Land Apportionment Act in 1960 Blacks were to own land in designated areas of Black townships (a right originally removed in 1931). Marimba Park for 'prestige' upper income Black home-ownership had been mooted since 1953 and was proclaimed in 1961. The policy was given impetus under the Transitional government of Bishop Muzorewa when it was decided to create a large, stable Black middle-class.

OUTLINES OF A SOCIALIST HOUSING SYSTEM

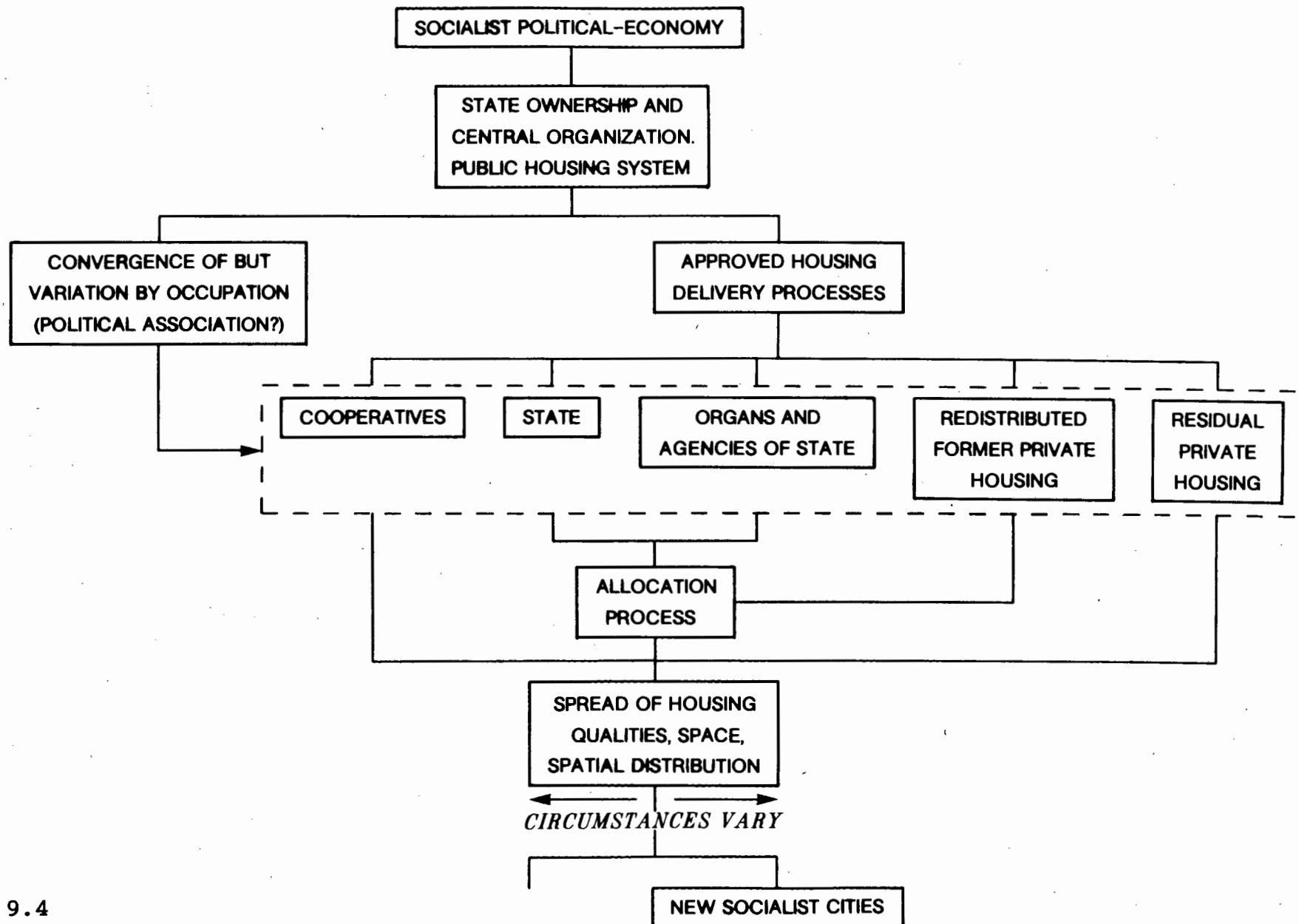


FIG. 9.4

government policy to permit freehold of land and property in the city. Ownership of housing in the Black areas in June, 1974 amounted to 18 per cent (7466 family units) (City of Salisbury 1974). By June 1985 this had increased to 78 per cent (51259) family units (City of Harare, 1985). In contrast to the model of housing delivery in a socialist political-economy the model in post-independence Harare is as outlined in Fig.9.5. The private housing market in the low density areas continued, buoyed by the demand of Black purchasers (Fig. 9.2(b)). By 1985 the ownership of approximately 22 per cent of dwellings in the low density areas had been transferred to Black owners. Meanwhile the low-income sector, including sitting tenants, were encouraged to purchase properties.¹²

Because Council was unable to fund or to construct housing at a rate needed to meet demand, policy has been to mobilise the private sector in the housing delivery process. The debate on the form future low-cost housing should take was never centred on the issues of tenure and on the socialisation of housing, but rather on standards of private housing. Plot sizes and housing qualities were important elements of the debate. The principles of freehold tenure and an economic return to investment were not questioned.

Different strategies including site-and-service, core-housing and aided self-help (Plates 9.1) have been devised and tested (see Teedon and Drakakis-Smith, 1986). The latest policy adopted in this evolutionary process of trial-and-error, one determined largely by the imperatives of demand and economic circumstances, is that of aided self-help. Allocations of surveyed, serviced plots (recently

¹² Sales prices for tenants were calculated by capitalising rentals payable at the time of purchase over 25 years. Discounts were granted in respect of the period they had paid rent for their houses, ranging from 2 per cent after one year to 100 per cent after 30 years. Notice of a 30 per cent rent increase to be implemented in November 1981 precipitated the move to purchase of rented properties. By June, 1982, of the 26775 tenants invited to purchase, 24377 had done so. (City of Harare, 1985).

HARARE: THE CONTEMPORARY HOUSING SYSTEM

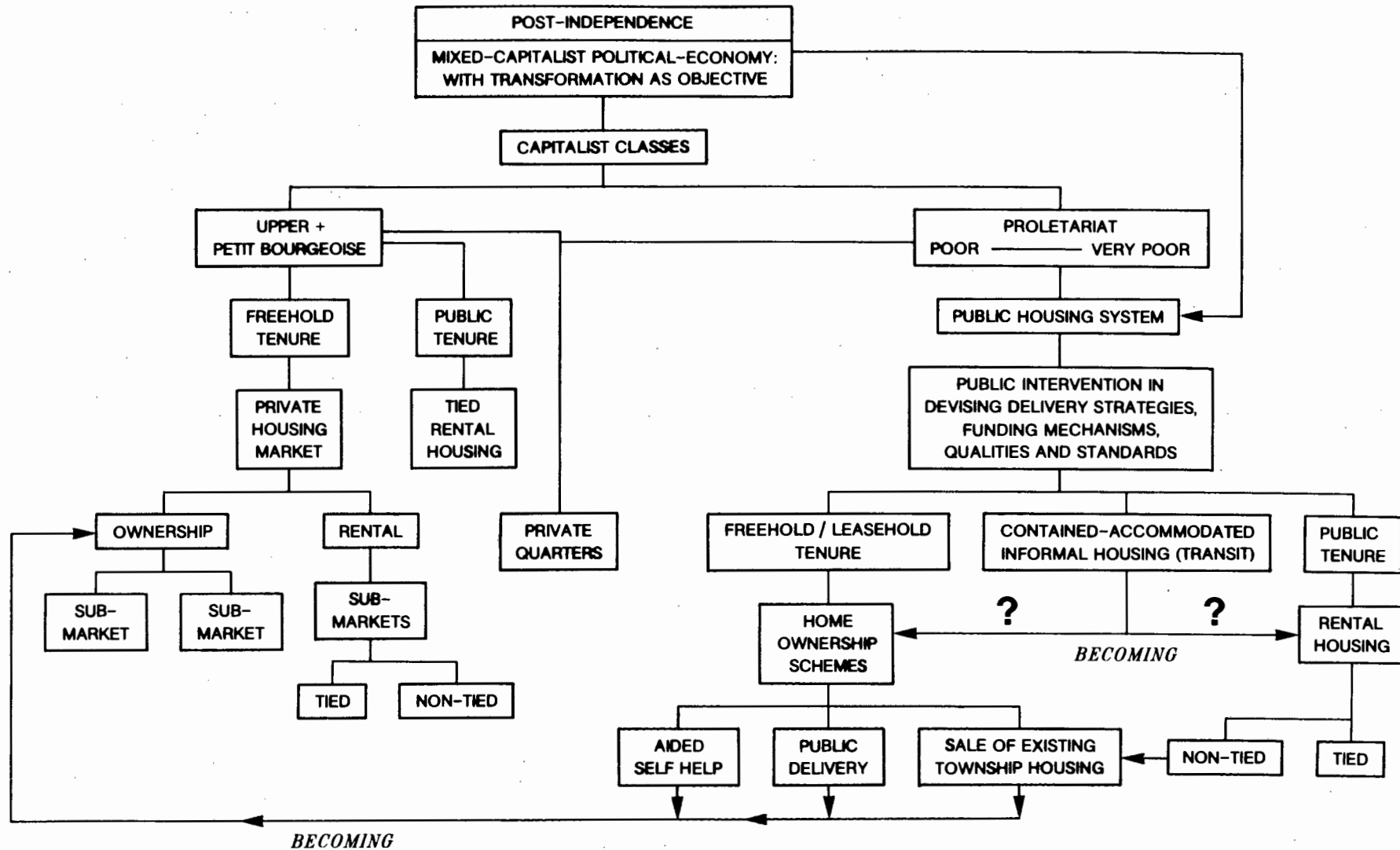


FIG. 9.5



Aided self-help housing in progress in Warren Park.



increased from 200m² to 300m²) are made on payment of 5 per cent of the plot purchase price. Allottees are required to complete 4 rooms, plus, ablutions, within 18 months of allocation.

In an attempt to approach a more socially-orientated housing process, Council adopted a welfare approach. Designed to reduce costs and to eliminate the corporate profit factor in a market production process a variety of strategies have been employed to assist home builders. These include the provision of Council loans, the lodging of seed money with a building society, the establishment of Council materials stores, the relaxing of building standards, the training of building brigades, encouragement for the formation of co-operatives, the design and sale of building plans and the provision of on-site technical advice.

Council loans, repayable over 25 years and up to a maximum of Z\$2500 were available either as cash or as building materials or a combination of both. Much of the loan money has been made available by the World Bank (responsible for developments in Warren Park) and USAID (responsible for Kuwadzana). They have consequently been in a position to determine target groups and mode of delivery. Attempts have been made to extend loan availability through building societies but with limited success. Only one society, having received foreign aid seed-money, has associated itself with these initiatives and it has set a ceiling of 112 allocations per month. Building materials stores were established to effect bulk buying economies. Government waived the imposition of sales tax on these goods with the result that prices are considerably lower than at commercial outlets. The stores also constitute a source of technical assistance for home-builders, a service augmented by mobile Council inspectors. Council also offered thirteen alternative plan blueprints to obviate the additional costs of design and draughting.

Inspired by the Cuban experience, building brigades were established in 1983 (Mace, 1979). Their members were fully constituted employees of Council. While serving to offset,

in part, the problem of growing unemployment, their purpose was threefold: to add to the stock of low-income housing by building homes, to manufacture building materials, and to assist in housing up-grading schemes. The anticipated production of dwellings in the next six years "was to be almost 11000 units constructed by three building brigades, producing some 600 units per annum. Unfortunately, this plan was not implemented and the work of those brigades that have been established in Harare has been severely limited. This has substantially been due to advisors from USAID who emphasised the need, on cost grounds for the residents themselves to decide the construction methods " (Teedon and Drakakis-Smith, 1986 p.320-21). By June 1985 the Brigades had built 68 demonstration units in Kuwadzana and a further 350 in Warren Park. Because the price of delivered housing units from building brigades generally exceeded that of private contractors by approximately 5 per cent¹³, few land-owners used this method of construction (the rate of utilisation was 1,5 per cent of all home-builders by June 1985).

Co-operatives also appear to have met with little success despite continued attempts by Council extension officials to promote them. In the opinion of the Director of Housing and Community Services, this is because, unlike the situation in rural areas, urban dwellers invariably have little knowledge of, or affinity with their neighbours. Essential trust and commonality of purpose born of shared experiences is consequently lacking. The most popular mode of construction is to employ independent building-contractors thereby affirming and reinforcing the capitalist ethic.

Tied housing earlier regarded as a form of intimidation and an imposition upon the mobility of Black labour is now accepted as a valid alternative method for providing housing. In 1984 the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing directed that all new housing schemes

¹³ Conversation with Deputy Director of Housing and Community Services, June 1985

should provide a minimum of 10 per cent rented units and that those houses should be reserved as tied housing for civil servants. Land for tied housing financed by employers is also now made available by Council. Again, this points to a pragmatic recognition of the social, economic and political implications of a growing housing shortage and of rising costs.

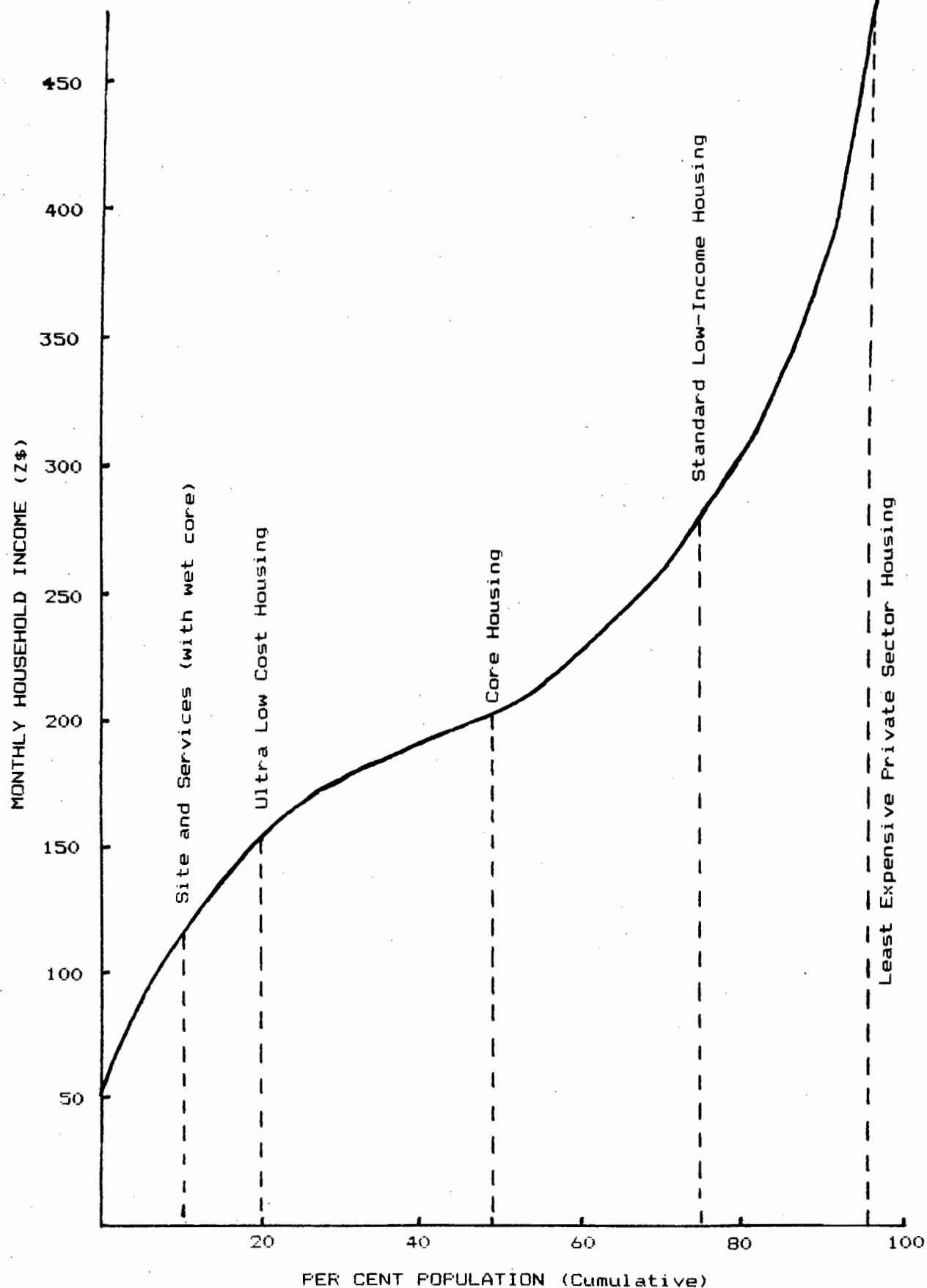
The housing waiting list at June, 1985 revealed a net increase (new applicants minus discharges) of 8628 families despite the allocation of 3822 houses. It has been calculated that, to eliminate the backlog and to meet current demand until 1990, houses would have to be constructed at a rate of 13000 per year (City of Harare, 1985). The Director of Housing and Community Services has further noted moreover, that "notwithstanding substantial increases in the minimum wage since 1979, it is true to say that 89 per cent of applicants on the Housing Waiting List cannot afford the cheapest rented house now being offered by Council" (ibid. p19).

A World Bank housing sector survey recognised this problem before inception of the aided self-help housing policy. It concluded (Fig. 9.6) that approximately 75 per cent of urban households could not afford the standard, three bedroom, Council house (see Chapter 5.2.2). Approximately 50 per cent could afford core-housing and about 80% could afford ultra low cost units. Those unable to make payment on site-and-service units constituted about 6 per cent. The last two alternatives are regarded as an unacceptable legacy of colonial rule however and it is government's desire to achieve higher standard housing. The cost implications are evident (World Bank, 1982, p67).

A middle-income group compounds the problem. Those earning between Z\$450 and Z\$1000 per month (in 1984 values) could neither qualify for Council housing loans nor, because of their risk potential, raise loans from the building societies.

FIG. 9.6

HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVELS AND AFFORDABILITY OF DIFFERENT SHELTER OPTIONS



Given this and in the context of limited loan funds from government and a pressing need (in a political sense) to improve the quality of living environments through expenditures facilities and amenities, the decision to engage the private sector in housing provision appears almost inevitable. Filtering of those in the lower income categories into older, cheaper dwellings or rental housing is unlikely to be realised.

Indeed, the possibility of exploitation by property owners and speculators becomes an important consideration in these circumstances.

In summary, important trends have emerged in the housing system of Harare under an avowedly socialist government. The trends have significance in assessing the role which housing is playing in achieving socialist transformation.

Structurally the former White, market-orientated housing sector has in effect undergone no change in its status. The sector, however, has experienced a significant relocation of new, economically mobile, Black elites. The former Black housing sector has by contrast, shifted dramatically towards home ownership, freehold tenure and a market orientation.

Upgrading of existing housing in the High Density areas, and higher standards of dwellings and services for new self-help housing have marginally shifted the housing system as a whole towards convergence. Structural inequality remains strongly characteristic however, and there is, as yet, no stated intention to enforce uniform space or equality norms. In the location of new high density housing schemes, too, spatial trends of the past have been followed and the components of the housing system as a whole remain disaggregated. In many ways, therefore, individuals will continue to be barred from large parts of the city on grounds of cost, income and economic status, if not by race. Though now blurred in terms of racial divisions, the strong class cleavages of the past are tending to intensify spatially.

Though remaining under public supervision and administration, for the present at least, the tendency has been for the High Density areas to attain market independence. Thus in contrast to central socialist societies, freehold tenure *in perpetuo* and market related costing and payment systems have emerged as key variables in the housing system of the city as a whole. If it is agreed that private ownership is "a mechanism for fostering an individualistic and materialistic ideology based on commodity consumption" (Mabin, 1983 quoting Marcuse, 1964) then the trends in the Harare housing system are diametrically opposed to the socialist egalitarian view. Attendant exploitative practices of speculation and profit taking, the emergence of a landlord class, and a potentially exploitive rental market in circumstances of housing shortage could arise. In a developing Third World country such as Zimbabwe, the plight of the poor may be severe, particularly where urban informal housing and squatting have been strictly contained. Efforts by the state to intervene through its welfare strategies may ameliorate the problem, but available evidence suggests that such measures have been only marginally effective in practice.

Despite attempts to achieve upward convergence it may be claimed that the evolving qualities and spatial structure of the contemporary housing system of Harare are not at present, nor are they likely to in the foreseeable future, structurally reinforcing a socialist transformation in the strict sense of the term. The system is tending to substitute the dominant-subordinate, race-class divisions of the past with more elementary class divisions of capitalist society. A welfare approach in housing (as it is in other sectors of the society) does not constitute socialist transformation; it is a strategy adopted equally in welfare orientated capitalist societies.

The emergence of distinct social classes physically identified in the form and spatial distribution of their housing appears to be becoming a major characteristic of the

post-colonial city of Harare. Its evolving form is tending away from the socialist model and thus appears to contain the seeds of future political and social conflict. This is the very issue that the socialist society and its city is theoretically designed to overcome. In this sense the contemporary housing process in Harare does not appear to be contributing structurally to the achievement of a socialist transformation demanded by the Zimbabwean revolution.

9.5.2 Commerce and Services

An on-going capital programme of improvements to existing shopping centres has been in effect since 1981. This involved pedestrian surfacing, car parks, painting and landscaping improvements. In addition, by the end of 1984, shopping centre designs had been completed for the new townships of Kuwadzana, Midlothian/Patrenda/Glen Eagles, and Sunningdale. Full town centres, were designed for Tafara and Mabvuku (City of Harare, 1984b).

An energetic policy of developing Peoples' Markets has been perused since 1981 when 59 sites were identified. These comprise covered stalls which can be leased from Council. Running water and toilet facilities are also provided. By June, 1984, 30 markets had been built and 6 were nearing completion (Mayor's Minute 1984). Table 9.2 indicates the distribution of retail and wholesale markets at June, 1985.

Table 9.2 Retail and Wholesale Markets, June 1985

Location	Retail	Number of Stalls	Wholesale
Dzivaresekwa	6	86	
Glen Norah	5	170	1
Glen View	7	176	
Highfield	18	495	1
Mbare	6	1 710	3
City Centre & Low Density areas	16	510	
Mufakose	6	149	
Mabvuku	4	112	
Tafara	4	138	
Warren Park	6	138	
Hatcliffe	1	20	
Kuwadzana	4	86	
Kambuzuma	5	119	
Total	88	3 908	5

Source: City of Harare, 1985: Report of the Director of Housing and Community Services for the Year Ending June 1985 p.34.

Because Councillors had expressed dissatisfaction with the size of markets because the costs per stall were too high, the Council, in 1984/85 approved, in principle, the construction of larger markets in modular phases. The old Market Hall, established in 1893, was after many years of unrelated use and neglect, restored and renovated in 1984, and proclaimed a People's Market.

9.5.3 Transport

The introduction of minimum wage legislation, rising per capita incomes, and a rapidly growing population in the High Density suburbs has resulted in an increase in car ownership in these areas that is considerably in excess of the rate of the rest of the city (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3 Registered Car Ownership in Harare by Area

Areas	1978	1984	Per Cent Inc.
High Density Suburbs	22848	36993	62
Rest of City	80637	85631	6
Harare	103485	122624	18

Source: City of Harare, 1984: Dept. of Works, Traffic and Transport Section

Much of the population nevertheless remains relatively immobile or has to rely on buses or private commercial operators. In 1984 government formally recognised the latter and attempted to introduce a measure of control and organisation into their operations by gazetting the numbers and routes of "emergency taxis" (City of Harare, 1984). Council created taxi-ranks for them for the first time. Also, in 1984 the Council commissioned a transport study from the Swedish International Development Agency with a view to long-term planning. Bus operators were charged Z\$2,00 at the Mbare terminal to offset the costs of cleaning, maintenance and policing (to prevent theft and harassment of passengers by self-proclaimed 'porters'). However, in 1985 government prohibited this form of fund raising depriving Council of Z\$360,000.

9.5.4 Security

The enlistment of ex-combatants and a Women's detachment into the Municipal Security Unit has been alluded to under the "Employment" sub-head. Its prescribed role indicates Council perception of particular problems which relate predominantly to the High Density areas. Its activities include guarding national key-points, municipal buildings and municipal installations, patrolling municipal liquor outlets, maintaining order at bus termini, patrolling stream banks for illegal cultivators, patrolling residential areas for illegal users of water and assisting the national police (although with limited legal powers).

9.5.5 Recreation

Sport plays an important recreational role for a large proportion of the population who become involved as participants or spectators. Most of the facilities in the High Density areas are provided by Council. In early 1985 a Sports section was created within the Department of Housing and Community Services to improve, develop and implement a comprehensive sports programme geared towards mass participation. In particular it was hoped to broaden the range of sports available to the masses which, hitherto had been heavily focused on soccer (City of Harare, 1985 p.50). Five social workers were trained to provide education for sports club management and to undertake the training of coaches. National and local sports associations were encouraged to conduct clinics, and commercial firms were solicited to organise competitions and to provide sponsorship. Specialist coaching now extends to body-building, weight-lifting, boxing, athletics, hockey, volleyball, basketball, tennis, netball, karate, wrestling and cricket. The attendance of Black children at former exclusively White schools which had a long tradition of sporting excellence and a well organised system of inter-school competition has served to diffuse a keen enthusiasm among the city's youth. Inter-school rivalry has been extended to incorporate schools in the High Density suburbs. In 1984/85 Council supervised the formation of 95 junior clubs (under 18 years) in the high density areas. These include sports such as cricket, swimming, hockey, tennis, chess and darts that previously had exclusively White adherents. Despite these efforts there is still a great paucity of facilities relative to population in all of the High Density suburbs (Table 9.4 and Fig. 9.3). Clubs in the Low Density areas are open to Black membership but fee requirements and social attitudes have ensured that these retain a predominantly White membership. In 1984 Council donated land for construction of a Chinese-funded national sports stadium which was to be constructed beyond the city on the Bulawayo road in relative proximity to most of the

TABLE 9.4

HARARE : RECREATION AND RELATED FACILITIES

IN THE HIGH DENSITY SUBURBS (AT JUNE, 1985)

	Sports Stadiums	Sports Fields (Open)	Sports Fields (Walled)	Gymnasiums	Tennis/ Basketball Courts	Community Centres	Halls	Libraries	Craft Centres	Vocational Training Centres	Swimming Pools	Number Dwelling Units
BARE	2	9	1	2	6	4	1	1	1	1	2	9000
IGHFIELD	1	6			2	4	2	1			1	10098
UFAKOSE		4	1	1	2	5	1	1			1	7497
ABVUKU	1	4			1	3	1	1	1			6280
AFARA		2	1		1	1	1					3924
AMBUZUMA		1	1		1	2		1				2466
LEN MORAH		3			1	1	1	1				7086
LEN VIEW		2	1			2						8644
ZIVARESEKWA	1	1				1	1					6844
ARREN PARK		2	1			1						5063

Source: City of Harare, 1985 : Annual Report of the Director of Housing and Community Services for the Year Ending June, 1985, Harare.

High Density suburbs. Swimming pools throughout the city generate large attendance figures.

With respect to passive recreation, parks were very popular and Council was considering open spaces in the High Density suburbs. "to ensure that these facilities are evenly distributed in Greater Harare" (City of Harare, 1982(a) p25). Council provided cinema shows in Community Halls and 'efforts have been made to improve the quality of films shown and to provide fare that has cultural or educational value where possible' (City of Harare, 1985 p60). Under White administration beer halls selling Council brewed traditional "opaque" beer had served as important facilities for men to meet, relax and socialise. The social role of liquor outlets was recognised by the new Council who however sought to improve their aesthetic environment and their image. In 1982 the 'neighbourhood tavern' concept was introduced in the hope that they would serve a purpose similar to that of the British pub and to extend their services to women. Existing outlets were accordingly upgraded and new facilities built. By 1984, the High Density suburbs included a variety of liquor outlets now serving an unrestricted range of wines, malts and spirits. (51 public bars, 5 'mini-pubs', 14 Neighbourhood Taverns, 29 bottle stores, and 26 off-sales). A food preparation facility was installed by Council in the Vito Tavern in Mbare.

9.5.6 Education

A great discrepancy had always existed between Black and White areas in terms of curricula, quality of education, and facilities available. At independence central government moved rapidly to redress these inequalities. In January 1984, at the bequest of government, the Harare City Council assumed responsibility for pre-schooling in the City and to this end took over 27 pre-schools that had previously been run by Womens' Central Committees or voluntary organisations. The object was to provide a uniform and improved school in recognition of the fact that, in its

first six years a child requires trained guidance and physical nurturing to achieve fully its physical, mental, and emotional potentials.

Qualified personnel were recruited, curricula established, equipment replaced, and a pre-school feeding system based on diets developed by the Medical Officer of Health was introduced. In pursuance of government and Council policy of encouraging maximum participation and self-reliance in communities, Parent Teachers' Associations were formed. They play an active role in fund raising, assisting with outings and extra-curricula activities and liaising between staff and the parent body.¹⁴

9.5.7 Culture

Council initiated a vigorous extension and training programme among clubs and community groups "to enable participants to appreciate and improve their socio economic environment and to provide them with basic skills in fundamental areas such as literacy, primary health, home-crafts and hygiene, leadership and income-generating projects".(ibid. p61). The programmes were directed predominantly at women and, as a result, Council proposed to inaugurate a specialised section for Womens' Organisations in 1986.

In order to provide alternative pursuits to sport for the City's youth, a Youth Development section was established in September 1984. Its focus was upon the visual arts (crafts, painting, drawing, sculpture, designing and dress-making), the performing arts (dance, drama, public-speaking, music) and income-generating projects (crafts, gardening, home

¹⁴ In December 1984 government requested Council to build additional primary schools and by the end of 1985, six were operational. (Two each in Warren Park, Glen View and Kuwadzana, the latter being funded by US AID). By the end of 1986 Council had built no new primary schools and had set a target of completing ten per year. It also built 96 extra classrooms for Junior schools in 7 High Density Suburbs. (Harare Herald, 1986(b)).

industries, cleaning services, security services, catering services, entertainment services). Council's role was that of an enabling agent through the provision of land, premises, financial assistance and organisational training. In 1984 funds were dedicated for construction of the first Youth Development Centre in Glen View.

No new libraries had been built since independence.¹⁵ (Fig. 9.3) in the High-Density suburbs but a change of policy was initiated. Whereas, under White administration, the libraries had been directed toward adult and non-formal education, and had been stocked accordingly, new policy emphasised recreational reading for enjoyment and targeted a much wider client population. To this end, libraries were upgraded and supplied with literature "relevant to today's situation in Zimbabwe" (City of Harare, 1984 p26). In 1984, money was budgeted to construct two further libraries in Highfield and Dzivaresekwa. The City's library system was to be unified under the 'one-city' concept and the headquarters moved from The Queen Victoria library immediately south of the CBD (and therefore previously White-orientated) to the Highfield library.

9.5.8 Employment

Details of the racial composition of Council's staff complement were not available. Nevertheless evidence exists that Council had put into effect a Presidential directive that Black career advancement was to be a government priority. By 1984, four Heads of Department and the Town Clerk were Black and of senior posts within the Department of Housing and Community Services, 81 per cent were Black (City of Harare, 1985). The recruitment of professional and technical staff remains a continuing problem however (City of Harare, 1984).

¹⁵ Six Council-run libraries exist in the High Density suburbs - in Glen Norah, Highfield, Mabvuku, Mbare, Mufakose and Tafara.

Black unemployment was an endemic problem in the country long before independence. For example, nationally, between 1969 and 1975, 578000 Blacks were added to the labour force but only 36 per cent obtained employment in the formal sector of the economy. The situation worsened after independence so that in 1984, of 80000 school leavers, only 8,75 per cent secured jobs in the formal sector (Government of Zimbabwe, 1984). Alternative sources of livelihood were therefore necessary.

Davies (1978) had predicted that informal sector employment would have to play a major role in Zimbabwe's employment strategy although constraining conditions and attitudes existing under the colonial authorities would have to be altered.

In Harare, the Council can be said to have adopted a three-dimensional policy approach to the issue of informal sector activity. This includes,

1. a policy of facilitating informal activity by designating sites, and providing infrastructure;
2. a policy of removing such 'internalised' constraints as shortage of funds, inadequate technical and managerial skills, and insufficient market information;
3. A policy of lessening external constraints by reviewing licensing provisions and health and trade regulations.

The government Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development directed that all local authorities should mobilise, direct and educate people "in order to win economic independence through co-operativisation" (circular No.81, 1982). As a result, in October 1982 a co-operative section was established in the Council's Department of Housing and Community Services, its terms of reference being to provide training, back-up and feasibility studies, advice, land and premises to co-operative ventures. Table 9.5 indicates the various operating co-operative groups

mobilised and trained by Council staff. They were at different stages of development and few had registered with government's Registrar of Co-operatives.

Table 9.5 Municipally Trained Co-Operatives 1984/85

Type	Number
Industrial (mostly service industries e.g. carpentry, panel beating, etc.)	44
Consumer (primarily catering)	29
Agriculture (or municipal allotments)	62

Source: City of Harare, 1985: Annual Report of the Director of Housing and Community Services for the year ending June, 1985.

Because individual sites were considered too expensive, a pilot scheme was initiated in Mbare whereby petty commodity producers were concentrated in premises that were walled and gated, and had good access roads and running water. Five different co-operatives occupy this site (empty drum sellers; car-part dealers; carpenters and wood-sellers; motor mechanics and panel-beaters; and spray-painters and welders). "Full implementation of the urban agricultural co-operative concept may be slow because it is new to most urban people. They have become used to cultivating individually and are concerned at how the harvest will be shared out. The lack of loan funds to support genuine agricultural co-operatives is a draw-back which will, hopefully, be overcome in 1985/86" (ibid. p49). These observations aside the Council had pursued the identification of municipal land for agricultural co-operative ventures and had planned for staff recruitment, and the mobilising, training and registering of groups before the next rains. Private back-yard agriculture for domestic consumption and occasional vending is also a common feature particularly in the High Density suburbs.

Licences are issued to vendors by the Department of Housing and Community Services (earlier this had been a

responsibility of the Medical Officer of Health) and locations for these traders are prescribed. Illegal traders constitute a problem to both health authorities (in the case of food) and to legal traders. Illegal activities include itinerant hawking, trading from residential property, and 'tuck shops' (these are shacks constructed along roadsides from which meat and/or produce is sold or services such as carpentry, cobbling or sewing offered). "The number of illegal traders appears to be steadily increasing. A survey conducted during the year in the High Density suburbs revealed 507 tuck-shops, 263 of which were in Glen View. These illegal outlets have been a source of continuing complaint from legal traders and the health authorities. Police and Security Unit action has been sporadic and largely ineffective in the High Density suburbs" (ibid. p31).

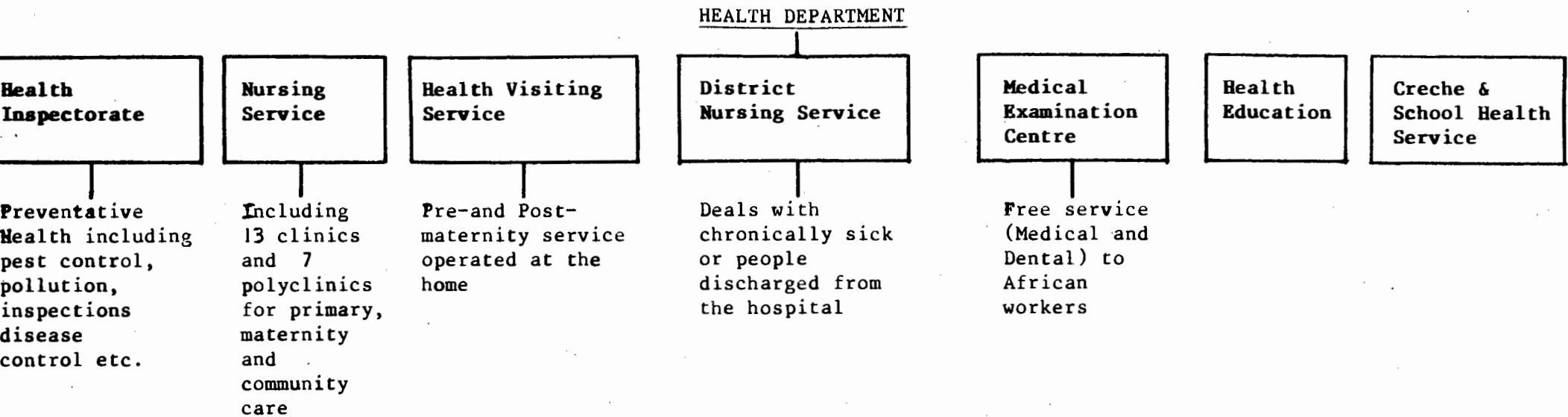
Council response has been addressed to the causes rather than the symptoms of the problem. Recognising the demonstrable demand for the goods and services provided by the illegal traders, Council has moved,

1. to develop People's Markets throughout the city in which people can trade legitimately and,
2. To provide for "neighbourhood shops" in residential areas, the only stipulation being that these cannot locate within 0,5km of a conventional shopping centre. On occasions when purpose-planned sites cannot be provided Council would consider applications to convert parts of houses into neighbourhood shops.

9.5.9 Health

The major change in health service provision lies in the emphasis upon family health, both preventative and curative (City of Harare, 1984). The Department of Health continues to function within parameters established by earlier administrations (Fig. 9.7). Segregation in the central hospitals was abolished and an out-patient facility was

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HARARE CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT 1984



Source : City of Harare : 1984 Annual Report of the City Medical Officer of Health, Harare

established at the Parirenyatwa hospital in 1981. A significant innovation has been the development of 7 Polyclinics, centralised multi-unit facilities, located strategically within the High Density suburbs to serve extensive population. In addition, 13 clinics and 5 Primary Health Care units have been opened in these areas. The overwhelming proportion of Council health facilities are located in the High Density areas (Fig. 9.8) but limited funds and shortages of trained staff continue to inhibit provision of a better quality service (City of Harare, 1984).

9.5.10 Aesthetics

Council has placed great emphasis upon enhancing the quality of the living environment of the City's residents. One aspect of this is an on-going campaign to enhance the cleanliness and visual beauty of the City, something of which, in interviews, Councillors were proud. Bright yellow 44 gallon refuse drums were placed throughout the City and at markets and bins were attached to parking meters. Street cleaning services were increased and the theme of cleanliness was reinforced regularly through the media¹⁶. As early as 1982 the City Engineer was constrained to remark that, "the public is beginning to understand the need to keep our city clean", (City of Harare, 1982(a) p25).

9.5.11 Electrification

Council continued to place a priority upon providing every household with an electricity facility. While all new

¹⁶ This campaign was reinforced by central government. In 1986 the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures - Urban Properties Renovation) Bill was tabled in Parliament. It empowered Council to issue renovation orders directing home-owners to remove dilapidated property or to keep repairs and maintenance up-to-date. Measures might involve demolishing, repairing, repainting or generally improving any building; clearing land, trimming or planting vegetation; erecting walls, fences or screens; stopping or cutting-down on any activity. In the event of non-compliance Council could undertake the work and charge the owner (Bulawayo Chronicle, 1986).

HARARE : DISTRIBUTION OF
HEALTH SERVICES 1985

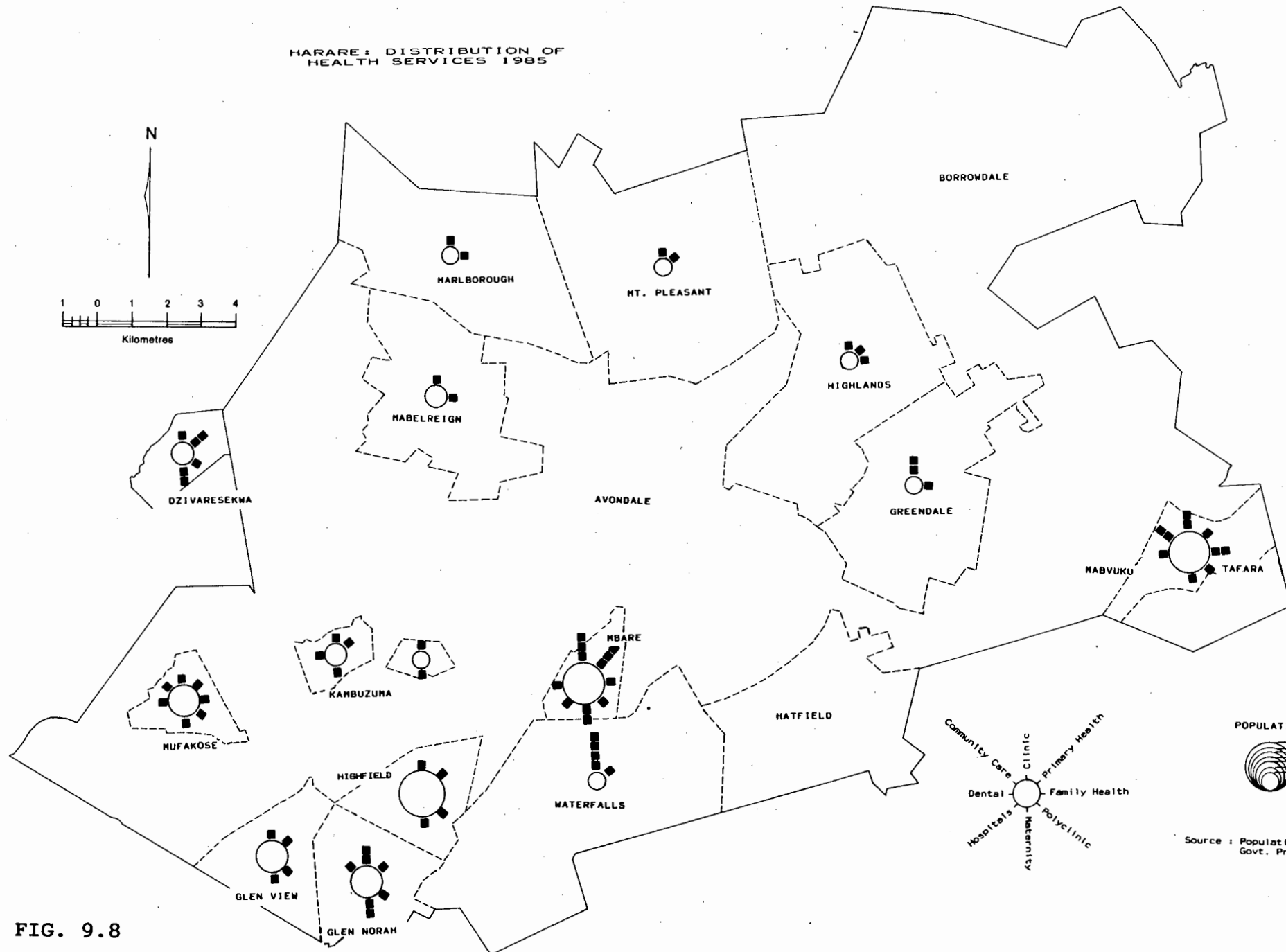


FIG. 9.8

housing was wired as a matter of principle, determined efforts were made to eliminate the backlog in unwired houses (numbering 8505 dwelling units in 1985 (Harare Herald, 1986(a)). Increased efforts were also made to extend street and tower lighting in the High Density Suburbs.

9.5.12 Planning

The structure for the Salisbury metropolitan region, "Strategy 6" (Fig. 5.11, Chapter 5.2.11) which had been adopted in April 1979, was rejected and replaced by an alternative plan in September 1980. Preparation of the "Strategy 6" Master Plan had been deferred pending a report from the Housing and Development Services Sub-Committee on future High Density Housing Areas. This report was subsequently accepted by Council which approved for development, in order of priority:

- 1) Warren Farm,
- 2) The remainder of Parkridge and Fontainbleu.
- 3) The remaining extent of Lots of Park Ridge and Crowborough.
- 4) The south-eastern portion of Midlothian and Patrenda; and
- 5) A suitable area north-east of the city.

All these are located west of the city.

The "satellite cities" concept, the essence of which was industrial and population decentralisation to the Black town of Chitungwisa, was criticised at that time, on the grounds that,

1. an active government policy of industrial decentralisation might negatively affect job opportunities in Salisbury thereby causing a crisis of expectations after independence;

2. that a successful policy of decentralisation could inhibit the growth and development of existing employment generators;
3. that the degree of population and economic dispersion envisaged was uneconomical;
4. That the scale of new housing at Warren Park would exert unacceptable pressure on the Salisbury Central Business District (CBD), the plan for satellite development notwithstanding. (City of Salisbury, 1980 p7).

While never made explicit it may be imputed that Council also rejected the implications of racial 'apartheid' that the development of Chitungwisa had carried.

Strategy 7 envisaged growth in two phases, the first of which is to account for the next 50 years of urban growth. The plan defines westward development of Harare in 'belts towards a second CBD and includes, "in principle,

1. An actively and profitably used greenbelt extending along the Hunyani (river), wide enough to protect Lake McIlwaine and Lake Robertson from urban encroachment and pollution;
2. high density, low cost housing and industry to abut the north side of the greenbelt as a logical linear extension to Glen View, Mufakose and Warren;
3. medium density housing with Ashdown Park and Mabelreign densities being extended between the watershed along the Sinoia road and the extended high density housing to the south;
4. low-density housing extending from Borrowdale, Marlborough and Bluff-Hill westwards along the northern side of the Sinoia road on the presently unsewered side of the watershed;

5. the establishment of high density (residential) satellites for non-industrial works at selected points along the Gwebi river valley;
6. a second CBD equivalent in function to Salisbury developed beyond hypercentres and industrial nodes located between Salisbury and the new CBD as growth advances westward." (ibid, p9).

Each CBD would develop to command a ceiling population of approximately 1,5 million people. Linear high density population distribution and the location of industrial areas will rationalise mass transit and journey-to-work patterns. Specific local town-planning schemes will be developed within this framework as urban growth extends westward. The plan is conceptualized in Fig. 9.9.

The second phase is based on the concept of triangulation since it minimises journey-to-work distances. As the population of the metropolitan region continues to grow and optimum population sizes are exceeded, additional CBD's would be developed so that, ideally, no part of the area is more than 25kms from any one of the centres. Belts of high, medium and low density housing would be interspersed by open space which would contain water developments, nature parks, recreation areas, sewerage works, airports and woodlots.

While the spatial design of regional-scale structure plans would not, in themselves, necessarily reveal the application of the principles of any particular political philosophy these would need to be made explicit in the policy document accompanying the map. The explication of goals and objectives are essential for the design phasing and implementation of planning strategies at the intra-urban scale of the town-planning schemes. No evidence of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist formulations can be identified in, or even inferred, from this document.

9.5.13 Other Facilities

Preceding discussion has demonstrated that Council regards welfare-related projects in the High Density suburbs as top priority and has diverted funds and human and physical resources to creating an improved quality of life for the masses. The degree to which developments have been concentrated in the High Density suburbs is revealed by analysis of the supplementary valuations rolls for the Low Density suburbs. Any improvements on land within the municipality are valued for purposes of rating and appended to half-yearly supplementary valuation rolls. Government and Municipal land and improvements, while not subject to an assessment rates tax, is nevertheless valued for 'book-keeping' purposes. It is possible therefore, to trace the successive provision of municipal facilities be they electricity sub-stations, libraries, clinics or public toilets. Table 9.6 indicates the nature of council developments between 1978 and 1984.

Table 9.6 Provision of Public Facilities in the Low-Density Suburbs 1978 - 1984

<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Number</u>
Developments in Parks or Open Spaces	8
Fire Station	
Council Offices	1
Storage Depots	2
Electricity Sub-Stations	21
Crematorium	1
Public Utility Undertaking (Sewerage, water, electricity)	
Public Toilet	
Power Station	6
Miscellaneous	66

Note: The designation "Miscellaneous" is not adequately described in the Valuation Land-Use Codes where only "Roads" is recorded.

A comparable listing was not possible for the High Density suburbs because, in 1984, no valuations roll had been compiled.

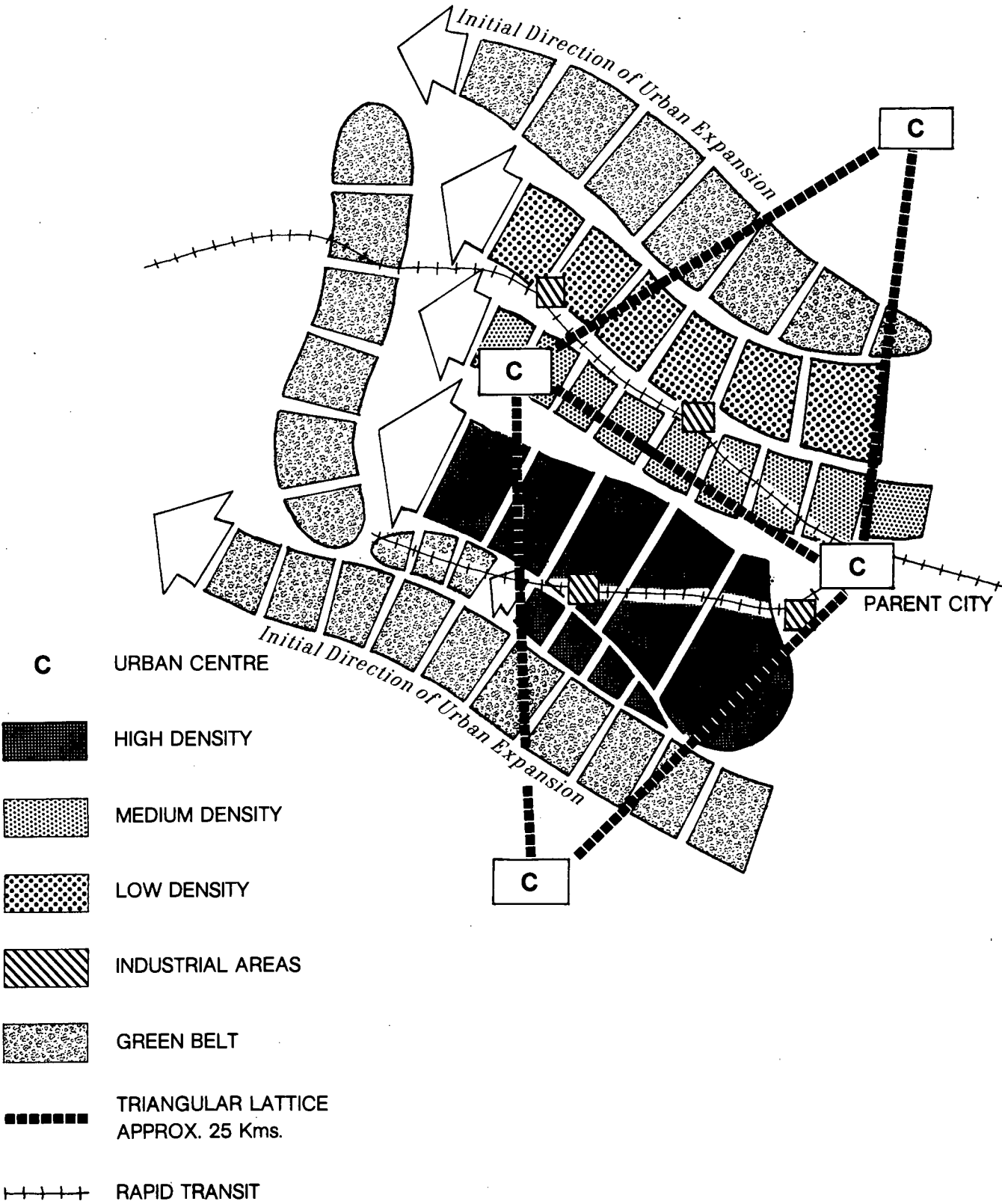
Source: Property-type Codes in City Council Supplementary Valuation Sheets: Index of Use Groups D/1980/2A.

Fig. 9.9

DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE HARARE METROPOLITAN REGION (ONE CITY)

(Adopted by City Council September 1980)

STRATEGY 7: Phase 1 – Linear Growth
Phase 2 – Triangulation



The nature and scale of Council outputs in the Low Density suburbs emphasises the degree to which Council activities have been concentrated in the High Density suburbs since independence. While repair and maintenance of existing facilities has, in the main, been continued as a commitment to the maintenance of standards, little new has been added. An attitude that the more wealthy citizens can be expected to pay for substitute goods and services generated in the private sector, is manifest.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

The point of departure for this research was the assumption that finance 'powered' the system of local government. If true, real changes in policy and practice of a local authority committed to the implementation of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles should be indicated in income and expenditure accounts which detail the sources and allocation of public funds. It was also assumed that a geography of urban finance could be established from the official financial record; that benefits accruing to geographic areas as a result of local authority expenditures could be assessed against their contribution to the public fisc. In this way spatial patterns of redistribution could be identified and the relative effects on the welfare of different populations inferred.

The central focus of analysis therefore has been the data contained in the Annual Report and Accounts of the City Treasurer. It is these reports that, once audited, are made available to the general public for scrutiny. Major theoretical issues relating to analysis of urban finance were discussed in Chapter 3. One important conclusion drawn from the present study is that the accounting system employed by local authorities throughout Southern Africa (Appendix 5) has little relevance or utility for resolving problems of urban service distributions or for prosecuting analysis of many aspects of the geography of urban finance. It was not possible from the financial data to determine who gets what, where, who benefits and who pays. Chapter 8.1 addressed the methodological and interpretational difficulties involved. Before turning to a summary of the empirical investigation, it is appropriate briefly to discuss the necessity for suitable accounting procedures to enable geographical analysis of urban finance to be

undertaken and to facilitate public authority decisions concerning the allocation and distribution of goods and services. Thereafter results of the analysis conducted will be assessed against the specific research hypotheses.

10.1 THE NEED FOR FINANCIAL INFORMATION

In any system where different jurisdictions vie for the benefit of 'local turf', and in which the accountability of local representatives in this regard is stressed, it would be important that residents be informed about patterns of income generation relative to expenditure. In the absence of such information grounds for competition between jurisdictions for 'home turf' benefits or for receipt of perceived 'dues' are greatly diminished.

Considered from another perspective, the Council's line-item accounting practice does not permit estimation of cost efficiency in that the full costs of individual projects cannot be established in order to measure these against benefit estimates. Planners too, are not able to relate spatial analyses of welfare and deprivation to patterns of expenditure. Nor could they monitor trends in this respect.

Council decisions regarding the provision and distribution of public goods and services are influenced by conceptions of equality, equity, and efficiency (Kirby, 1983). Equality is analogous to the concept of range in Christaller's central place formulation wherein, ideally, the maximum number of similar facilities that could be viably supported would service the entire population in order to maximise client convenience and to minimise consumer cost. In like manner, efficiency may be considered in terms of the threshold concept. Here, economies of scale and higher levels of service can be generated by larger facilities but they require larger client catchments to be supported financially. Moreover, any facility that continues to be a drain upon the city's resources, reduces further options and may therefore be considered inefficient. On the other hand

equity turns upon conceptions of fairness requiring, somehow, that people in different and unequal socio-economic circumstances obtain a greater equality of life chances (Rich, 1979). Ideally, in this respect, some means balance should be struck between citizens' expenditure on private services and expenditure on public services. The frequently greater provision of 'basic' public goods and services in less advantaged areas reflects this consideration in local authority decision-making. Application of all these concepts to decision-making is contingent upon adequate information being available concerning patterns and flows of urban finance.

This is not to suggest that some objective method, using data obtained from financial accounts and other socio-economic data, could simply be applied to resolving the problems of service distribution in cities; that some formula could be derived and applied mechanically that would simultaneously integrate the issues of quality and distribution of public service facilities and of recipient costs and benefits and thereafter provide a satisfactory solution to the location problem. Urban systems are too complex for that. Spatial welfare is a normative concept and public service provision occurs within the realms of urban politics (Jones and Kirby, 1982). This said, the role of planning is to apply principles developed in theoretical debate in order to introduce some rationality into the decision-making process; to identify possible goals, objectives and possible interventive strategies that would cut across intra-urban jurisdictional "politics of acquisition" and "politics of exclusion" (Kirby, 1982). In order to obviate a situation in which the distribution of public goods and services "is up for grabs" in the political arena, appropriate information must be available to inform and direct the debate.

A need exists, therefore, for an accounting system that would facilitate analysis of the geography of urban finance,

a system founded upon a coherent theory of public service provision. This remains the focus of future research.

While it was not possible accurately to determine a comparative geography of intra-urban finance, it was possible to trace income and expenditure trends on individual account items with a view to identifying changing Council priorities in the provision of public goods and services and to establishing the extent of financial redistribution. This has been done and will be discussed later in the context of the research hypotheses.

10.2 MARXIST-TYPE SOCIALISM : THEORY AND PRAXIS IN ZIMBABWE

The purpose of the research undertaken was to gain insights into the nature of change that has occurred in Zimbabwe after independence. This was pursued through an examination of public finance in Harare, the emphasis being upon the local state. To impart meaning and coherence to the investigation criteria had to be established against which change could be evaluated. These criteria derived from the stated goals of the liberation struggle which were based upon a conception of a political-economy organised according to "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" principles.

The local state clearly does not operate in isolation of extraneous forces in the political economy. Nor is it simply a product of those forces. Any consideration of the causative factors underpinning change therefore, must begin with processes operating at the national level.

The primary goal of the Mugabe government at independence was "growth with equity". Its attainment would, *inter alia*, have necessitated the elimination of discrimination and deprivation which were seen to have occurred as a direct function of the accumulation of wealth by the previous dominant White group. Corollary aims of the redistribution of wealth and the removal of distortion in the inherited

space economy would also have been consistent with a socialist conception of social justice.

It could be argued however, that any of the above aims would be equally consistent with 'liberal-', reformist-', or 'welfare-' capitalism and are not unique to socialism. A Marxist-Leninist-Maoist form of socialism requires something more fundamental, some constituents that definitively set it apart from other models of political-economy. It is held here that three fundamental ideological principles constitute a *sine qua non* of this form of socialism. These are:-

1. The principle of socialization of the means of production.
2. The principle of the political primacy of the proletariat (the working class) through the agency of the state.
3. The principle of centralised state control of the economic processes of production, consumption, and exchange.

Of necessity, political and organisational expression of these fundamental beliefs would have to include:-

1. Centralised political control through a one-party state where a party caucus directs government action according to party principles.
2. State ownership of the means of production through the nationalisation of productive enterprises.
3. Prohibition upon the ownership of property and accumulation of wealth through inheritance, speculation, or private enterprise.
4. State control of consumption based on the principle, "to each according to his need" (Leatt et al, 1986 p194).
5. Management of the 'shop floor' productive process by workers.
6. Greater egalitarianism in society: The removal of discrimination; the leveling of status

differences; equality of opportunity; equality before the law; equal political rights under a one-party state; and guaranteed minimum levels of basic needs (e.g. housing, food, clothing, education, and health).

7. Mass mobilisation and conscientisation of citizens towards national goals including those of an egalitarian, self-reliant, and participatory society.
8. Removal of economic class differentiation.

It is not the purpose here exhaustively to review the Zimbabwean political-economy and the extent of its transition towards a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist socialist order. Informative reviews are provided by Mandaza (1986); Hawkins, (1987); Kandhai (1986); Chimombe (1986); Ndlela (1986); Moyo (1986); Mumbengegwi (1986); Sachikonye (1986); Government of Zimbabwe (1986). It is sufficient to recognise that, continued rhetoric notwithstanding, Zimbabwe has failed to satisfy many of the criteria listed above. A number of important contributory factors may be advanced as reasons.

While the intent ultimately to establish a one-party state has frequently been expressed, Zimbabwe is still a functioning multi-party democracy.

Active state involvement is limited to a few major parastatals (e.g. the Zimbabwean National Railways, the Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Corporation, the Central African Power Corporation) and differs little from that exercised during the period of White-settler control, being characterised by strong fiscal and monetary regulation. Certainly the state does not own the means of production and has not prohibited the ownership of property nor speculative or inherited accumulation of wealth. Capitalism in commerce and industry remains the norm. Indeed Arrighi (1973) had argued that, since the 1950's economic circumstances had been changing irrespective of the wishes of the White agrarian bourgeoisie that formed the 'centre of gravity' of

the class structure. Manufacturing capital was beginning to challenge some of the basic principles of settler capitalism and the class structure before independence. First it encouraged the development of a Black urban proletariat; second it brought recognition for African trade unions and third, it allowed the emergence of a Black petit bourgeoisie (Baylies, 1981). As a result there was "a drift towards the type of neo-colonialism which characterised the 'independence' process in so many contemporary colonial territories" (Teedon and Drakakis-Smith, 1986 p312). Class differences remain sharply defined. Foreign investment remains considerable and is actively solicited. Mandaza (1986, p43) considered that "the pervasive nature of imperialist hegemony - over the state, classes, and social formation of the society - is an important aspect in any characterisation of the post-colonial situation".

Mandaza also held that there had never been any evidence of a carefully defined agenda for the transformation of Zimbabwean society to a truly socialist state. He wrote (ibid. p30) that

"to suggest that the armed struggle had a socialist thrust as its inspiration would be to overlook the serious ideological deficiencies of the nationalist movement. For a socialist thrust would have required a clearly articulated ideology that would clearly explain the historical reality of imperialism; reveal the class structure of the liberation movement, and constitute the basis for a vanguard party that would, in turn, inform, teach, guide and translate the gains of nationalist independence into an onward movement toward socialist construction".

It is evident that in Zimbabwe there exists a dislocation between ideology and commitment, theory and practice. Reasons for this are a consequence of the complex interplay of many forces requiring a depth of analysis that will not be attempted here. Mandaza (1986) offers a particularly penetrating analysis of post-independence transition in the political economy. It is appropriate however briefly to identify some of the more important of these causative factors.

The Lancaster House agreement served to mute any possible revolutionary action and to compromise radical structural change. Among other conditions in the new constitution was the guarantee of entrenched White seats in parliament and a ten-year guarantee on the inviolability of private property. Moreover, crucial elements of the colonial state apparatus, the bureaucratic institutions, police, army, judiciary, and state security, for example, were retained with a view to ensuring continuity and socio-economic stability, and to creating circumstances amenable to future investment.

Foreign investment had always played a significant role in the Rhodesian economy and it was in the interests of international capital to maintain Zimbabwe under its 'imperialist' hegemony. This imperialism could be exercised over the newly installed government through the 'leverage' of threats of disinvestment and conditions written into aid and loan agreements. As it was, aid disbursements were slow and constantly fell below commitments (Chimombe, 1988; Hawkins, 1987) while loans were urgently required to service a growing debt burden occasioned by a falling balance of payments on current account (Hawkins, 1987). In a recessionary economic climate, government could not afford to forego attracting capital for urgently needed post-war development programmes. This assertion is supported by Teedon and Drakakis-Smith (1986, p315) who observe that, "..... the course of events since 1980 has shown that a complex mix of forces has been in operation. Generally these have worked to moderate radical development strategies as ZANU has sought to establish its credentials domestically and internationally - certainly the continuation of the colonial bureaucracy has played a major role in maintaining international influence, not least through loan and aid schemes aimed at the continuation of economic stability".

The dominance of foreign control and ownership of plant and resources in Zimbabwe severely limits the potential for structural change. Moreover, nothing like the scale of resources, financial and managerial, exists to support a

process of transfer of ownership to the state (Kandhai, 1986). Nevertheless the limited involvement of the state in productive processes was still identified as a major factor explaining the sluggish investment performance of the post 1980 period (Government of Zimbabwe 1986). As a result the First Five-Year National Development Plan continues to make explicit the intention to increase state ownership and control in the economy; "to control industries which are deemed strategic to socio-economic development" (ibid. p30). It intends that structural transformation will be achieved through expanding the intermediate, capital goods and chemical sectors using the nation's available resource endowments and technical skills (Ndlela, 1986 p156)

A considerable White presence remained in Zimbabwe after independence despite an initial surge in emigration. This sector of the population constituted a considerable, and potentially valuable reserve of skills and managerial expertise. Historically, its members had constituted the bulk of the bourgeoisie and they continued to do so, dominating the domestic economy - to such a degree indeed, that Mandaza conceived the concept of a post-White settler-colonial state: "The pervasive nature of imperialist hegemony - over the state, classes and social formation of the society is an important aspect in any characterisation of the post-colonial situation. But the peculiar role and dominance of the White settler factor in the society in general, and in the economy in particular, assigns a special character to a situation such as that of a post-independent Zimbabwe. Hence the concept of the post-White settler colonial state" (Mandaza, 1986 p43).

The gradual evolution of a Black petit-bourgeoisie in Rhodesia after World War II has already been alluded to. Its members entered into a tacit alliance with White capitalist interests and validly feared that independence might threaten their independence and class aspirations. Their numbers included,

"a) the governing class i.e. the ministers permanent secretaries, and other senior personnel

and directors of the administrative apparatus, the general managers of the large parastatals (not excluding the university and other higher institutions of learning and training), the heads of the appointed party bureaucracy at the different levels, the heads of repressive apparatuses - the army, airforce, police, prisons and state security;

b) the comprador elements for whom Zimbabwe's political independence has meant an increase in both numbers and scope with regard to their link with international capital; as either the general managers and chief executives of the major multinational corporations, or mere business 'front men' and 'public relations' trouble-shooters in the intermediary role between those large corporations and elements of the state apparatus;

c) the (more lucky) emergent business people - the middle-level merchants, transport operators and land-owners - for whom national independence has meant an increase in opportunities and access to capital accumulation.

d) all other sections of the African petit-bourgeoisie who, through either the fact of national independence or the accompanying democratisation (and *Africanisation*) of the society, find themselves in better employment, with a higher standard of living and, as is the case with students and trainee professionals, are generally in a better position to partake of the 'fruits of independence'" (ibid. p49).

The Black petit-bourgeoisie, White capitalists, and international interests exerted a considerable constraining influence on any freedom of action of the new government. International credibility and a viable economy were crucial to their post-war reconstruction agenda.

The civil-war had been prosecuted and sustained by the 'povo' on the expectation of the elimination of deeply held grievances, many of which were identified and propagandised in party rhetoric. These grievances included the alienation of land, racial discrimination, poverty, and the absence of political power. More pragmatically, the peoples' aspirations included employment, better pay, better conditions of service, better health, housing and education.

Resolution of these issues was a powerful imperative for the Mugabe government. It would serve to deliver more immediate 'fruits of victory' and, given the circumstances outlined above, be relatively easier to implement than the more ambitious requirements of fundamental structural change in the political economy. As a result, the new state compromised its ideological position. Mandaza (ibid. p50-51) interpreted the situation thus:

"Indeed it became increasingly imperative as an act of survival for the new state, to put a rein on its mass base. In turn, this became a process of mobilising a mass political base through which political independence had been won and without which no petit-bourgeoisie no matter how progressive its leadership, could effectively either contain imperialist and former white settler machinations or wage the struggle for genuine economic and social progress.

In general, therefore, change in the economic sphere meant essentially the gradual embourgeoisement of the African petit-bourgeoisie as the latter found their class aspirations fulfilled, albeit with such limitations as this post-White settler colonial situation prescribed more for the mass of the people than for this class itself. as the African petit-bourgeoisie began gradually to find access to the same economic and social status as their White counterparts so, too, did it become increasingly unable to respond effectively to the aspirations of the workers and peasants. The leadership would find it increasingly difficult to confront the former White settlers, let alone international capital.

There was more than a symbolic commitment to the capitalist order as the members of the African petit-bourgeoisie variously bought houses, farms, businesses, etc; political principles and ideological commitment appeared mortgaged on the altar of private property!"

Compounding the problem of instituting a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist political and economic order were the actions of the political leadership at all levels who were seen to move into former White high status residential areas and to assume all the accoutrements of the former White dominant group. Isolated cases of corruption within the bureaucracy

did little to support the impression of ideological conviction among the people. A Leadership Code, a code of conduct for party and government leaders, was introduced at the Second National Congress of ZANU-PF in 1985 but, as the Secretary for Administration and Acting Secretary of the Commissariat for Culture observed,

"We are meeting difficulties in implementing the Leadership Code because leaders have acquired property and do not seem prepared to part with it We should call an emergency congress and tell the people that we are unable to fulfil one of our important resolutions mainly that of scientific socialism, because the leaders acquired property appear to have adopted capitalism, become property owners and appear to be deceiving our people." (in Mandaza, 1986 p53)

The combined effect of the circumstances discussed above has been the inexorable depoliticisation of the people who were accustomed to, and in large part had accepted, a similar system under White settler colonial rule. Reflecting this, the ZANU-PF Harare Province declared 1986 the year of politicising party members on scientific socialism as laid down by the central committee. In the face of slackening morale among members of the party, "seminars and ideological groups would be launched toward the end of this month to conscientise the people on 'ZANU-PF today and tomorrow'" (Harare Herald 1986(c)).

The argument advanced thus far is that, for a variety of reasons, some of which have been suggested, the post independence Black government could not, or did not choose to, initiate a radical structural transformation of the Zimbabwean political economy that would have been consistent with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. This is not to deny however that, at the national level, significant changes were introduced. For instance, all racially discriminatory legislation was abolished and discriminatory practices outlawed; much former White commercial farmland was resettled by Blacks (Moyo, 1986); minimum wage legislation was introduced; former White schools and health facilities were opened-up to Blacks; occupational mobility for Blacks

was accelerated particularly in the civil service; reconstruction and development of physical infrastructure (particularly in rural areas) was undertaken; community development projects were initiated (again, particularly, in the rural areas); and, importantly, all the people were able to participate in democratic government. In these respects undoubted socialist tendencies towards egalitarianism, participation and self-reliance are displayed. These actions accord more however with models of social democracy or welfare capitalism of the sort encountered in many Western European countries than they do with the precepts of Marxism-Leninism.

Nevertheless Mandaza (1986, p51) considers that,

"as a concept, 'development' became confused between, on the one hand, the tendency to translate it in terms of making capitalism accessible to the masses; and, on the other, the social democratic view of 'bridging the gap' between the rich and the poor. Therein lay the hope for the transformation of the capitalist system and for the transition to socialism."
 "With time, therefore, the party became an agency for the leadership to try to explain the 'slowness of change', to plead for patience, to highlight the achievement of the post-independence period in contrast to the deprivation of the colonial past, to listen to general as well as to parochial complaints, to promise change, to emphasise the goal of national unity, and so on and so forth" (ibid. p52).

10.3 APPLICABILITY OF THE MODEL OF 'INTERNAL COLONIALISM' TO ZIMBABWE

The concept, 'internal colonialism' was introduced in earlier theoretical discussion and it is pertinent to reflect upon the degree to which it has any utility in furthering an understanding of present circumstances in Zimbabwe. Prior to independence, given the settler nature of the dominant White group, a condition of internal colonialism can be said to have existed in all but the most technical sense. That Great Britain was the colonial power was a fact only reasserted after the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and reinforced in the

subsequent political wranglings leading up to independence. Having granted responsible self-government to Southern Rhodesia in 1923, while it had *nominally* possessed suzerainty over its Crown Colony, in practice British never exercised its authority. No Governor had ever failed to sign into law Acts of the elected Parliament of Rhodesia, nor had the British Privy Council, as the ultimate court-of-appeal, ever entertained a petition challenging the validity of Rhodesian law.

Neither can Rhodesia be said to have been in a position of singular economic dependence upon the metropole. Although its trade links with Britain were strong (at least until the imposition of sanctions during the U.D.I. period), these were traditional and did not reflect considerable alternative market demand - a point amply demonstrated by the success of 'sanctions busters'. South Africa was the country's major source of import goods and investment as well as its largest market for manufactured goods. Rhodesia's dependence was more upon global capitalism. Thus it could be argued that, a *de facto*, independent White Rhodesian group exercised internal colonialism over a dominated Black group.

As discussed earlier, the domination of one group (the Whites) over another (the Blacks) was supported by ideological convictions and social, economic, and political practices in which class differentiation was reinforced by ethnic, cultural, and racial cleavage. White petit-bourgeoise and proletariat (or the middle and working classes) shared a common identity and ethos which collectively set them against the Black petit-bourgeoise and proletariat. This militated against the development of a common class consciousness across racial lines. However, while this conception of historical circumstance conforms with the model of internal colonialism, the legal responsibility of Britain for its colony cannot be ignored and therefore must, at least partially, negate the model for pre-independence Rhodesia.

Independence brought Black majority rule. Most of the colonial structures however, remained. Whether the new power dispensation can be said to be establishing a situation of neo-colonialism in which the previous international linkages and instruments of colonial exploitation are merely perpetuated by a different power elite (i.e. 'where earlier White faces are simply replaced by Black faces' and essentially nothing changes), must remain the subject of another investigation.

With respect to the alternative conception of continuing internal colonialism in Zimbabwe, two different formulations are possible:

1. That the ruling power elite representing almost exclusively the Shona will exercise dominance over the numerically smaller, and relatively powerless N'debele and White groups by manipulating the mechanisms of economic, political and military control. The N'debele, located predominantly to the south and west of the country, are geographically peripheral to the Shona core centred on Harare. As a consequence of the two groups' respective histories, strong ethnic differentiation already exists. Historically derived antagonisms reinforced by myths, stereotyping and group ideology, could readily provide the ideological rationale and justification for future actions designed to entrench a system of domination and exploitation. The stated intentions of creating a one-party state and evidence in the media of nepotism, corruption and abuse of power could be taken as evidence of such a trend. In this model, the White minority would also constitute a dominated and politically insignificant group.
2. That the White group as a result of its continuing economic hegemony in alliance with a relatively small Black petit-bourgeoise would be in a

position to continue to exploit a vast Black working class and to exert a powerful influence upon political decision-making. Racial identity within the White group still virtually obliterates within-group class distinctions. Prejudices, heightened during the war, still exist, and there is a strong tradition of Whites assisting and protecting one another with regard to job mobility and the utilisation of influence.

Evidence can be brought to bear to support both conceptions of a situation of internal colonialism evolving in Zimbabwe. Whether or not the political - economy will ultimately be adjudged to conform with a model of internal colonialism or, alternatively, one of neo-colonialism, requires a longer time frame for trends to be resolved.

It is evident that the ability to change to a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist mode of societal organisation is severely constrained by the contextual realities of developing countries particularly the need to provide short-term material benefits to different factions in order to retain power. Further there is the need to develop crisis responses to situations caused by a burgeoning poor population. Discretion is largely removed under such circumstances.¹ Finally there is the need to keep an economy, which is inextricably linked into the global capitalist system, viable, but without a sufficient level of internal economic development to disengage even partially.

With respect to the focus of the present study, in Harare, ZANU-PF holds total sway. The N'debele group is virtually absent, political conformity and adherence to party tenets is expected (indeed accusations of intimidation to achieve this end have been made). The degree to which the White

¹ This is assuming a situation in which violent revolutionary restructuring bordering on anarchy (of the sort experienced in China under the Red Brigades during the Cultural Revolution and in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge) is avoided, and in which attempts are made to maintain social stability and the rule of law.

group can influence local-authority decision-making as a result of its economic influence is moot, and would be difficult to establish empirically. It is reasonable to postulate however, that this hegemony would be greatest at national level and that, in general, White influence upon local authority practice in Harare will be indirect and relatively marginal.

10.4 THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN HARARE

Even though government is largely strapped at the national level, local government should, theoretically, be more responsive to grass-roots demands. Because the issues it deals with are more immediate, given the political will, greater change could be expected. It was surmised that had the urban political economy been restructured according to socialist principles, the structure, functioning and management of the city would have been affected significantly. A number of expectations emerged as a result of this reasoning:

1. That the City Council could have been expected to become subject to the policy directives of the ZANU-PF Central Committee on the one hand and to experience increased intervention, direction and control by central government on the other. This could have been expected to involve new legislation and structural re-organisation.
2. That increased levels of taxation of the more affluent to effect redistribution of wealth could have been expected.
3. That accelerated movement towards convergence of supply, or greater equalisation of access to public facilities and services could have been expected.
4. That widespread state ownership of land and property could have been expected.
5. That the reduction, and possible eventual prohibition, of forms of capital accumulation and speculation could have been expected in Harare.

6. That the institution of more effective systems of public participation in civic affairs could have been expected.
7. That efforts to conscientise the city's residents and to mobilise them towards adoption of socialist principles and practices could have been expected.
8. That a qualitative improvement of social services could have been expected.
9. That increased emphasis on the role of women in community development could have been expected.
10. That training of manpower at different levels of skill and responsibility could have been expected.
11. That changes in the character of population distribution and in the location of commercial, industrial, and social opportunities away from the spatial disparities of the colonial system could have been expected.

These expectations will be addressed *seriatim* below:

1. Little has changed since independence in terms of the organisational structure and the operational functioning procedures of the City Council. Moreover, the Municipal Act which prescribes local authority practice in Zimbabwe was only minimally amended in 1980, mainly to remove racially discriminatory clauses. The provisions governing the financial activities of municipal councils remained unaltered. Thus the City Council has received no new or extended powers to exercise greater autonomy.

The Harare City Council remains very much a 'creature of government' being able to exercise little discretionary power or effective autonomy. It is not, for instance, empowered to raise private loans, to initiate major engineering works, to approve town-planning schemes, to develop major low-cost housing projects or to institute major road systems without the approval of the relevant central government department.

Private conversations with Council officials indicated in fact, that the degree of central government involvement in local affairs had increased. All important policy decisions were referred to the Central Committee of the Party for review. Cabinet ministers and central government officials also actively involved themselves in the affairs of the city to a greater extent than was the case prior to independence. In many instances this was resented and there appeared to be a tension between the central and local state that belies the theoretical integration. The interviews with City Councillors were striking both for their absence of revolutionary goals or the articulation of ideological principles and for their pragmatic assessment of problems facing the city.

While government procedures directing the prosecution of local government remain virtually unchanged, so too does the organisational structure of the municipality. The committee system remains intact. Apart from minor internal reorganisation involving the creation of new Sections within Departments, no new Departments have been created and the daily affairs of the municipality continue to be directed and co-ordinated by the Town Clerk. Importantly, in the present context, the accounting procedures adopted by Council have not changed at all save that two new accounts (The Sewerage Account and the Waste Management Account) were created in anticipation of implementation of the 'One City' concept.

Party influence is pervasive, as witness the system instituted for citizen participation in local affairs and for communication between the city's citizens and the highest level of policy-makers, the Central Committee which is discussed below.

2. The imposition of a differential rates tax on commercial and industrial properties was a significant feature of change under the new Black City Council. In addition, in the 1985/86 financial year commercial and industrial premises were made subject to a 33,3 per cent sewerage tariff. Their waste removal charges increased by 20 per cent, water tariffs by 23 per cent and vehicles licenses by 14,3 per cent (Annual Treasurer's Budget 1985/86) making commercial and industrial activities indispensable constituents of the City's financial base. A 25 per cent subvention increase from the Rates Account to the City's health services was also included in the budget, reflecting additional income distribution from the wealthier residential areas notwithstanding that many Blacks have moved into the former White Low Density suburbs and pay the same rates and taxes as their White neighbours. These increases were designed to help fund an overall 30 per cent budget increase, the reasons for which will be discussed below.
3. Trends displayed by individual account entities provided unambiguous evidence of the reallocation of public funds to welfare-related expenditure in the high-density suburbs where a determined effort has been made to improve the standard of living of previously disadvantaged citizens. Councillor interviews had identified the provision of electricity, housing, water-borne sewerage, piped domestic water, improved health, education and recreation facilities as priorities for expenditure. In general, expenditure patterns, both capital and revenue, reflected increased funding to these facilities and amenities while concomitantly registering decreased expenditure on items in the Rates Account i.e. in the Low Density (formerly White) suburbs. Expenditures on family health services provide an excellent example of

this. While expenditure on "Family Health Services 'A'" (i.e. those traditionally directed towards Black clients) increased by 745 per cent, expenditure on "Family Health Services 'B'" (i.e. those provided for the White population) increased by 55 per cent between 1978 and 1984.²

The Council has assumed responsibility for pre-primary school education and has instituted school-meal programmes in an effort to optimise the childrens' chances in respect of education from an early age. Free health care is provided for the indigent and those earning less than Z\$150 per month while health care facilities are being expanded as rapidly as funds permit. The eligibility strictures on home ownership were relaxed so that an applicant earning as little as Z\$175 per month could obtain loan finance for self-building. All these are examples of providing greater equalisation of access to public goods and services either by means of improved distribution, fee and tariff regulation, or revised rules of eligibility.

Additionally the Department of Housing and Community Services actively pursues a multi-faceted approach to community development in the High Density areas. Fundamental to this approach is inculcation of self reliance and co-operation.

²

"The concept of equity employed here stems from the idea that one of the more important purposes of government in contemporary Western societies is to offset some of the burdens imposed on some groups by the operation of the market economy, so that a greater equality of life chances is achieved. An equitable arrangement is then one which promotes the greater equality of condition. Services are equally distributed when everyone gets the same services. They are equitably distributed when citizens are in a more nearly equal life circumstance than before. This concept of equity in service distributions is closely akin to the standard of 'equal results' it opens the possibility that equity and equality may be incompatible" (Rich, 1979 p152).

The Department acts as an enabling agency to assist members of the community to form clubs and special-interest groups for recreation or self-improvement. Its assistance covers a wide range of activities and takes many forms including providing advice on specific projects, seeking suitable land or premises, providing organisational and financial training, educating sports and skills instructors, and providing other facilities for sport, culture, recreation and education. Its operations are directed towards establishing a situation of greater equity in Harare.

4. Extensive state ownership of land and property has not occurred. On the contrary the local authority, in direct contradiction to Marxist-socialist principle, is divesting itself of the ownership and control of formerly Council-owned rented housing stock. As a concomitant of state ownership of land and resources, speculation and the accumulation of capital is a pervasive ethos and practice.
5. There is no evidence of profit-motivated entrepreneurial activity being prohibited. Instead, the Council is attempting to act as a catalyst for the promotion of small-scale marketing and petty commodity production enterprises. This is accomplished in a number of ways; by developing sites and facilities for formal shopping outlets and for peoples' markets; by providing loan finance for small businessmen; by licensing hawkers and vendors. The licensing of "emergency taxis" by Council is also a case in point. The provision of an informal, highly flexible, transportation service by individuals using private vehicles (generally referred to as "kaffir taxis") had been illegal under the White Rhodesian authorities. The "emergency taxis" are regarded by Council as both providing a much-

needed source of income for individuals and an alternative, cheaper, mode of public transport to the bus service. Council continues to control the production and selling of traditional beer and is expanding its farming operations to generate increased revenues.

Of all the public goods provided by the municipality, housing had the greatest impact on the lives of the Black populace and impinged upon their consciousness most. The lack of choice inherent in having housing allocated in segregated areas to an entire ethnic group by the local authority, being obliged to pay rental, and not being able to own property, symbolically reinforced the peoples' perception of their subservient position within the colonial political economy. The Government decision to sell off the housing stock, to encourage the emergence of a growing body of home-owners, and implicitly, to encourage capital accumulation and speculation also broadcast a message in contradiction to Marxist ideology. According to Teedon and Drakakis-Smith (1986) home ownership policies have not been reformed to prevent profiteering. As a result there is increasing evidence of a housing sub-market based on (absentee) landlordism. They conclude (*ibid.* p321) that, "housing policies have been disappointing when measured against objectives of redistribution of wealth or political power. Indeed, it is difficult to see where any distinctive socialist policies have been instigated; rather an examination of housing programmes has revealed a continuation of policies initiated under the colonial regime. Such capitalist approaches have elsewhere been castigated as a continuation of established inequalities in access to housing resources (see Burgess, 1985)".

6. Structures for more effective communication between Councillors and citizens have been established in Harare. However, the hierarchical system of cell, branch, district, and provincial committees was available only to members of the ZANU-PF political party and, in practice, appeared to be more a mechanism for the 'top-down' transmission of Central Committee policy directives (and related decisions regarding their implementation), than for citizen involvement in decision-making. They also served as instruments for mass mobilisation of the 'povo', for inculcation of party principles and goals. As such they were exclusionary and limiting. They did, however, also serve as conduits for the expression of individual or community problems and grievances to Councillors.

Because the system was confined to party members and was used more as a means to convey party decisions to the people, Council has now initiated a system of Ward Committees to which all members of a ward could belong or to which they could address problems. The newly envisaged Ward Committees (WADCOS) are intended to be apolitical and to possess limited defined executive powers including those to generate finance for local community projects. Since none were fully operational however, it was not possible to assess their effectiveness. The old White ratepayers' associations had become defunct leaving personal communication with Councillors as the only means of exerting influence in local government affairs. Although, by the end of 1984, no WADCO constitution had yet been drawn up, it was envisaged that WADCOS would have limited powers to raise finances and to undertake community development projects.

The Department of Housing and Community Services also publishes a municipal news magazine,

"Danhiko", in an effort to communicate its activities in the civic, social, and developmental spheres. While serving to advertise departmental opinion and intentions concerning current issues, it is also intended to serve as a medium for communication to Council of the opinions of the city's residents through 'letters to the editor'. In addition, it contains articles of general interest, competitions, and short stories from readers to attract as wide a readership as possible. In terms of the 'One-City' concept it was proposed to transfer publication to the Town Clerk's department, which had an established central public relations section, in order to encourage more participation from other departments, to extend distribution and readership throughout the city and to reduce earlier emphasis on the High Density areas (City of Harare, 1985 p61).

7. Mass mobilisation of the population towards socialism has had only limited success. The ZANU-PF system of cells and branches has been used to call political meetings and to convey party philosophy. It would appear however, that given the problems of daily city life experienced by many of the poorer Black population in particular, and an environment of overt and relatively successful capitalism, revolutionary zeal is dissipating. Mandaza (1984) observed that people were being forced by youths to attend party meetings which, according to the ZANU-PF Secretary for Administration and Acting Secretary for the Commissariat for Culture, involved 'only sloganeering and singing party songs'. The Secretary expressed the opinion that, "Such people are destroying the party and not building it. People are not interested in chanting slogans and singing party songs when there is nothing big that is to be said".(ibid. p52). On complaints that

senior officials in both the public and private sectors were reluctant to attend party meetings, he said they might be busy with other issues but urged the people to persuade the officials to attend progressive meetings.

Against this, the Council has endeavoured to promote the formation of viable co-operatives focused upon service industries, commodity retailing, and agriculture in municipal allotments. The establishment of building-brigades, their relative lack of success notwithstanding, are also examples of Council's attempts to mobilise people in a manner consistent with socialist principles. Efforts to encourage a sense of public responsibility and self-reliance among community organisations in a number of different activities is further evidence of this.

8. The qualitative improvement of social services must remain an unresolved issue at present in the absence of empirical evidence. However, discussions with many municipal officials and with Councillors indicated that, despite an obvious concern for the maintenance of previous levels of service delivery, trained manpower shortages were a serious constraint. This applied particularly in the departments of the City Engineer, the Electrical Engineer, the City Medical Officer of Health and the City Treasurer. They were exacerbated, in many instances by a relative lack of equipment. This in turn was frequently a direct consequence of an insufficient foreign currency allocation from government or an insufficient Council allocation of domestic funds. New projects (witness the levels of net capital expenditure as a percentage of annual estimates (Fig. 8.19), and necessary repairs and maintenance, were all negatively affected. Against this, determined efforts to upgrade the quality (or 'livability') of urban environments

and to improve citizen access to a wider range of public facilities and amenities, were also evident.

9. In accordance with the central government's commitment to expanding womens' rights and to encouraging their contribution towards the goals of self-reliance and development, ZANU-PF had organised womens' Central Committees in Harare after independence. The Department of Housing and Community Services has targeted such groups, in particular, for extension and training programmes. Its aim is "to ensure that such groups are capable of appreciating and improving their socio-economic environment and to arm them with basic skills in fundamental areas such as literacy, primary health, home-crafts and hygiene, leadership and income generating projects. Training is undertaken in Community Centres in the High Density areas, or in the Department's training centre in Mbare. Outside expertise is called upon as and when necessary" (City of Harare, 1985 p61). The organisation of women into production co-operatives, particularly for home-crafts and market produce, is also a Council-sponsored initiative.

While in-service training had been an integral feature of earlier White-run Councils, the mobility of Blacks to higher levels of management and skill acquisition had been greatly constrained. This was largely a function of Blacks historically receiving a lower quality school education than Whites, and social practice deriving from racial prejudice, rather than statutory prohibitions on career advancement. After independence, the Mugabe government outlawed discriminatory practices in the workplace and aggressively pursued a policy of 'Africanisation' of the civil service. The demand for trained personnel was heightened by a considerable exodus

of White staff after independence. Moreover 'leakage' continues to occur as many middle-management personnel seek career advancement in the more lucrative private sector. The annual reports of all departments within the City Council continually point to skilled staff shortages as a major operational constraint. As a result in-service training courses are regarded a priority by Council.³

While analysis of the geography of the commercial or industrial sectors did not fall within the ambit of this research, it is necessary, on the basis of field observation, to record that the physical structure, form and functioning of the city has undergone minimal transformation. The communications networks, land-use patterns and activity patterns established under colonial rule largely persist. No attempts have been made at achieving some more desired socio-economic mix of population. Despite the presence of large numbers of politically influential Blacks in the Low Density suburbs, increased provision of public goods and services in these areas has not occurred. Re-allocation of municipal funds and resources continues to be towards the High Density suburbs and away from the Low Density, residential, commercial, and industrial areas. Nevertheless, this allocation constitutes a change of emphasis within a relatively unchanging urban system - more a change of degree than of kind. Certainly revolutionary and radical structural reorganisation of the urban space economy, of the sort effected in the Eastern Bloc countries after World War II has not occurred. The structure-plan (Strategy 7) adopted to guide the growth and development of the city into the next century gives no indication of socialist city-planning

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Private conversation with the Deputy Town Clerk.

formulations either in its concept design or the accompanying policy document that would inform the compilation of smaller Town Planning Schemes. Nor does it appear that evolutionary change toward structural readjustment is occurring despite continuing statements of intent from central government. The urban pattern that has evolved could have been expected under welfare capitalism. Few in the country, Black and White, would gainsay the validity of goals to reduce past socio-economic inequalities.

Thus, on the basis of evidence, the null hypothesis that, No significant change has occurred in the form, structure, and functioning of the City of Harare, must be accepted.

10.4.1 Theory vs. Praxis in Harare : Some Observations

The conclusion above begs a final question, namely why the disjuncture between the intent of instituting a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist model and the evident absence of structural reform has occurred. The answer lies in a complex mix of forces the precise nature and interaction of which would require a considerable depth of analysis. Aside from institutionalised political and economic relations, both international and domestic, such an analysis would have to include, for instance, the sociology of interpersonal and intergroup power relations, the perceptions of decision-makers, the role of charismatic leadership, the issues of credibility and legitimacy, the nature of the decision-making process, and the nature and adequacy of the legal and bureaucratic instruments necessary for the implementation of decisions. Such analysis is beyond the scope of the present study.

It is nevertheless possible to identify some of the most critical factors that, in combination, facilitate explanation and understanding of the local authority's inability to effect a socialist transformation in the

morphology and organisation of Harare. Five major reasons may be cited.

In the first instance the position of the city in its regional and national context must be recognised. To the extent that forces operating at the national level to inhibit reform initiatives are translated to the local level, freedom of action is compromised. Conversely, the more local government can be separated from central government influences, the greater its flexibility will be. For instance, government fixes interest rates, determines foreign currency allocations, directs major capital investments, negotiates foreign loan and aid packages and prescribes the nature and extent of Council loan applications.

Secondly, there is the factor of Black perceptions and expectations. Prior to colonial penetration in sub-Saharan Africa, Blacks had no experience of the truly urban phenomenon. The development of towns and cities was a necessary concomitant of political and economic domination and a pre-requisite for the functioning of capitalist economies.

The capitalist ethos and patterns of behaviour had become deeply entrenched over 90 years in the phenomenal, operational and behavioural milieu of the country and the city. The institutions and practices that had ensured (and characterised) an efficient space-economy provided the only practical model of what was possible and, by extension, desirable. Whites created and, by virtue of their economic dominance and demonstrably high standard of living, continue to create a strong demonstration effect.

Peoples' perceptions and aspirations are, to a considerable degree, a function of their own experience. This experience sets limits to a person's appreciation of what is possible and his/her evaluation of what is desirable. This explains why more isolated and uneducated communities (insofar as they are not exposed to a cross-fertilisation of ideas through interaction and communication) are generally more

conservative, approaching innovation cautiously. For such communities, change is a gradual process involving retention of those elements of their phenomenal and operational milieu that are perceived to have utility and relevance, and rejection of those elements considered outmoded or inappropriate - a process of slowly 'cutting out the dead wood'. The manner in which this process of cultural evaluation occurs is extremely complex and is always time and place specific.

This argument recognises, and accommodates, the deep-seated grievances held by Blacks against the settler colonial political-economy - racial discrimination, segregation, inequalities in education, health, and job opportunities, alienation of land, and political powerlessness being among the most important. These grievances were articulated by the nationalist leaders to mobilise the 'povo'. They became the focus of national resistance and their removal the most immediate and desirable returns for the liberation struggle. While many of the intelligentsia perceived capitalist imperialism and its manifestation in the national political-economy to have been the structural cause of Black impoverishment and oppression, the majority perceived them in a more immediate and pragmatic manner. Once victory was achieved, these issues became the bases of expectations for 'rebuilding'. Moves for their fulfilment became a priority for the political leadership who needed to retain political credibility and legitimacy. Their political survival was tied to that of the 'povo' and it was this realisation that dictated government responses. Practically it was easier to address the immediate problems of redistribution and development than to transform the structural framework within which these objectives might later be achieved. The ideals of socialist transformation were compromised by attempts to effect redistribution of scarce resources and to bridge the gap between rich and poor within a capitalist system, albeit capitalism with a welfare component. The financial legal and organisational instruments used to implement public policy were efficient and, above all, in

place. In combination, all these factors placed a considerable inertia upon change.

Confidence in local government decision-making is directly related to the issue of perception and experience of the urban phenomenon. When understanding and experience of urban systems is lacking, decision-making becomes abrogated to officials and professionals. The corporate municipal culture, particularly in developing countries is deeply ingrained and very powerful. It perpetuates a colonial, and in the present context, a very Western conception of what is desirable and how the urban system should be managed. The research, assessments, planning, and recommendations of specialist departments to the functional committees of Council are powerful influences in decision-making. Invariably professional 'gate-keepers and managers' constitute forces of conservatism and inertia. Thus, it is possible to have an ideological, theoretical and political realignment within the city's power base but not a functional realignment. For change to occur, the perceptions and ideology of the leadership need to be inculcated into the corporate culture of the municipality.

A third crucial factor inhibiting change is the degree to which future expenditure is already committed by what has been spent in the past. The structure and form of the city that evolved under colonial administration represents a vast scale of capital expenditure. To a great degree this dictates what must be spent on repairs and maintenance in the future. Given limited budgets it is not feasible to write-off such investment. Also, given the rate and scale of urbanisation, the use of social and capital infrastructure must be optimised. Moreover, the logic of technological and cost efficiency almost inevitably prescribes that one phase of development determines the nature of the next phase. That is, one project logically impels related expenditure. The more limited budgets are dedicated in this way, the less can Council effect morphogenic and functional change within the urban system.

The legacy of the built form and functional organisation of the colonial city thus constitutes a significant impediment to change. Western (1985, p344) recognised this, observing that,

"the most drastic reorganisation of cities in recent times has been attempted in China and South Africa. Yet even in these countries urban reorganisation labours under certain constraints that are inescapable for all revolutionary regimes. A city cannot be torn down totally to begin anew because the colonial mould is literally set in stone. Certain symbols like statutory or street names can easily be changed. In many respects the inherited urban form becomes a geographic imperative creating a particular range of options for the city's inhabitants and thereby serving to influence, if not direct future activity patterns. Structure and form functions as a force towards stability and continuity, facilitating the operation of entrenched social and economic institutions while, at the same time, inhibiting the development of alternative systems of organisation. This serves, in the large part to explain why, in many cities that have experienced drastic changes of regime, so much remains in the cityscape, in the fabric and in the street-plan from a prior, repudiated regime. Ideology is manifestly constrained by practicality. Novel ideologies, even if strongly held, are perhaps no more significant as agents eroding memorials to the past than are the radically neutral agents of wear and tear, the elements" (ibid. p 357).

Fourthly, Council faces considerable difficulty in breaking the patterns of behaviour of people historically engaged in survivalist strategies. Such people, living on the economic margins and with limited physical mobility have little option but to respond to existing patterns of opportunity. But by so doing they reinforce those patterns. The geography of the city creates a geographic imperative for the urban poor and the urban authorities have little option but to respond incrementally to meliorate the life condition of the urban poor.

Increasing numbers of the urban poor imply a lower economic support base for the local authority. Thresholds for the necessary range and scale of public services become increasingly difficult to attain without implementation of

Finally in the absence of autocratic and rigidly applied coercive control there is a considerable 'downside' risk associated with change for local (and central) government.

Nationalising the productive processes, determining patterns of consumption and bringing land and property under state ownership could have incurred considerable political cost. The allocation of housing to achieve different patterns of socio-economic distribution and greater equality of access to urban facilities would also have incurred social and political costs.

Different functions would incur different costs. For instance industrial relocation or rezoning could negatively affect functional efficiency, and future investment. As a result it could also risk the loss of jobs. The viability of commercial enterprises is largely determined by the range and threshold of goods and thus by the distribution of population. Redistribution of commercial functions or of buying power therefore carries economic risks. Population redistribution can occur, or be induced, by change in the location of other elements of the urban system but this is generally a long-term reactive process and is difficult to initiate proactively. If compensation to other users were involved, economic costs would be incurred. In other circumstances, social and political costs are implied.

To conclude, at the intra-urban level, socialist theory was never extended to the articulation of planning goals and objectives for structural and functional reorganisation. It has been demonstrated that redistribution of public funds towards a greater provision of welfare-related public goods and services in the previous Black townships of Harare has occurred. However, large-scale economic and spatial restructuring of the city has not occurred. In particular centralised control of the processes of production, consumption, and exchange has not occurred. The social and economic organisation of the city therefore remains largely unchanged.

It could be argued cogently that the major reason is that the nature of changes necessary to convert to the structure, form, and functioning of a socialist city would incur costs that could not be met. Revolutionary theory could not accommodate the economic, social and political realities of the City of Harare in developing 'Third World' Zimbabwe.

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APPENDIX 1

**SCHEDULE OF FUNCTIONS : CITY
OF SALISBURY**

**(as per the Urban Councils Act
(Chapter 214) of 1973**

APPENDIX 1

SCHEDULE OF FUNCTIONS: CITY OF SALISBURY - 1973

The Urban Councils Act (Chap. 214) *Whether presently
Function being undertaken*

(1) *Obligatory*

Public health authority	Yes
Licensing authority—Licence Control Act [Chapter 233]	Yes
Licensing authority in terms of African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act [Chapter 110]	Yes
Cemeteries and crematoria	Yes
Noxious Weed Act [Chapter 190]—authority in terms of	Yes
Planning authority and responsible authority—Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 133]	Yes
Roads and bridges	Yes
Water supply—	
bulk	Yes
reticulation	Yes
Ambulance services	Yes
Sewerage system	Yes

(2) *Permissible*

Purchase, erect, maintain, etc., land and buildings	Yes
Employ streetkeepers/policemen	No
Employ parking supervisors	Yes
Operate housing schemes	Yes
Construction private streets/foot-paths	Yes
Enter agreements <i>re</i> railway sidings	Yes
Hospitals, clinics, maternity and child welfare services	Yes
Recreation-grounds, establishment of open spaces, etc.	Yes
Theatres, public halls	No
Orchestras (hire out, etc.)	No
Art galleries and to acquire works	No
Operate aerodromes	No
Operate an omnibus service	No
Operate abattoirs	Yes
Fruit and vegetables markets	Yes
African eating-houses	Yes
Parking-places/meters, traffic-control	Yes
Fire-brigade	Yes
Control of public streams	Yes
Refuse-removal service	Yes
Stockyards	No
Swimming-pools	Yes

(3) *Permissive, with Government consent*

African Beer Act [Chapter 93]	Yes
Parking-garage and shops, etc.	Yes
African housing and townships	Yes
Vehicle licensing (agency basis)	Yes
Electricity-supply—	
bulk	Yes
reticulation	Yes
Establish libraries	No

Source: Report of the Greater Salisbury Local Authority Commission, 1975, Government Printer, Salisbury.

*Characteristics of the two sectors of the urban economy
in underdeveloped countries*

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Upper sector (formal)</i>	<i>Lower sector (informal)</i>
Technology	Capital-intensive	Labour-intensive
Organization	Bureaucratic	Primitive
Capital	Abundant	Scarce
Work	Limited	Abundant
Regular wages	Normal	Not required
Inventories	Large quantities, and/ or high quality	Small quantities, poor quality
Prices	Generally fixed	Generally negotiable between buyer and seller
Credit	From banks and other institutions	Personal, non-institutional
Benefits	Reduced to unity, but important due to the volume of business (except luxury items)	Raised to unity, but small in relation to the volume of business
Relations with clientele	Impersonal and/or through documents	Direct, personal
Fixed cost	Important	Negligible
Publicity	Necessary	None
Re-use of goods	None; wasted	Frequent
Overhead capital	Indispensable	Not indispensable
Government aid	Important	None or almost none
Direct dependence on foreign countries	Great; outward-oriented activity	Small or none

Source: Milton Santos, *L'Espace Partagé* (Paris, 1975).

APPENDIX 3

THE SHIFT-SHARE TECHNIQUE

- A Worked Example

APPENDIX 3

THE SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSIS

This aims at appreciating the RELATIVE size of the gains or losses among the areas being compared by combining both percentage and absolute changes. It avoids the distortion inherent in the use of simple percentage figures, e.g. an increase of 100 per cent whether it be from one million to two million or 10 to 20.

EXAMPLE

South Africa's White population grew by 57% between 1911 and 1936. Each of the 16 different functional regionals (e.g. Western Cape, Southern Transvaal, Durban) grew at different rates. Some were greater than the national rate of growth (57%), here termed the EXPECTED rate of growth, and some less.

The following table illustrates the use of the "shift" technique as applied to three of these 16 regions.

	SOUTHERN	EASTERN	SOUTHERN
<u>WHITES</u>	<u>TRANSVAAL</u>	<u>CAPE</u>	<u>O.F.S.</u>
1936	515773	197557	79116
1911	215941	186727	89065
ACTUAL + or -	- 299832	+ 10830	- 9969
EXPECTED INCREASE	+ 123086	+ 106434	+50778
	(57% OF 215941)	(57% OF 186727)	(57% OF 89085)
NET UPWARD OR DOWNWARD	+ 176746	- 95604	-60747
SHIFT	(299832 less)	(10830 less)	(-9969 less)
	(123086)	(106434)	(50778 less)
TOTAL OF ALL UPWARD SHIFTS (7 REGIONS)	+ 296196		
% OF ALL UPWARD OR DOWNWARD SHIFTS	+59,6%	-32,2%	-25,5%
	(176746 as % of) (296196)	(-95604 as % of) (-296196)	(-60747 as % of) (-296296)

Thus the Southern Transvaal's net upward shift or extra growth in White population from 1911 - 1936 is 176 746. This figure is 59.6% of all upward shifts experienced across South Africa in a total of seven regions which enjoyed upward shifts. The Eastern Cape, by contrast, though enjoying an actual increase, grew at less than the national average of 57% and this represented 32.2% of all downward shifts experienced by a total of nine regions. The Southern O.F.S. suffered an actual decline in population and contributed 20.5% of all downward shifts.

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APPENDIX 4

**RATES ACCOUNT EXPENDITURE THAT
COULD BE APPORTIONED TO
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS**

APPENDIX 4REVENUE ACCOUNTRates Account : Expenditure That Could be Apportioned to Geographic Locations.

1. Grants in Aid - Religious, Social, Welfare, Educational.
2. Offices & Residences - Cleveland House, Rowan Martin building, Town House.
3. Municipal Properties - Publicity office, Produce market.
4. Valuations & Estates - Bowling greens, golf course, tea kiosk.
5. Westwood Local Government Area.
6. Libraries - Highlands, Hatfield, Mt Pleasant, Mabelreign, Greendale.
7. Dept Works, Amenities Division :
 Hatfield Hall, Waterfalls Comm. Hall, Mt Pleasant Community Centre, Harare Cemetery, Mabvuku Cemetery, Pioneer & District cemeteries, Warren Hills Crematorium, Public Conveniences. Parks & Open Spaces (Coronation Park camping site). Other Parks & Swimming baths (eg George Hartley, Mufakose).

Architectural Division :

Greendale/Highlands Inspectorate; Hatfield/Waterfalls Inspectorate; Mt Pleasant Inspectorate; Borrowdale Inspectorate; Mabelreign Inspectorate; Marlborough Inspectorate.

Management Division : Hatfield/Waterfalls Administration; Greendale/Highlands Administration; Mabelreign Administration; Borrowdale Administration; Marlborough Administration; Mt Pleasant Administration.

Sewage : Reticulation City; Reticulation - Local Government Areas; Treatment Works : Southern, Western, Crowborough, Firlie, Marlborough; Oxidation Ponds: Donnybrook; St. Marys.

Operations : Grass Control (Parks & Open Spaces) :-
Mabelreign; Borrowdale; Greendale/Highlands,
Marlborough, Mt. Pleasant,
Hatfield/Waterfalls.

Street Cleaning:- Mabelreign, Borrowdale,
Greendale/Highlands, Marlborough, Mt.
Pleasant, Hatfield/Waterfalls; Townships
Works Unit.

Distribution : Garage; Heavy Plant Workshops: Construction
Yard, Sinoia St. Workshops; Asphalt Plant
Production Unit, Concrete Products, Products
Unit, Crusher Station; Road Quarries;
Jobbing: Mabelreign, Borrowdale,
Greendale/Highlands, Marlborough, Mt.
Pleasant, Hatfield/Waterfalls, Local
Government Areas.
City Health Department : Clinic : Mbari
Hostel Clinic, Arcadia Creche, Hospitals :
Beatrice Rd, Wilkins.

Housing Account

Letting Scheme : Trafalgar Court.

Parking Account

Garages

Housing Account : Local Government Areas

Harare, Mabvuku, Mufakose, Tafara,
Dzivaresekwa, Highfield, Kambuzuma, Marimba
Pk, Glen Norah, Glen View.

Welfare Account

Specific Grants in Aid

Libraries, Cinemas, Vocational Training
Centre

Halls, Recreation Grounds, Social Services
Functions

administered - for all Local Government
Areas.

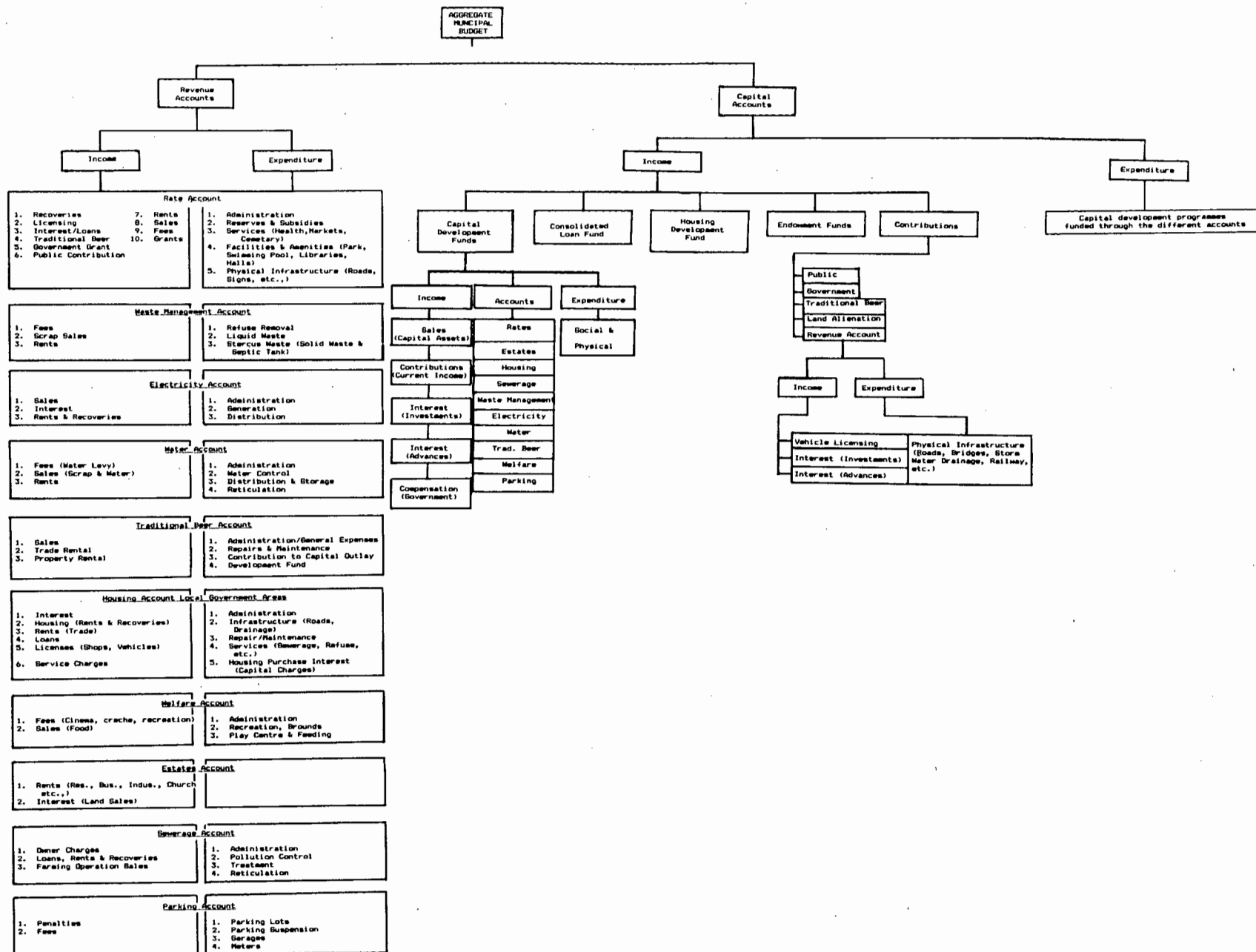
Water Account

Prince Edward Dam, Morton Jaffray Works,
Warren Control, Zengeza Water Supply.

APPENDIX 5

CITY OF HARARE - ACCOUNTING
POLICIES

HARARE CITY COUNCIL
INCOME AND
EXPENDITURE
BY MAJOR ACCOUNT



APPENDIX 5
CITY OF HARARE
ACCOUNTING POLICIES

**Basis of
Preparation**

Apart from minor limitations imposed by the Urban Councils Act (Chapt 214), these accounts have been prepared in accordance with the Report by the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, on the Standardisation of Financial Statements.

**Nature of Substantial
Reserves, Provisions,
Capital Development
Funds, the Estates
Account and Endowment
Funds**

(a) Reserves, Funds and Provisions:

These appear in the statements following the several balance sheets and are separated into three categories according to the designations set out in Section 234(6) of the Urban Councils Act.

Tariff Stabilisation Reserves have been established for the Electricity, Water, Sewerage and Waste Management Undertakings, whilst other Reserves of a substantial nature include:-

(i) Traditional Beer Account

General Reserve

(ii) Rate Account General Reserve

- (b) An Insurance Reserves has been established to cover certain risks and is in the process of being built up by annual contributions to enable it to extend cover to other risks. Also, with the concurrence of the Central African Power Corporation, a Power Station Fire and Allied Perils Insurance Reserve and a Power Station Plant Breakdown Insurance Reserve have been set up to cover risks formerly covered by insurance policies, and are supplemented by annual contributions.

(c) Capital Development Funds:

Funds for the purpose of financing capital expenditure have been established by contribution from income and expenditure accounts, proceeds from sales of assets, interest on advances and other contributions. Injections were made during 1983/84 into the following Capital Development Funds on the basis specified:-

Traditional Beer Account	- \$ 60000)
Rate Account	- \$250000) *
Electricity Account	- \$403103)

* (ex Income and Expenditure Accounts)

A contribution of \$200 000 was made from Traditional Beer Account profits to the Welfare Capital Development Fund to sustain capital outlay, whilst further injections into the undermentioned Capital Development Funds have been suspended:-

Parking Account

Highways Account

Housing Account

Housing Account: Local Government Areas

Water Account

Except for the Estates Account Capital Development Fund, interest earned on the investment of surplus Capital Development Fund moneys in the Council's Consolidated Loans Fund is credited to the respective Capital Development Funds.

d) Estates account:

The Harare (Estates Fund) By-Laws, 1971, empower the Council to operate an Estates Account, in which is vested all Council-owned land, except land in Local Government Areas. Income from the sale or exchange of land accrues to the Capital Account of the Estates Account, which is debited with the costs of acquisition, siteworks and the provision of streets, parking areas, sidewalks and stormwater drainage. The annual surplus, or deficit, as the case may be, on the Capital Account is apportioned equally between the Estates Account Capital Fund and the Estates Account Capital Development Fund. Departments occupying land vested in the Estates Account are charged an annual rental which accrues to the Income and Expenditure account of the Estates Account. In its capacity as owner, the Estates Account bears initially all owners' rates and charges on both the land and improvements and recharges the amounts so payable to User Departments.

Income from interest on investments and advances made by the Estates Capital Development Fund and from the Estates Capital Fund investments is credited to the Estates Account Income and Expenditure Account.

e) Endowment payments receivable in respect of approved sub-divisions and townships in terms of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (Act No. 22 of 1976) have been credited to Endowment Funds. These funds are used to finance land purchased for road works and open spaces. Funds not immediately required for their primary purposes have been advanced with the consent of the Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, to finance on a repayable basis with interest the reconstruction of roads and road widening schemes.

(a) Consolidated Loans Fund:

The Council has established a Consolidated Loans Fund in terms of the Consolidated Loans Fund (City of Harare) Scheme 1977, which was approved by the then Minister of Local Government and Housing. In accordance with the scheme, all loans received are pooled. Advances are made half-yearly to borrowing accounts and interest at the half-yearly pooled rate is chargeable on the amount of advances outstanding at the beginning of each half year. The pooled rates in 1983-84 compared with the previous year were:-

	1983/84	1982/83
	%	%
First half year	4.41	3.74
Second half year	4.37	3.95

Advances are repayable to the Consolidated Loans Fund on the fixed instalment basis over the estimated lives of the assets concerned. The maximum repayment period is 30 years except for two buildings; viz. Trafalgar Court (flats, shops and offices) and Cleveland House (offices), where special considerations dictated 40 years; and certain water assets which are estimated to have a life of 50 years.

(b) Capital Development Funds :

The fixed instalment method of repayment also applies to advances from the several Capital Development Funds; similarly, advances and interest calculations are made half-yearly. With the exception of the Housing Development Fund: Local Government Areas where the interest rate is the same as that pertaining to Consolidated Loans Fund advances, interest was charged at the rate of 4.5% per half-year in 1983/84 reflecting no change from the 1982/83 rate. Surplus moneys in the several Capital Development Funds are invested for varying fixed periods in the Consolidated Loans Fund. The amounts and periods of such new investments or re-investments are re-assessed half-yearly.

Capital Outlay

- (a) Capital Outlay is retained in the balance sheets at original cost including, where applicable, interest capitalised during construction of major projects. No depreciation charges are made. Assets disposed of are written off at original cost. In respect of water mains, expenditure recorded has having been spent on such projects 25 years ago, and on roadworks, electricity and sewer mains, 30 years ago, is also written off on the presumption that the assets no longer exist in their original state and that all advances have been redeemed. Assets are transferred from one account to another at estimated value in instances where the debt has been fully redeemed. If outstanding debt exists the amount so involved is transferred to the recipient account together with other funding transactions.
- (b) Real property is recorded at original cost or, in the case of land, the market value at the time it was originally set aside for municipal purposes.

Sale of Rented Houses

Home Ownership Schemes for the sale of most of Council's rented houses have been affected since 1980/81. The terms and conditions laid down by the then Minister of Local Government and Housing provide, inter alia, that:-

- (i) The sale price of dwellings shall be fixed by capitalising the unabated monthly rental payable in December, 1980 together with a monthly sum of 80 cents (which sum relates to the servicing costs of the plots) over a period of 25 years).

- (ii) The sale price shall be reduced by granting a discount of 2% for each completed year a tenant has occupied the property in which he resides up to a maximum of 5 years; which percentage is increased to 3% for the next 10 years of occupancy and to 4% for a further 15 years of occupancy, so that the maximum discount can be 100% in respect of tenancies of more than 30 years.
- (iii) The rate of interest charged to the purchaser shall be index-linked to the pooled rate of interest payable on advances from the Consolidated Loans Fund to the nearest multiple of 0.25% above the estimated pooled rate of interest in each financial year. Out of the 27 000 ex-rented dwellings in Local Government Areas outstanding as at 30th June, 1984, about 21 040 agreements have been drawn up, to record Sales in terms of these Home Ownership Schemes.

However, due to administrative difficulties and until all records have been completely updated the original construction cost of these properties remain as Capital Outlay and so debt in respect of loans advanced to purchasers has been raised in the accounts. Complementarily repayments to the Consolidated Loans Fund continue to be made in respect of advances outstanding on original capital outlay and not on loans to purchasers, and instalment payments by purchasers continue to be credited to revenue account.

Glen View Local Government Area is however the only one with completely updated records and adjusting accounting entries have been effected as at 30th June, 1984. The above mentioned short-comings therefore no longer apply in respect of this area.

Until a full reconciliation of accounting records to the individual deed of sale agreements has been effected it is not possible to quantify the ultimate adjustments which will be necessary between the revenue and capital accounts in respect of these properties.

"Land for Sale" shown in the Estates Account is included at the sale price of the land.

Investments are recorded at original cost and all interest on investments accrued to 30th June, 1984 was brought to account.

External Advances (Government) at 30th June, 1984 of \$10 492 839 reflected in the Consolidated Balance Sheet and \$225 465 in the Traditional Beer Account Balance Sheet are the outstanding balances of advances from the City Council's Consolidated Loans Fund, Housing Development Fund: Local Government Areas and certain Capital Development Funds relating to assets of the City council's former Township of St. Mary's and Zengewa which were vested in the Government on the establishment of the Chitungwiza Urban Council (now Municipal Council) at 1st January, 1978.

Valuation of Land for
Sale

Investments

External Advances
(Government)

Central Administration Expenses

The costs of the Town Clerk's and City Treasurer's Departments, excluding the salaries and emoluments of the Heads and Deputy Heads and certain other charges, are recharged to services on the basis of the estimated time spent and cost of facilities used. The costs of payroll administration and of the Personnel Management Services Group are allocated in proportion to the number of employees in each service.

General Administration Expenses of Other Departments

The Head Office costs of other Departments are chargeable to the Accounts Sectors within their control on the basis of estimated time spent and cost of facilities used. Such recharges exclude the salaries and emoluments of The Director of Works, the City Architect, the City Electrical Engineer and the Deputy City Electrical Engineer.

Service Charges in Local Government Areas

In a move towards implementing the 'One City Concept', income in respect of water sales, refuse removal and sewerage charges, together with the related expenditure on capital charges, maintenance costs and running expenses have been allocated directly to the Water, Waste Management and Sewerage Accounts respectively. Prior to the 1981/82 financial year such income and expenditure pertaining to Local Government Areas had been reflected in the Housing Account: Local Government Areas.

Charges to Capital for Permanent Employees

In terms of Section 240 of the Urban Councils Act, the then Minister of Local Government and Housing authorised the charging to capital account of the emoluments of all employees directly engaged in capital works. Such charges to capital include the costs of professional staff and all relevant overheads, but exclude any portion of the salaries and emoluments of the Director of Works, the City Architect, the City Electrical Engineer and the Deputy city Electrical Engineer.

Rentals of Property

Rentals of property occupied by departments are charged directly thereto.

Stores and Materials

These are shown at cost. A reserve of \$181 688 has been established by the Electricity Undertaking for possible obsolete stocks held at the Central Stores.

Herd Valuation

Two independent current market valuations for each category of beef cattle are obtained and the lesser valuation is taken in each case for the purposes of determining the valuation of the herd. Variations between annual valuations are carried to the income and expenditure account.

Debtors and Creditors

In the Traditional Beer Account creditors and sales income have been accrued to 25th June, 1984. In all other Capital and Revenue Accounts expenditure and income have been accrued to the extent that known creditors at 30th June, 1984 have been brought to account and, that in respect of debtors, all known income has been accrued to that date, including rates due but not billed on Supplementary Valuation Rolls certified towards the end of the year.

Bad and doubtful debts are written off annually and no provisions have therefore been established.

Suspense Accounts
(Unit Cost Adjustment
Accounts)

Unit Cost Adjustment Accounts are designed to maintain equilibrium over a period of time in the charge-out rates for labour, vehicles, and plant and machinery domiciled in Distribution Accounts which are primarily concerned with construction work and repairs and maintenance. Other Unit Cost Adjustment Accounts are maintained in respect of Central Stores administration, payroll administration and the Management Services Group. In order not to burden services with unrealistic costs the charge-out rates are reviewed periodically and adjusted in accordance with the current recoveries position. Such adjustments during 1983/84 increased the net credit balance by \$104 911 to \$773 654.

Cash on Hand/Overdrawn

This represents the allocation of the net cash overdrawn of the Council between the various Accounts.

Financing of Certain
Services provided for
the lower income
groups

The cost of employing one hundred orderlies in Health Department establishments (\$218 220), the capital charges incurred in respect of bridging finance for the reconstruction of clinics (\$36 085), plus R500 000 appropriated from the Traditional Beer Account to finance the net cost of primary care and maternity clinics are met by appropriations from the Traditional Beer Account. The net cost of Welfare services provided for the lower income group (\$1 459 495) are also met by appropriations from the Traditional Beer Account. In terms of the formula prescribed in Section 152(2)(h) of the Urban Councils Act, a proportion of the profits of the Electricity Undertaking is credited to the Housing Account; Local Government Areas. A further contribution of \$3 115 734 was made from the Rate Account in 1983/84 to finance the residual deficit on the Housing Account; Local Government Areas.

Assistance in Aid of
Rates

In terms of the Harare (Estates Fund) By-laws 1971, the annual surplus on the Estates Account Income and expenditure Account is appropriated in aid of rates. The appropriation for 1983/84 amounted to \$1 085 007. An amount of \$2 136 771 was transferred in aid of rates in 1983/84 from the Electricity Account.

Trust Account

The transactions relating to the Traditional Beer Account are excluded from the Source and Application of Funds statement; Consolidated Balance Sheet; and Aggregate Income and Expenditure Account, in terms of the Traditional Beer (General) Regulations 1982.

Source: City of Harare, 1984 City Treasurer's Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 30th June, 1984. Harare.

APPENDIX 6

**MAJOR REASONS FOR
UNDERSPENDING ON CAPITAL
ACCOUNT**

APPENDIX 6

MAJOR REASONS FOR UNDERSPENDING ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT

1978/79	Sewerage	-	Bardenpho system
	Distribution	-	Difficulties in supply of vehicles and plant.
	African Affairs Account		Moneys provided for Zengeza not spent due to transfer of township to the Chitungwiza Urban Council.
1979/80	Sewerage	-	Bardenpho system (Firle) and Crowborough new works.
	Distribution	-	Difficulties in supply of vehicles and plant and deferment of automotive workshops.
	Housing - Local	-	Moneys provided for Government Areas Zengeza not spent due to transfer of township to the Chitungwiza Urban Council.
	Water	-	Delay in laying various distribution mains.
	Beer	-	Deferment of improvements to Brewery and completion of new outlets.
1980/81	Rates Account administration and Protection	-	Remedial works at Rowan Martin Building uncompleted at year end, and supply difficulties in obtaining Fire Fighting equipment.
	Amenities	-	Deferment of construction of new Public Conveniences, and delays

			in the procurement of new vehicles and plant.
	Sewerage	-	Installation of Bardenpho units at Firle and Crowborough treatment works delayed.
	Distribution	-	Difficulties in obtaining new vehicles and plant, and deferment of construction of new automotive workshops.
	Housing - Local	-	Actual net outlay Government Areas excludes payment of a loan to Government of \$2 500 000 from unspent moneys provided in the Revised Estimate of \$10 185 374 for development of Zengeza, which Area now forms part of Chitungwiza Urban Council.
	Welfare	-	Construction of library and hall at Glen Norah and completion of development of sports fields at Glen View delayed.
	Beer	-	Delays in the completion of new outlets.
1981/82	RatesAccount-Administration and Protection	-	Supply difficulties in obtaining Fire Fighting equipment and vehicles.
	Amenities	-	Deferment of construction of new Public Conveniences. Supply difficulties in the procurement of new vehicles, and a new cremator.
	Director of Works	-	Construction of Laboratory deferred pending choice of site.
	Distribution	-	Difficulties in obtaining new vehicles and plant.

		New Automotive Workshops project behind schedule.
Parking Account	-	Purchase of new parking meters delayed due to change of coinage.
Sewerage Account	-	Installation of Bardenpho Pumps delayed. Work on reticulation systems in Local Government Areas progressing more slowly than planned.
Housing : Local Government Areas Account		Development of Warren Park behind schedule. Payment to Estates Account for acquisition of farms Parkridge and Fontainbleau delayed pending the declaration of this area as a Local Government Area.
Welfare Account	-	Planning delays in the development of Welfare facilities at Glen View, Glen Norah and Warren Park. Deferment of Rufaro Stadium projects.
Water Account	-	Continued slippage on Darwendale Pipeline and Pump Station. Delay in awarding contract for Relining Morton Jaffray/Alexandra Park Mains.
Traditional Beer Account	-	Delays in construction of new retail outlets due to belated housing developments at Parkridge/Fontainbleau and Hatcliffe.

1982/83 One of the reasons for the substantial underspending on capital is the continued difficulty experienced in obtaining items of vehicles, plant and machinery. Other significant underspendings occurred for the following reasons:

Rate Account Administration and Protection	-	Construction of new Municipal Police Offices deferred pending
--	---	---

		consideration of new complex.
Amenities Division	-	Delay in obtaining new cremator.
Operations	-	Delayed starts on roads, bridges and stormwater drainage construction and improvement schemes.
Distribution	-	Continued slippage in New Automotive Workshops
City Health	-	Delayed starts on rebuilding works at Mbare Primary Care Clinic and Highfield Polyclinic.
Estates Account	-	Deferment of land acquisition for high density housing pending report on suitable sites.
Sewerage Account	-	Installation of Bardenpho units at Crowborough and Firle Treatment Works behind schedule. Progress on reticulation works in Local Government Areas slower than planned.
Parking Account	-	Continued difficulty in obtaining replacement parking meters.
Housing Account: Local Government Areas	-	Developments at Warren Park and Glen View behind schedule. Payment to Estates Account for acquisition of Parkridge/Fontainbleau site delayed pending the declaration of this area as a Local Government Area. Underspensing of estimates on electrification of houses, people's markets, roads and street lighting.
Welfare Account	-	Delays in commencing work on community buildings in Highfield, Glen View,

		Warren Park and Glen Norah.
Electricity Account	-	Late starts on New Supervisory Control System and 33KV Bulk Power Intake.
Water Account	-	Continued slippage on Darwendale Tunnel and Pump Station; and the Relining of Morton Jaffray/Alexandra Park Mains. Deferred start on construction of additional Seki Reservoirs pending Government agreement to reimburse Council.
Traditional Beer Account	-	Delays in constructing new retail outlets at Hatcliffe and Kuwadzana due to belated housing developments.

1983/84 One of the reasons for the substantial underspending on capital is the continued difficulty experienced in obtaining items of vehicles, plant and machinery. Other significant underspendings occurred for the following reasons:-

Rate Account Administration - and protection		Deferment of New Municipal Security Unit Complex and late start on Old Market Restoration Project.
Amenities Division	-	Failure to acquire new cremator.
City Architect's Division	-	Delayed purchase of block making machines for the newly created Building Brigade section.
Operations	-	Continued delays on roads, bridges, storm water drainage and street lighting projects.
Distribution	-	Reduced expenditure on automotive workshops.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| City Health | - | Continued slippage on rebuilding works at Mbare Primary Care Clinic and Highfield Polyclinic. |
| Estates Account | - | Deferred purchase of land for high density housing and a cemetery site pending reports on suitable locations. |
| Sewerage Account | - | Construction of Crowborough Treatment Works and reticulation in new high density areas behind schedule. |
| Parking Account | - | Continued difficulty in obtaining foreign currency for new and replacement parking meters. |
| Housing: Local-Government Areas Account | | Development at Warren Park behind schedule. Payment to Estates Account for acquisition of Kuwadzana site still pending the declaration of this area as a Local Government Area.
Progress on electrification of houses, roads peoples' markets and street lighting projects below original targets. |
| Welfare Account | - | Delays in commencing the construction of libraries and community facilities in the new and established high density areas. |
| Electricity Account | - | Work on the new Supervisory Control System; 33kv Bulk Power Intake; and the electrification of Kuwadzana behind target. |
| Welfare Account | - | The delays were partly due to the new policy requiring Council "to |

consult the people" on the types and designs of Community facilities.

Electricity Account -

Work on the new Supervisory Control Systems; 33kv Bulk Power Intake; and the electrification of Kuwadzana, Warren Park and Dzivaresekwa behind target. Slow-down of work on Distribution System and Facilities due to lack of trained personnel.

Water Account -

Continued slippage on Darwendale Pump Station and Plant and Machinery; the Relining of Morton Jaffray/Alexandra Park Mains : slippage on Lochinvar (North) and Ventersburg Reservoirs and the Glen Norah Bulk Water Supply Scheme.

Traditional Beer Account -

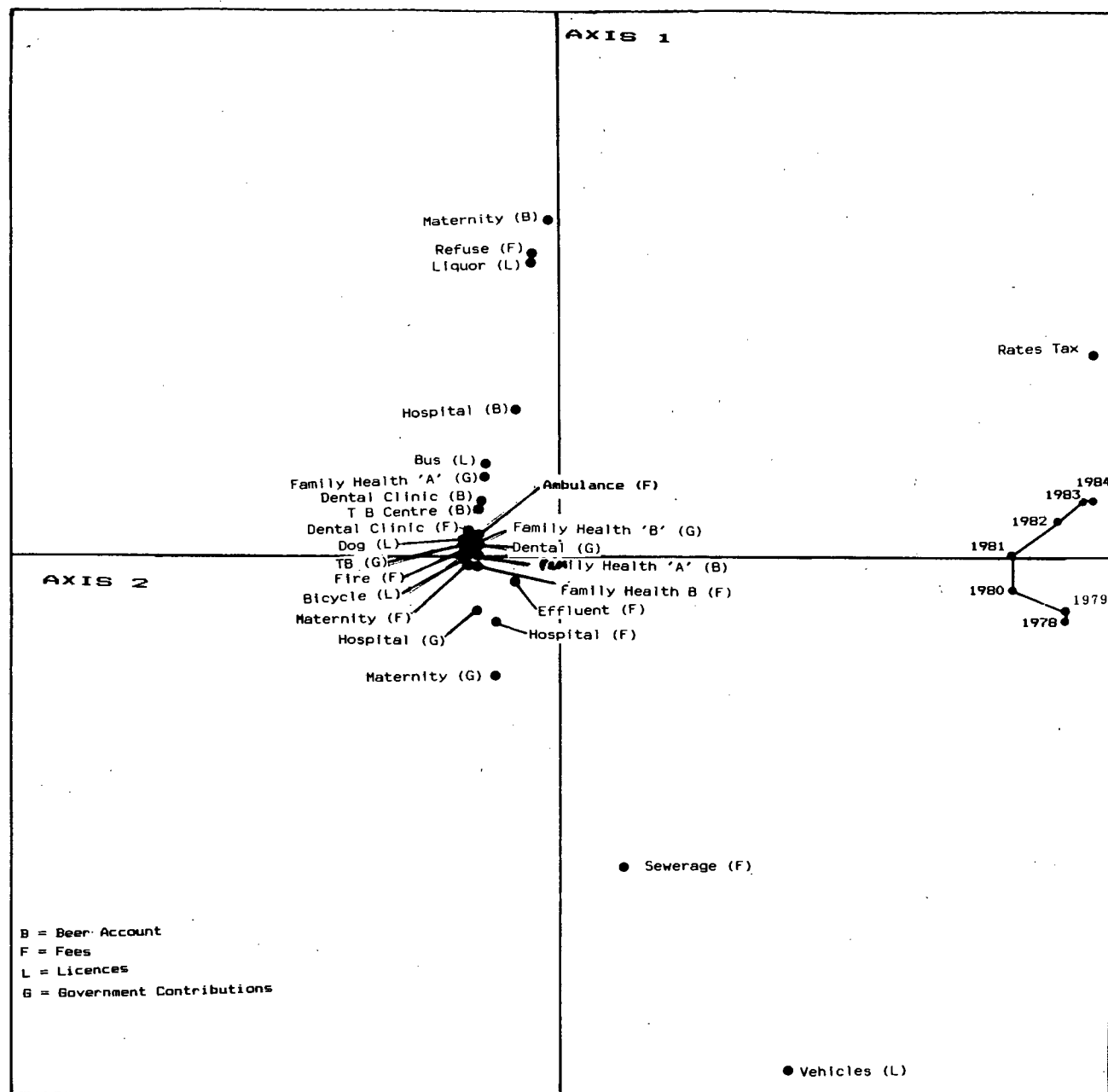
Delays in constructing new retail outlets at Hatcliffe, Kuwadzana and Warren Park 'D' due to belated housing developments and deferment of the plans to expand and renovate some of the existing outlets.

APPENDIX 7

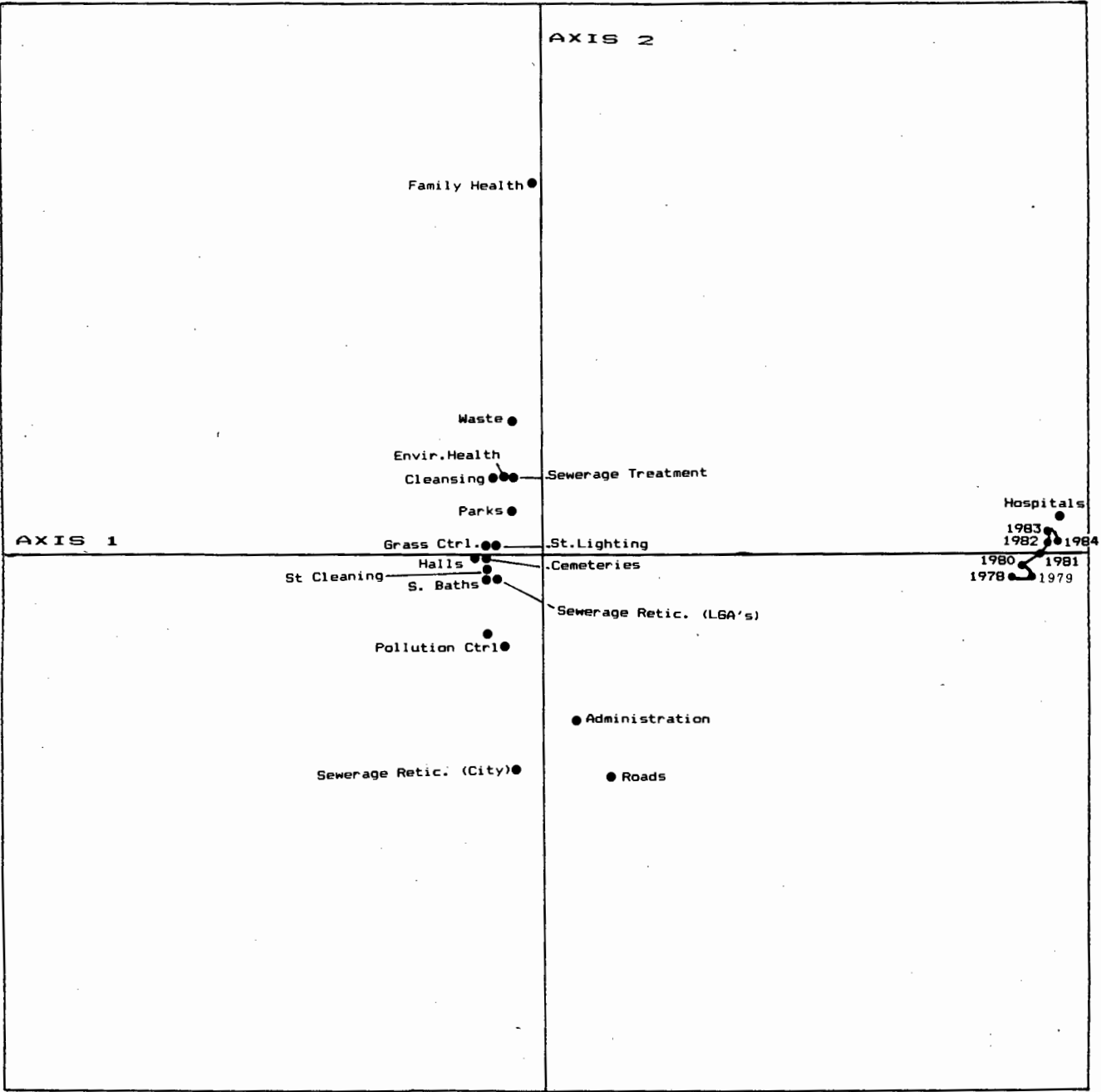
CO-VARIANCE BY-PLOT

- (a) Rates Account : Revenue Income (Selected Items)
- (b) Expenditure (Selected Items)
- (c) Aggregate Revenue Income

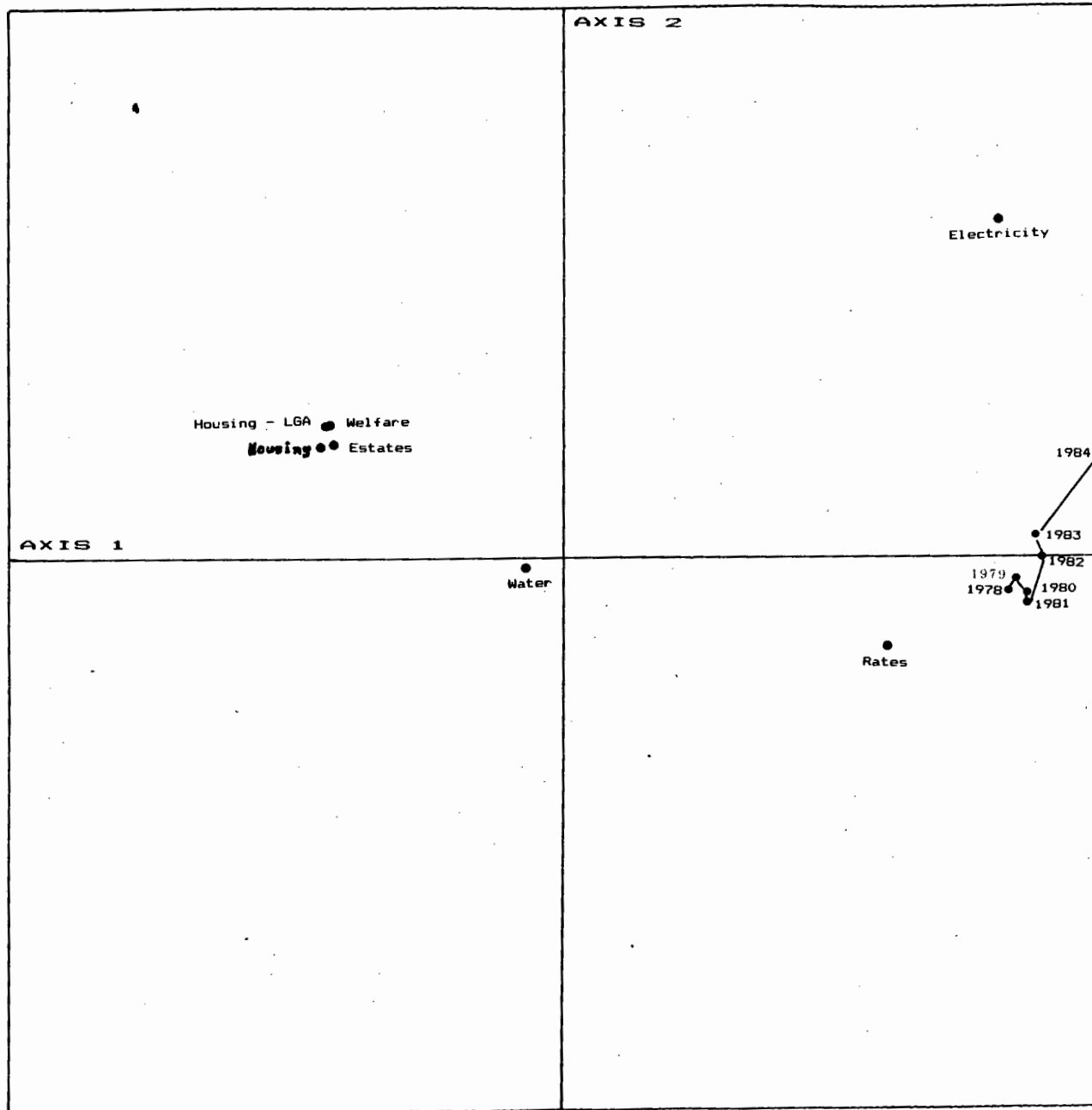
CO-VARIANCE BY PLOT FOR RATES
ACCOUNT REVENUE INCOME
(Selected Items)



CO-VARIANCE BY-PLOT FOR RATES
ACCOUNT REVENUE EXPENDITURE
(Selected Items)



CO-VARIANCE BY PLOT FOR
AGGREGATE REVENUE INCOME



APPENDIX 8

SELECTED DATA SETS (REAL VALUES

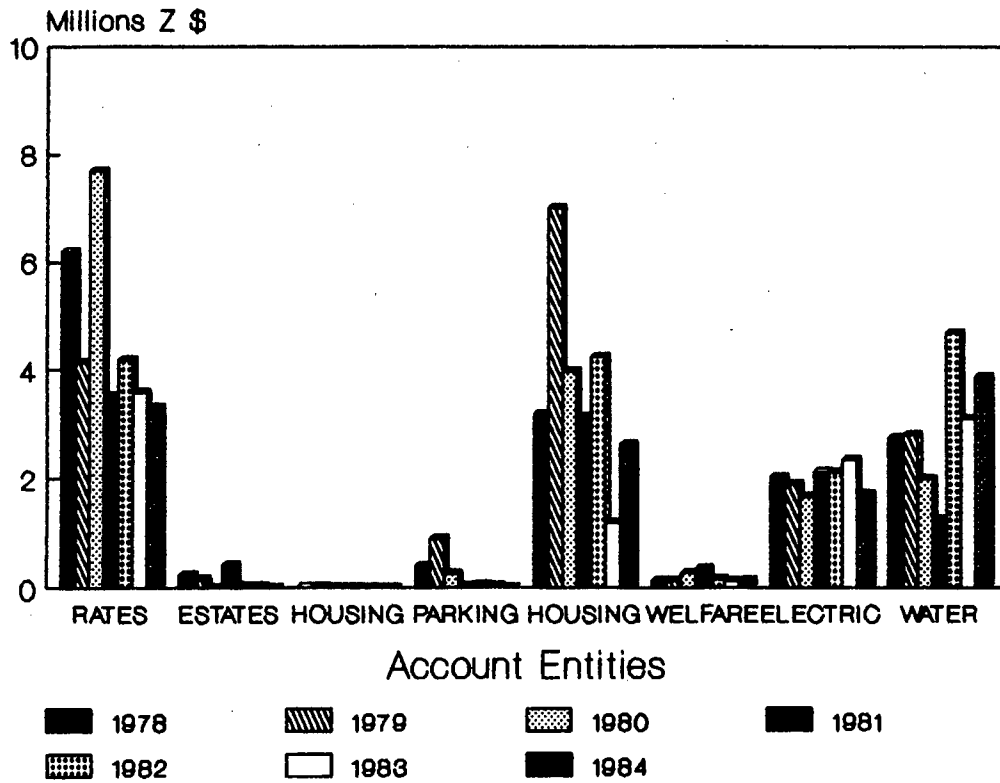
- a) Aggregate Capital Expenditure
- b) Capital Accounts : Expenditure
- c) Aggregate revenue expenditure
- d) Revenue Accounts : Income
- e) Revenue Accounts : Expenditure

AGGREGATE CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

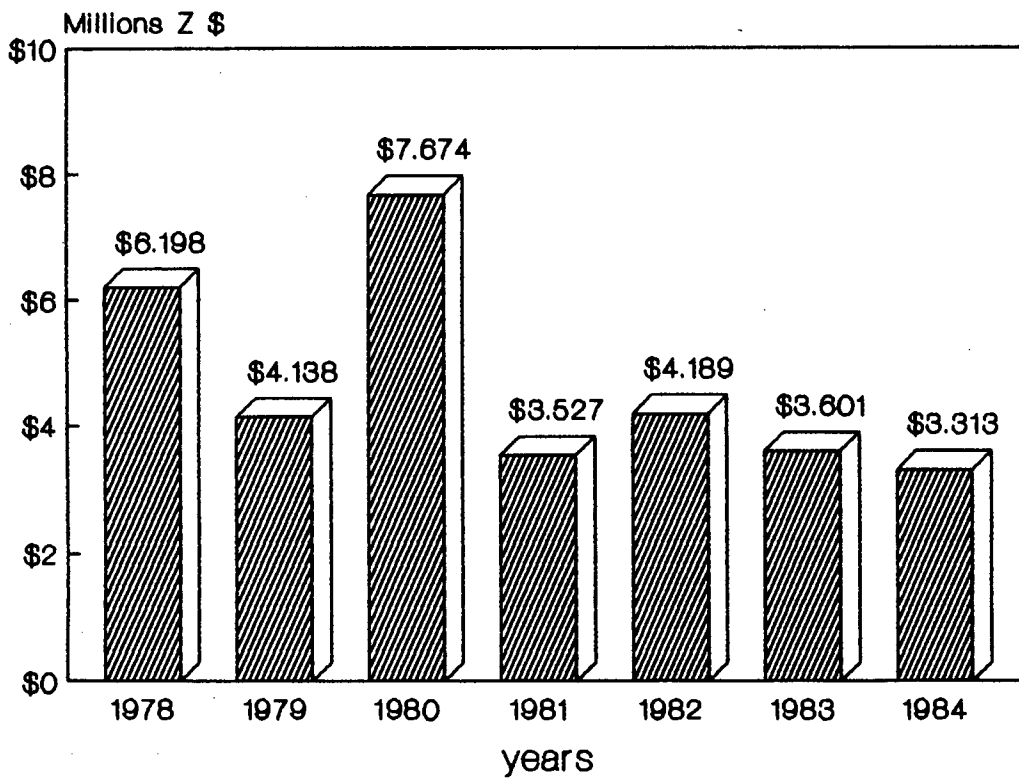
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
RATES ACCOUNT	6,197,918	4,138,424	7,673,551	3,526,898	4,188,667	3,600,500	3,313,438
ESTATES ACCOUNT	243,056	158,016	11,347	413,668	45,493	44,400	3,326
HOUSING ACCOUNT	12,307	14,377	7,878	4,367	0	0	0
PARKING ACCOUNT	401,046	902,298	245,568	35,606	59,831	40,894	10,298
HOUSING ACCOUNT LOCAL GOVT AREAS	3,186,705	6,999,089	3,968,981	3,137,157	4,238,982	1,175,974	2,622,351
WELFARE ACCOUNT	135,312	130,465	276,029	347,146	157,751	117,268	131,546
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT	2,025,249	1,890,802	1,661,921	2,113,249	2,106,504	2,331,599	1,706,141
WATER ACCOUNT	2,743,846	2,802,194	1,997,082	1,244,514	4,686,091	3,097,275	3,872,002
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	14,945,439	17,035,666	15,842,357	10,822,605	15,483,319	10,407,909	11,659,102

AGGREGATE CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

553

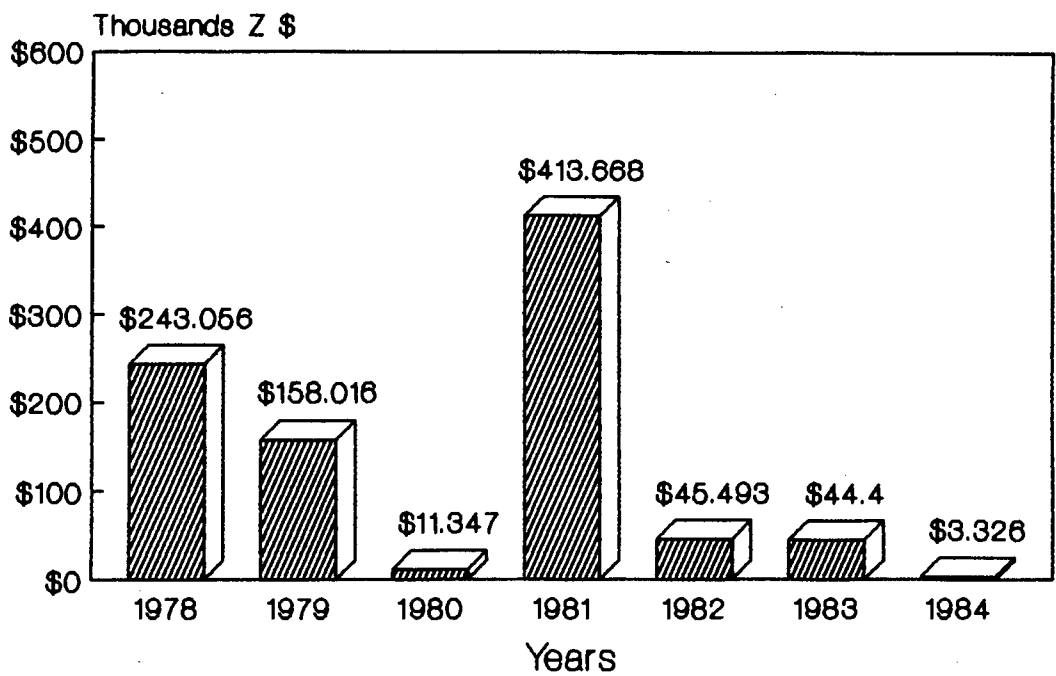


CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - RATES ACCOUNT



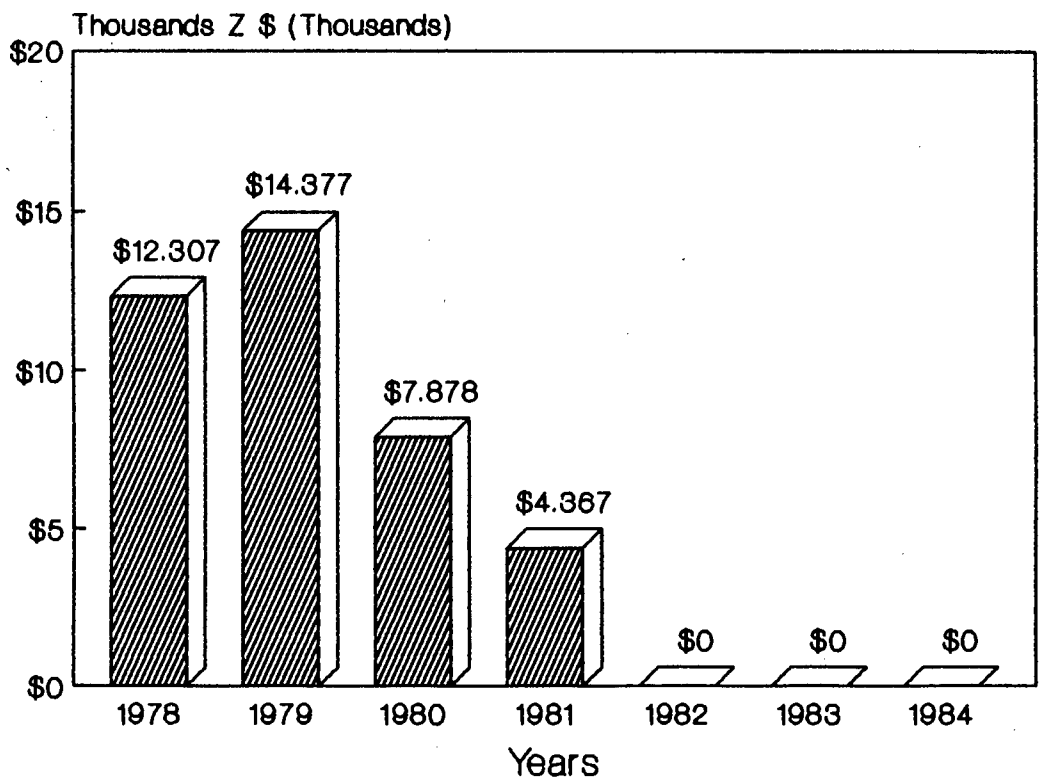
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - ESTATES ACCOUNT

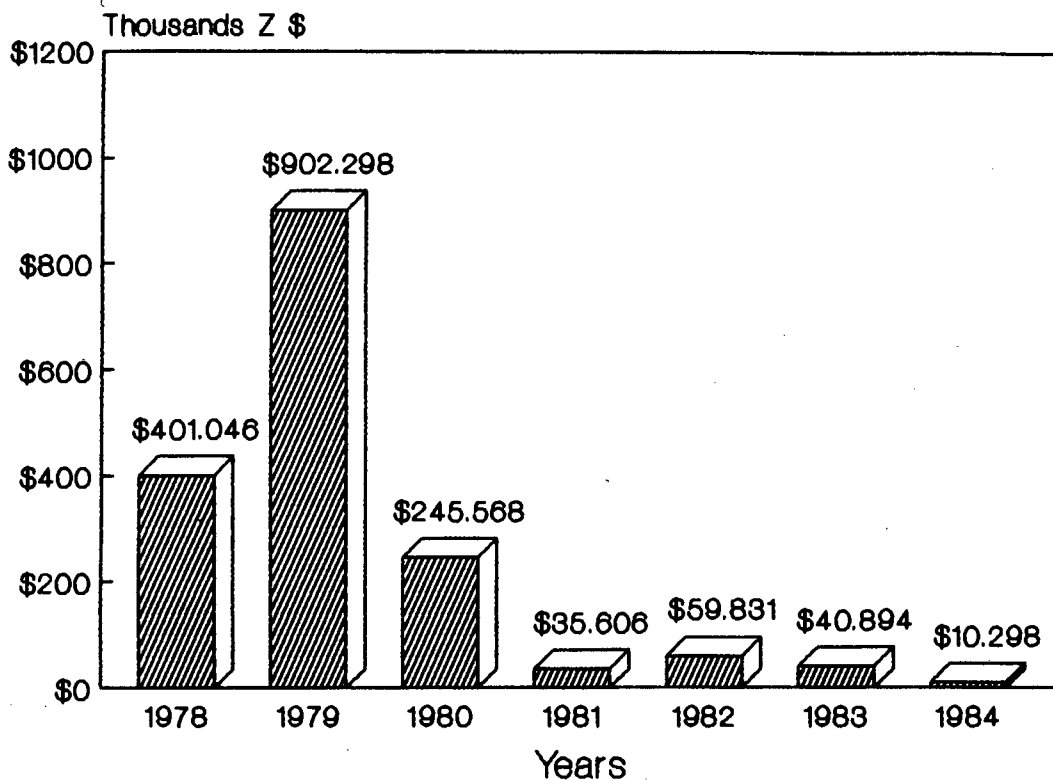
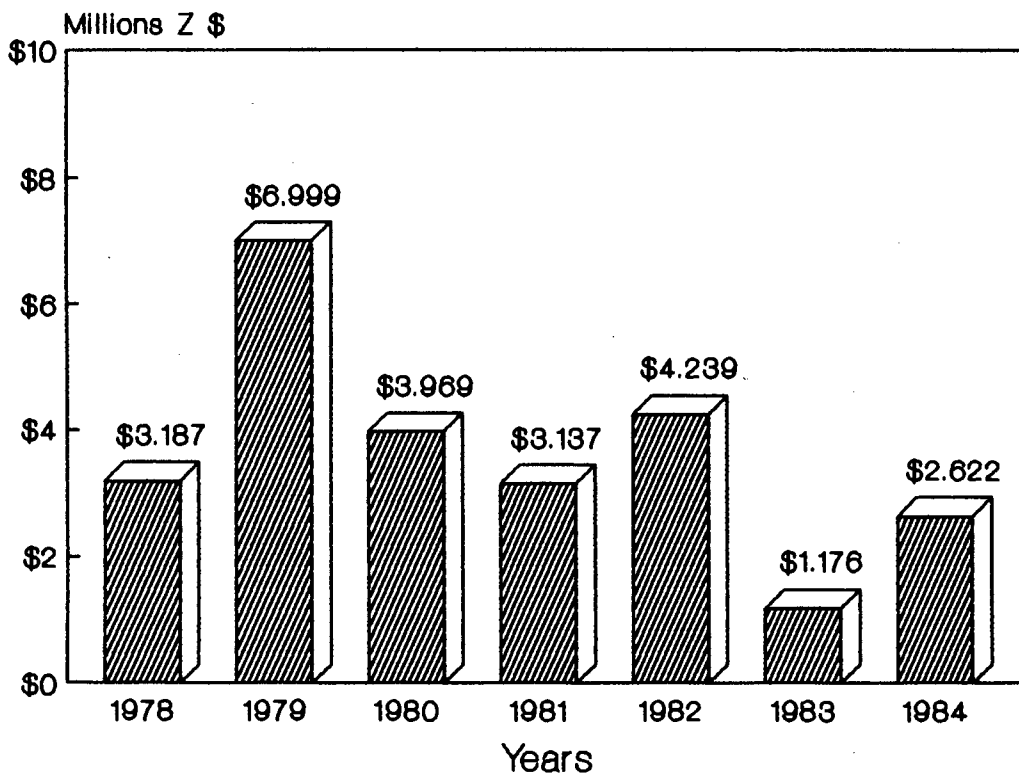
554

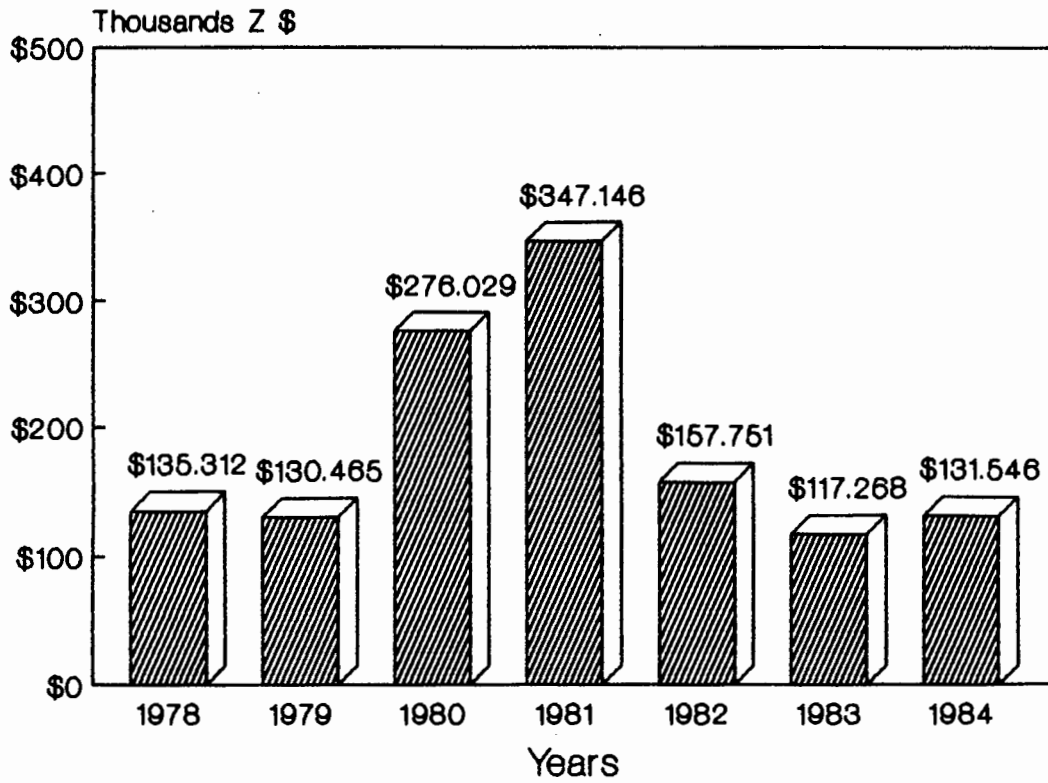
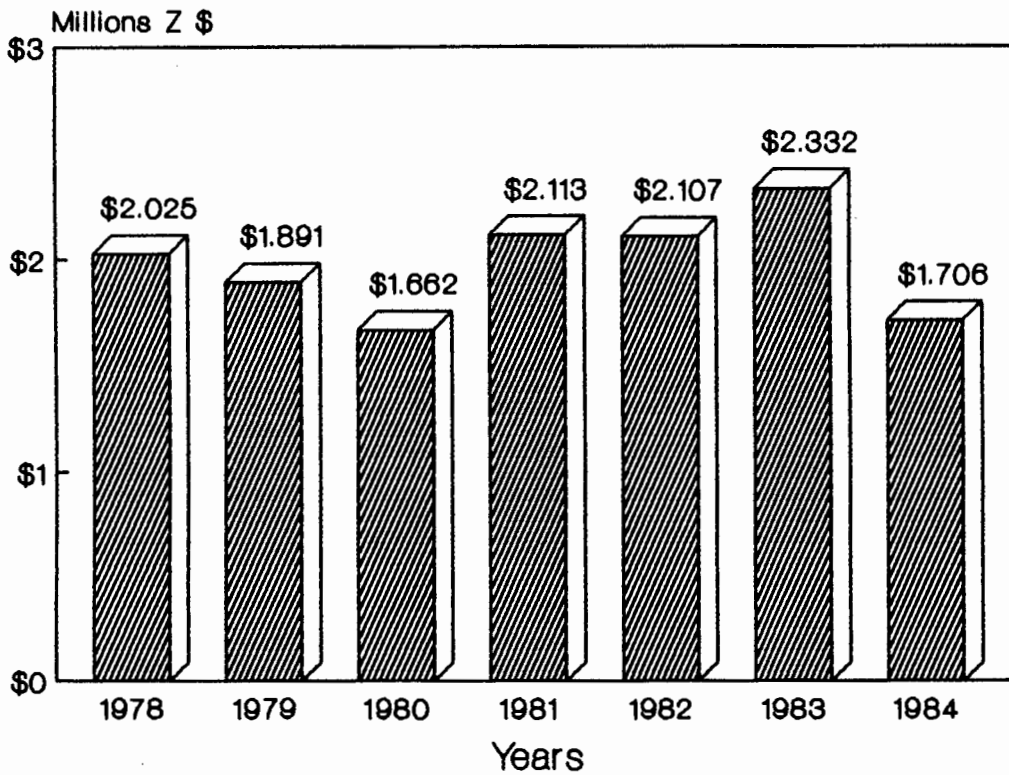


The large increase in 1981 is the result of expenditure on land for township development.

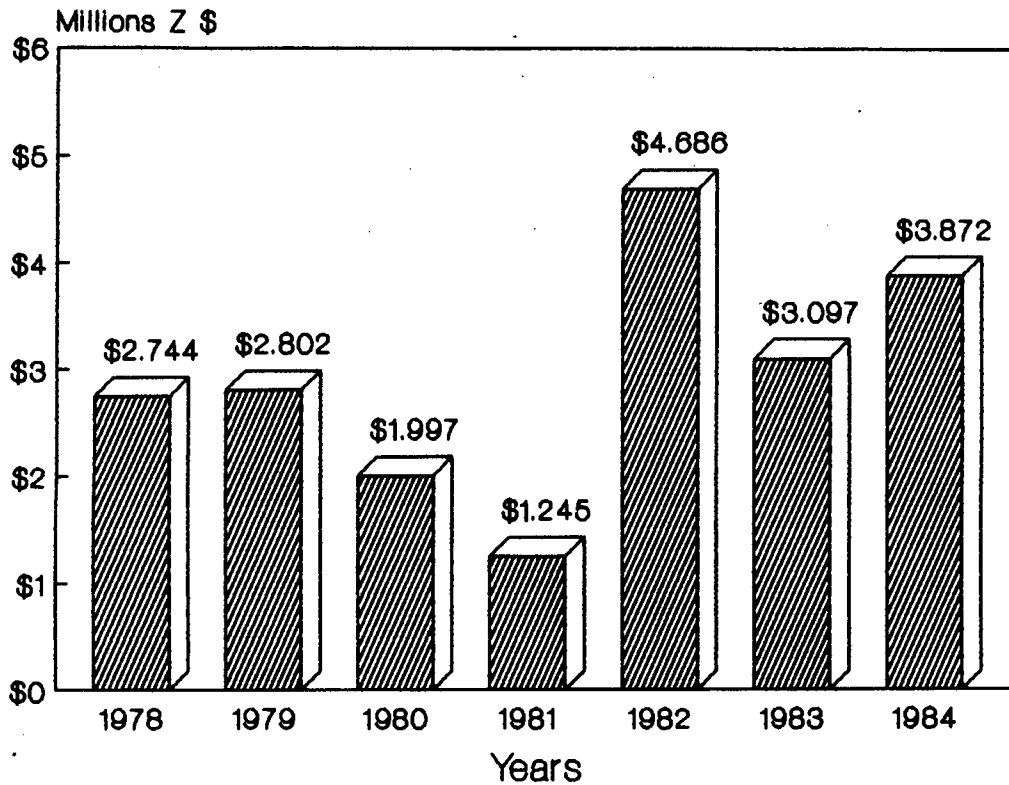
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - HOUSING ACCOUNT



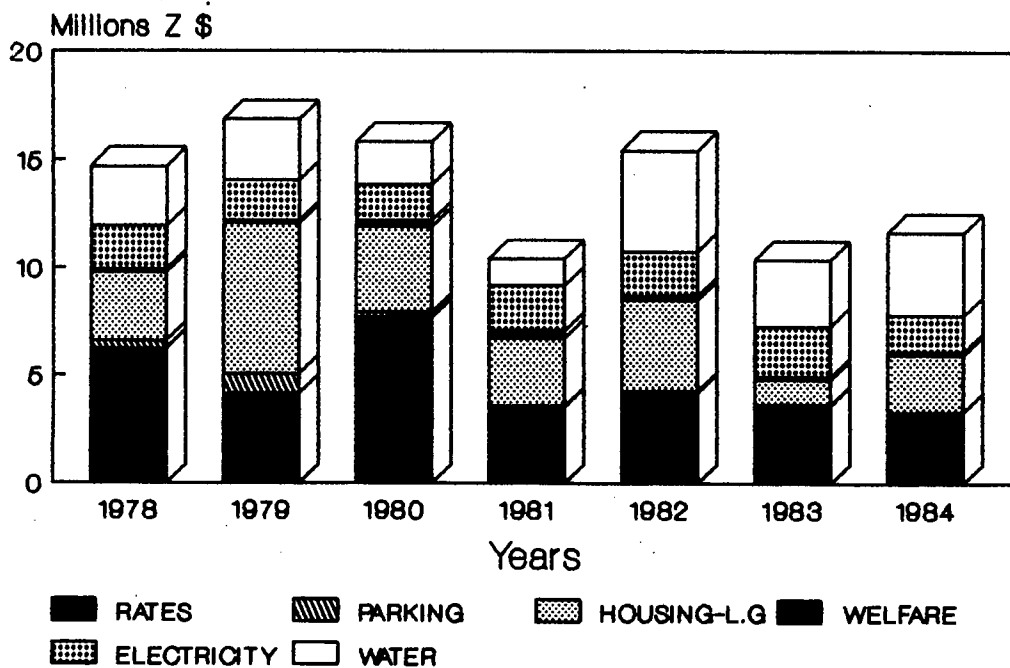
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - PARKING ACCOUNT**CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - HOUSING L.G.A.'s**

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - WELFARE ACCOUNT**CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - ELECTRICITY**

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE - WATER ACCOUNT



RELATIVE CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BY YEAR 1978 - 1984

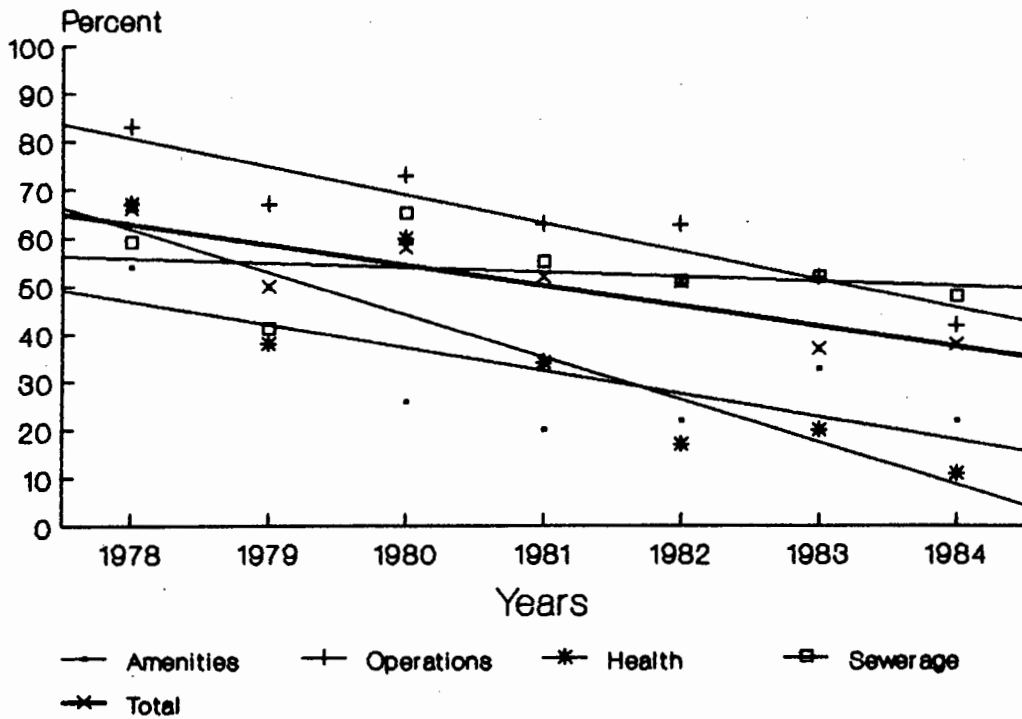


Housing and Estates Accounts have not been recorded because expenditure on them is minimal

INDIVIDUAL CAPITAL ACCOUNTS - EXPENDITURE

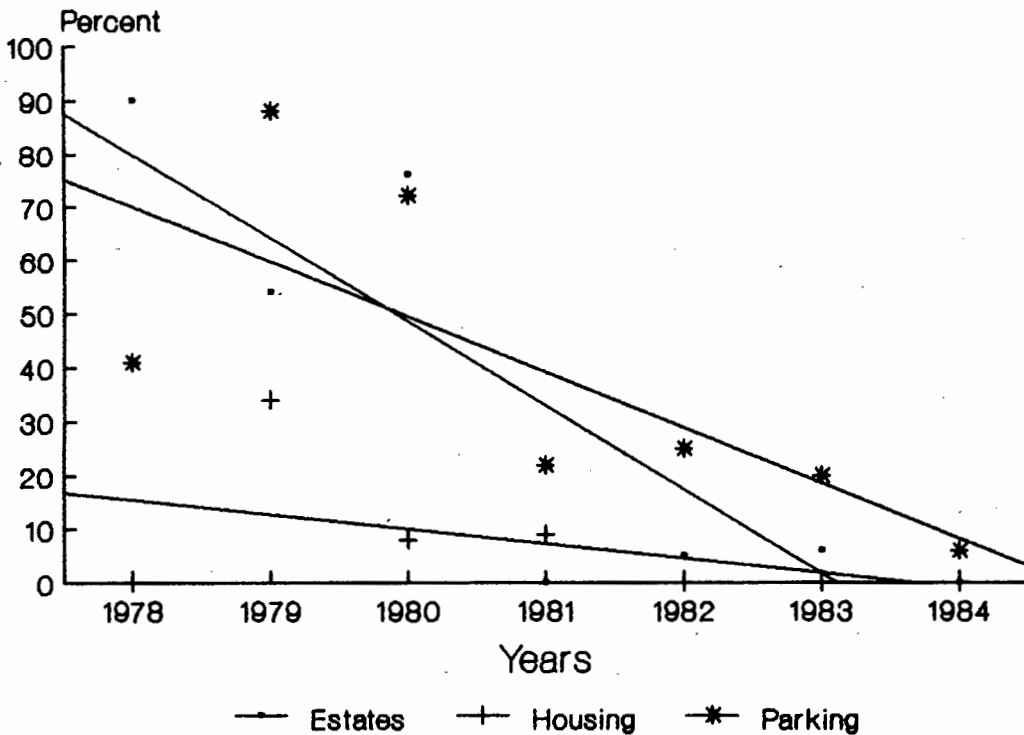
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
RATES ACCOUNT							
Halls and Comm Centres	27,705	69,162	23,954	56,428	735	484	456
Cemeteries	9,297	5,648	36,820	21,145	16,444	22,592	37,504
Cleansing Services	99,671	114,089	59,016	1,099	119,909	245,415	101,421
Parks and Open Spaces	241,466	18,158	71,100	17,585	22,343	5,085	39,352
Swimming Baths	3,471	591	0	638	9,666	25,903	5,865
Sewerage	1,531,049	852,279	4,434,429	1,739,340	2,609,065	2,137,282	1,973,814
Highways	2,371,735	1,780,094	1,510,434	1,056,754	879,071	792,126	775,242
Street Lighting	273,800	307,997	272,173	284,090	178,830	112,266	37,150
Signs and Signals	42,466	24,199	19,242	21,566	7,518	8,079	15,840
Omnibus Facilities	35,518	2,916	60,508	6,497	13,979	25,988	14,583
Street Cleaning	17,424	8,632	19,242	0	0	0	0
City Health Depts.	166,245	157,342	156,531	115,274	78,371	162,654	120,973
SEWERAGE ACCOUNT	1,531,049	852,279	4,434,429	1,018,826	1,603,153	1,418,561	978,560
Reticulation:City	0	0	0				
LGA's	0	0	0				
WASTE MANAGEMENT ACC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solid Waste	0	0	0	0			
ESTATES ACCOUNT - TOTAL OUTLAY	243,056	158,016	11,334	413,668	45,493	44,400	3,326
PARKING ACCOUNT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parking Lots	5,304	989	2,594	4,420	0	5,206	0
Metered Parking	0	10,087	0	0	36,389	28,169	0
Parking Garages	395,742	890,733	219,792	30,367	18,614	3,421	6,125
HOUSING ACC LOCAL GOVT AREAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mbare	556,836	523,300	348,185	173,108	124,708	106,411	353,556
Mabvuku	29,955	66,238	56,267	59,542	70,830	65,376	187,712
Mufakose	52,451	41,719	111,775	41,421	76,154	81,791	115,877
Tafara	103,633	123,632	53,992	104,568	122,712	83,145	95,579
Dzivaresekwa	50,084	1,192,567	611,406	77,267	86,604	179,493	174,495
Highfield	308,586	238,185	105,035	196,028	98,925	76,632	263,030
Kambuzuma	34,911	13,852	27,355	15,415	70,805	78,456	37,075
Marimba Park	124,062	22,306	3,456	13,531	7,219	2,340	62,505
GlenView	0	4,384,219	2,356,026	264,164	927,646	122,160	184,758
Glen Norah	226,178	385,494	144,402	110,439	113,125	215,293	145,394
Warren Park	0	0	0	2,044,099	2,390,869	120,902	681,723
	0						
	0						
WELFARE ACCOUNT	0						
Libraries	0	49,200	0	21,759	11,231	1,757	0
Cinemas	0	3,722	2,086	0	0	0	0
Mbare	17,392	7,057	76,002	147,312	22,053	19,090	21,978
Mabvuku	4,377	12,264	11,716	30,246	3,329	3,142	252
Mufakose	237	1,418	39,621	27,758	0	2,022	2,871
Tafara	53,060	2,869	3,067	50,950	807	3,733	32,196
Dzivaresekwa	0	2,436	5,263	9,839	1,420	10,447	12,719
Highfield	126	4,124	85,567	9,479	4,825	335	1,358
Kambuzuma	1,240	15,058	40,514	2,729	557	48,377	718
Glen Norah	11,541	1,533	9,647	13,042	43,026	38,256	16,020
Glen View	0	0	1,702	30,245	16,034	18,017	7,283
Warren Park	0	0	0	891	49,912	12,748	6,660
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT							
Total expenditure	2,025,248	1,890,802	1,668,149	2,113,249	2,106,504	2,331,599	1,706,141
WATER ACCOUNT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Expenditure	2,743,846	2,802,194	1,581,882	1,244,514	4,686,091	3,097,275	3,872,002
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

NET CAPITAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF REVISED ESTIMATES - RATES ACCOUNT

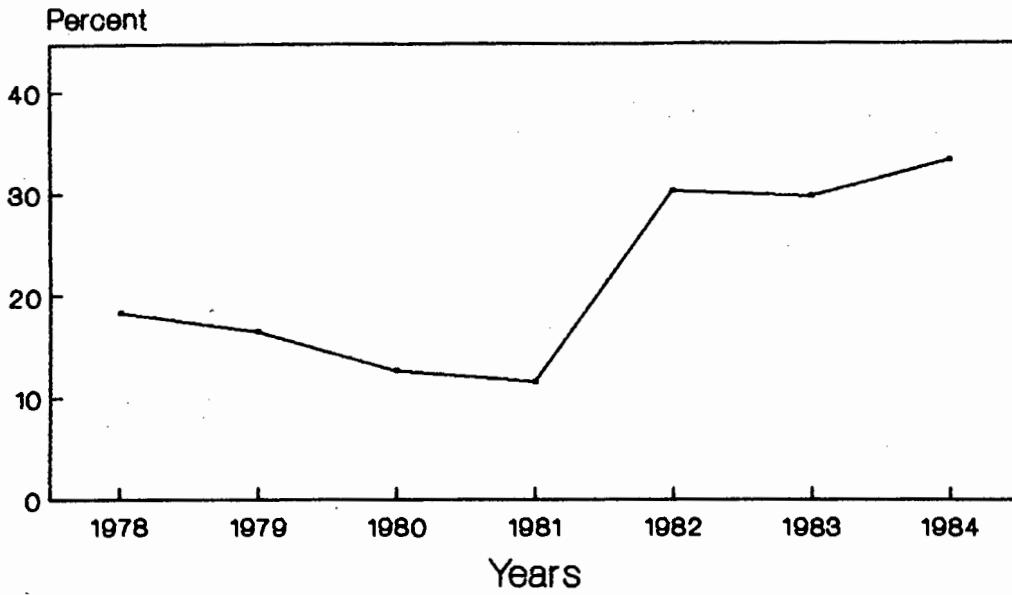


TREND DATA

NET CAPITAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF REVISED ESTIMATES

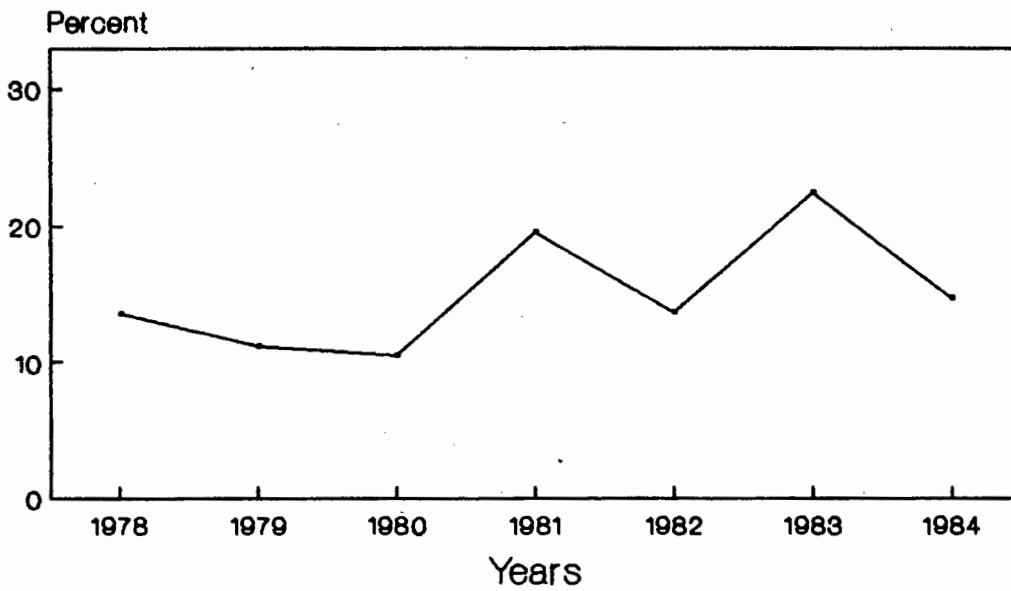


WATER ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE



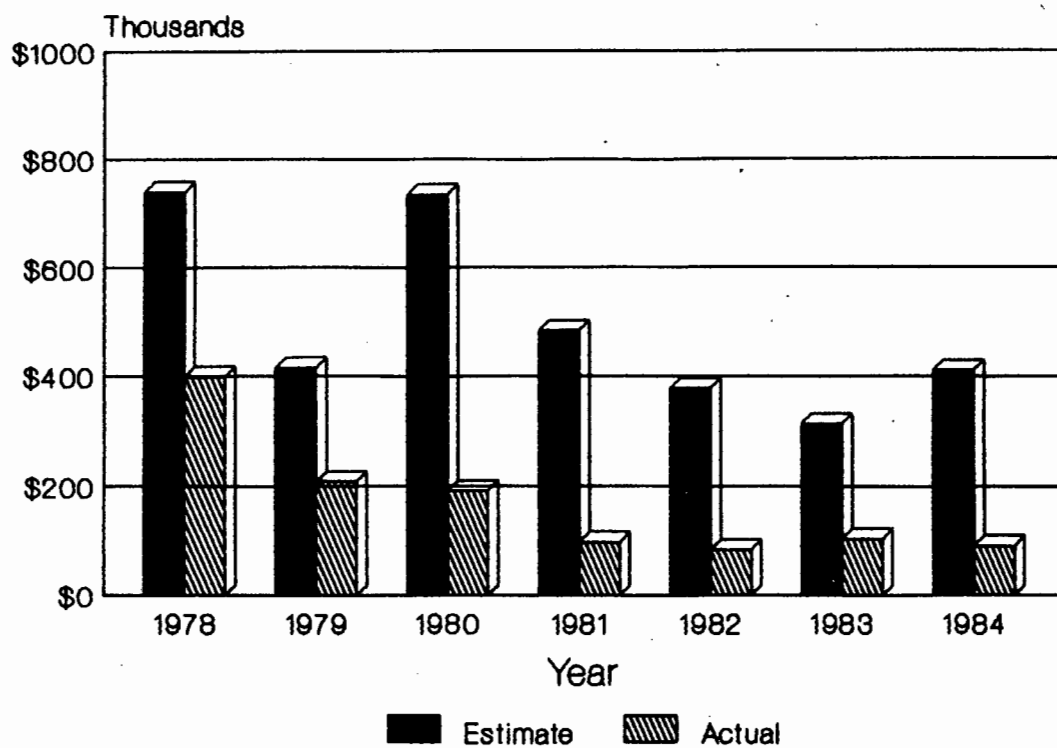
P - 0.025
R - 0.754

ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE



P - 0.13
R - 0.51

AMENITIES - ACTUAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE vs BUDGETED ESTIMATE 561

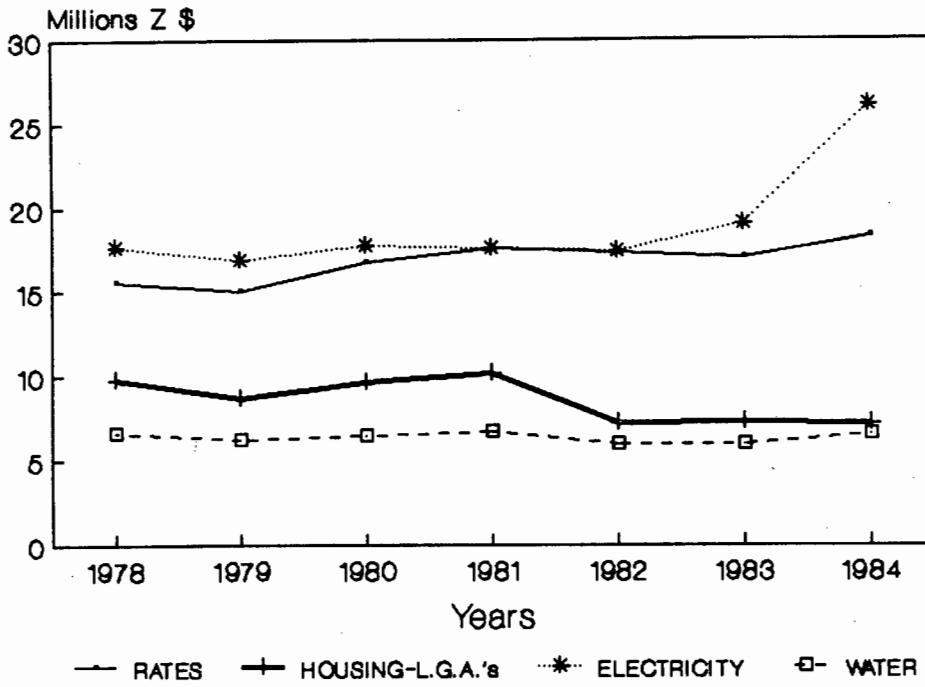


C

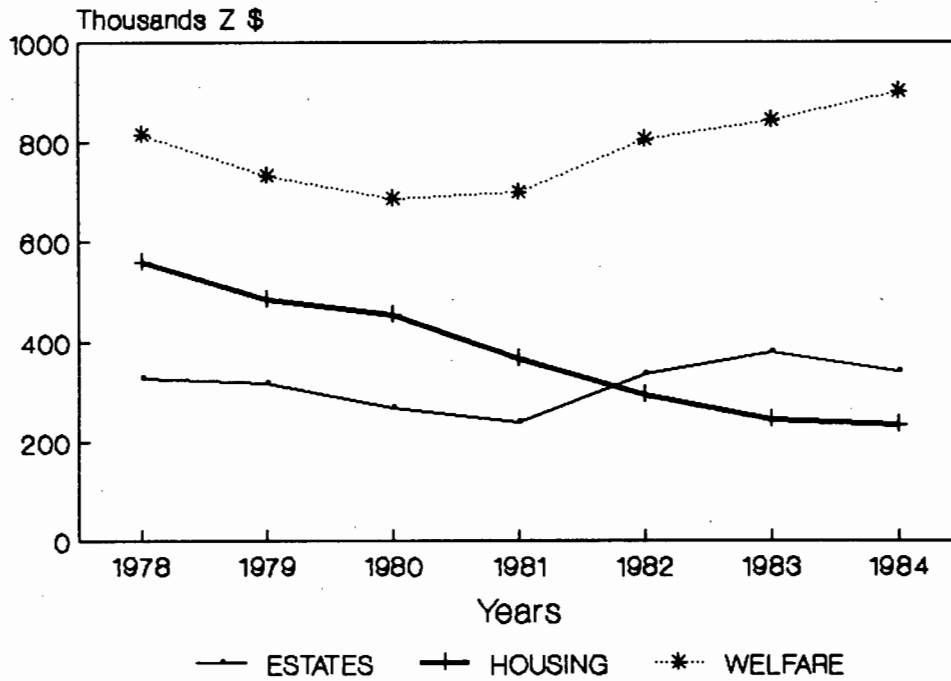
AGGREGATE REVENUE EXPENDITURE

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
RATES ACCOUNT	15,611,664	15,001,364	16,761,640	17,549,969	17,330,107	17,077,945	18,264,777
ESTATES ACCOUNT	328,168	316,614	267,437	239,060	335,640	379,923	339,318
HOUSING ACCOUNT	559,842	485,949	452,453	365,765	293,502	245,556	234,119
HOUSING ACC L.G.A.	9,780,242	8,693,868	9,630,029	10,154,078	7,191,034	7,233,306	7,158,389
WELFARE ACCOUNT	815,612	733,256	686,874	698,189	805,329	843,796	900,097
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT	17,645,738	16,884,473	17,761,251	17,614,908	17,414,203	19,022,390	26,071,799
WATER ACCOUNT	6,632,797	6,290,133	6,478,950	6,703,626	5,931,661	5,969,154	6,588,271
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	51,374,063	48,405,657	52,038,635	53,325,593	49,301,477	50,772,071	59,556,771

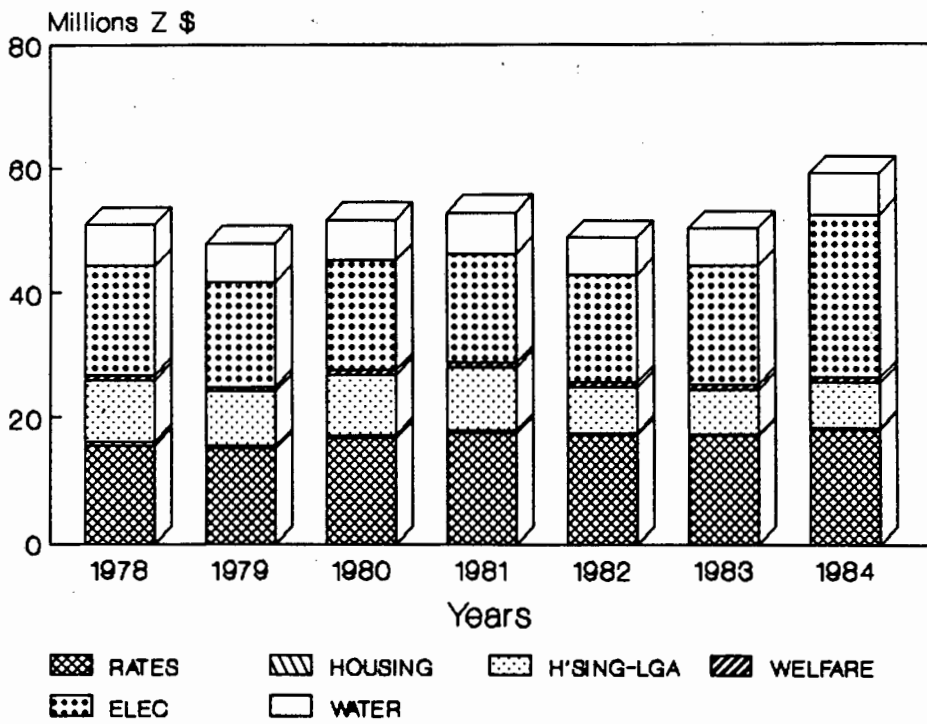
REVENUE EXPENDITURE MAJOR ACCOUNTS 1978-1984



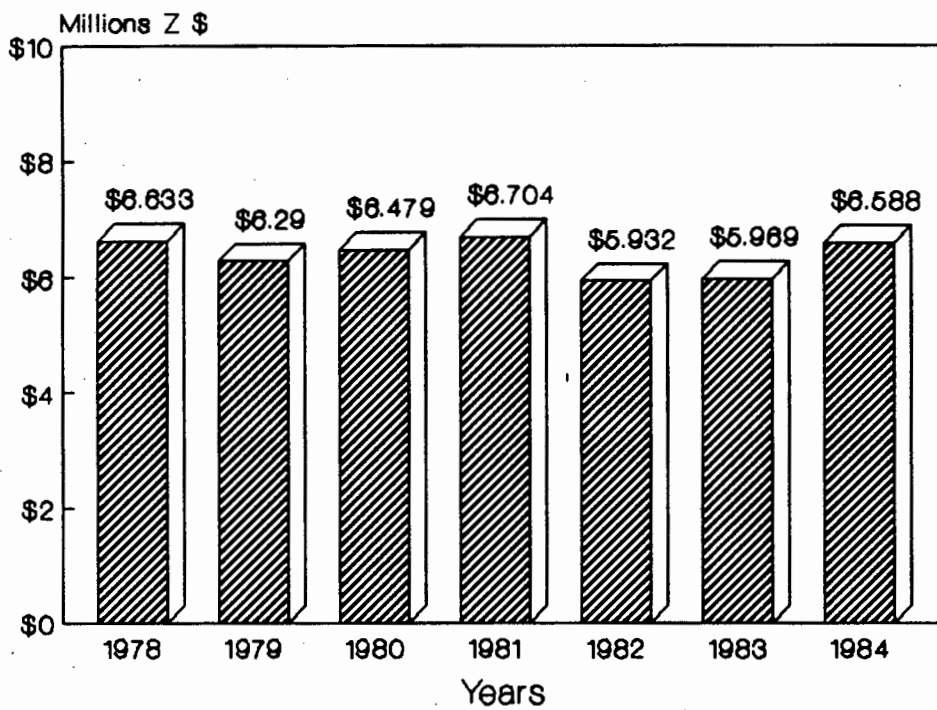
REVENUE ACCOUNTS - EXPENDITURE ESTATES, HOUSING AND WELFARE

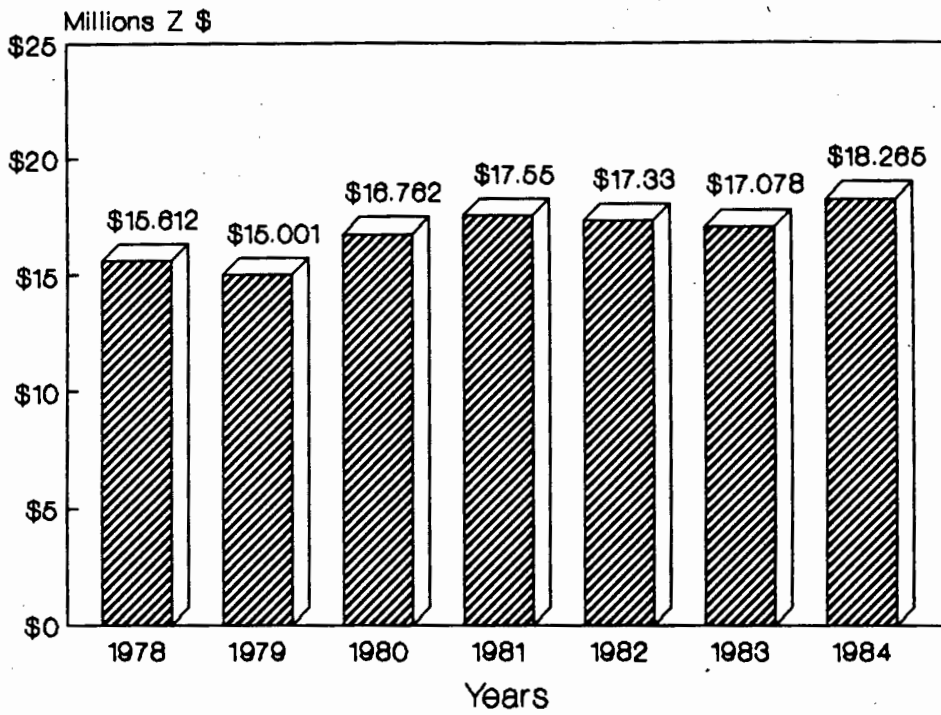
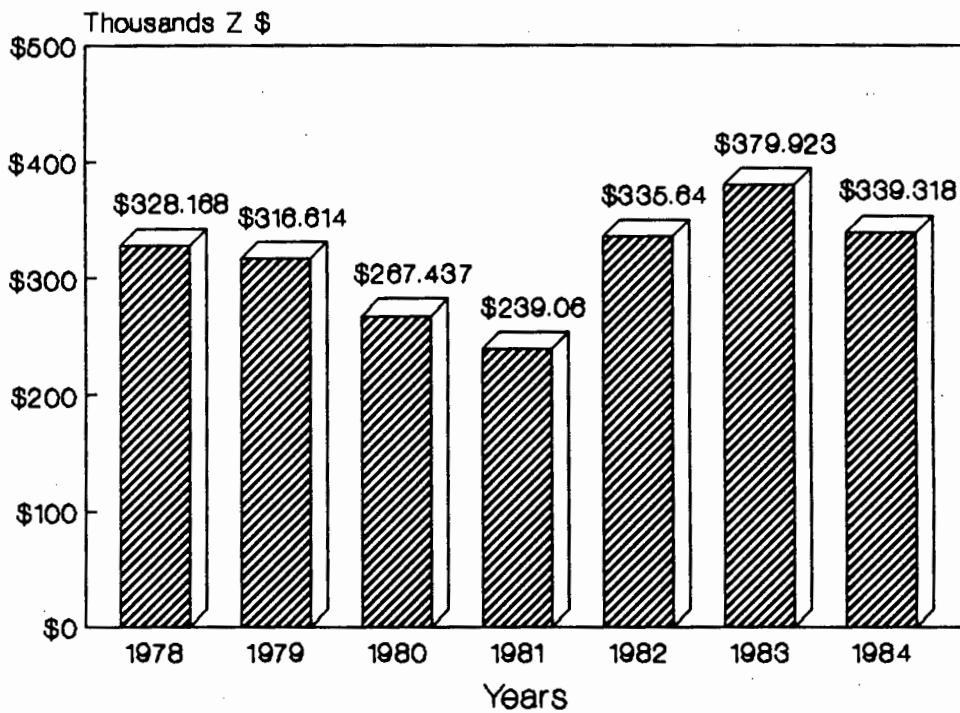


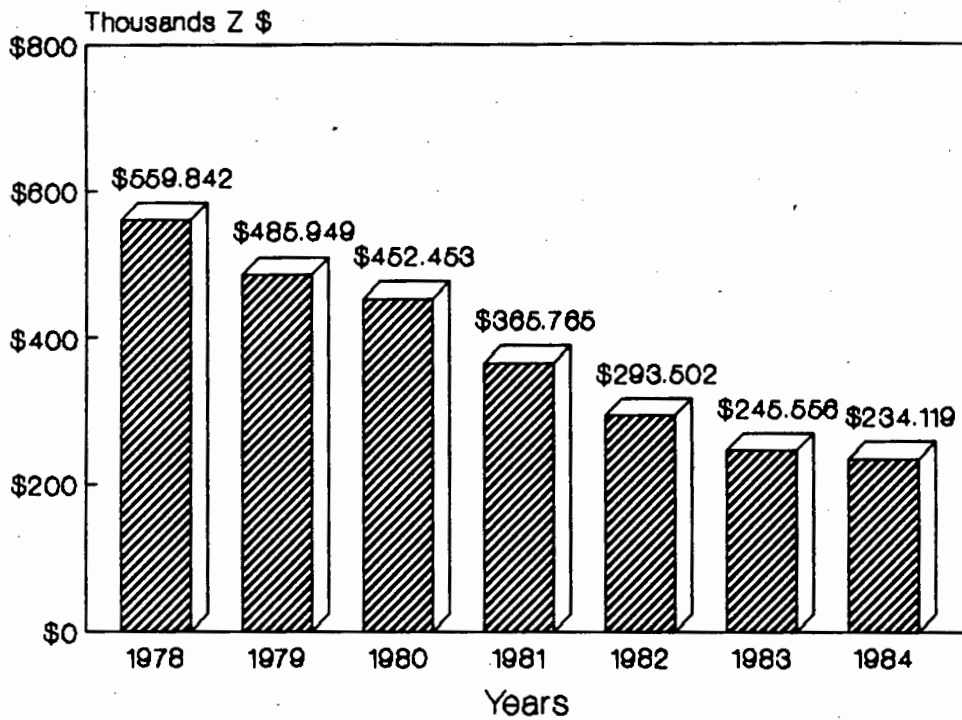
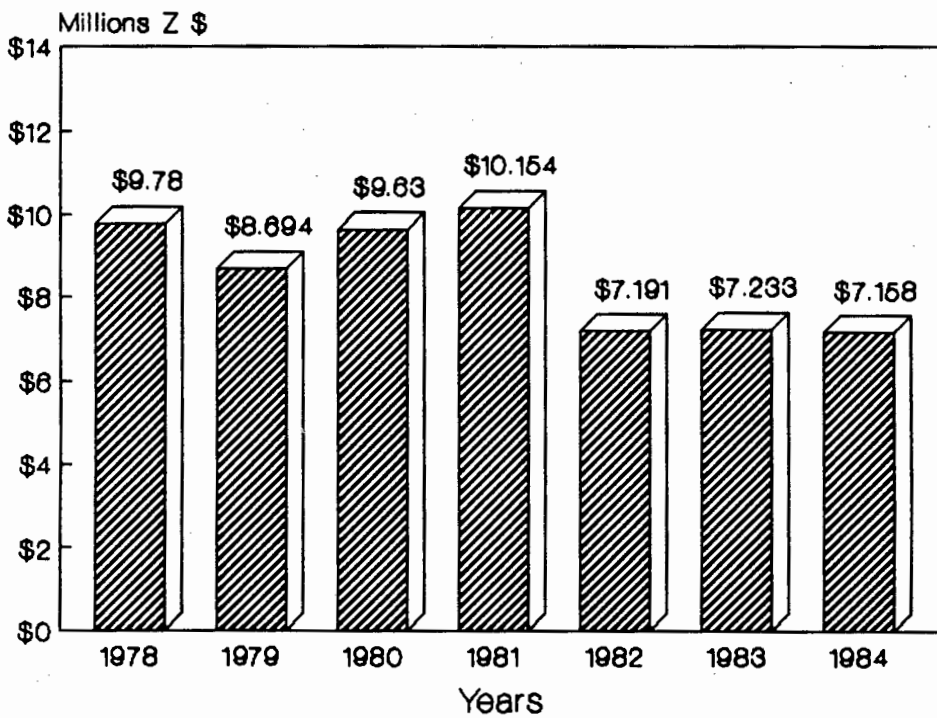
REVENUE ACCOUNTS : RELATIVE EXPENDITURE

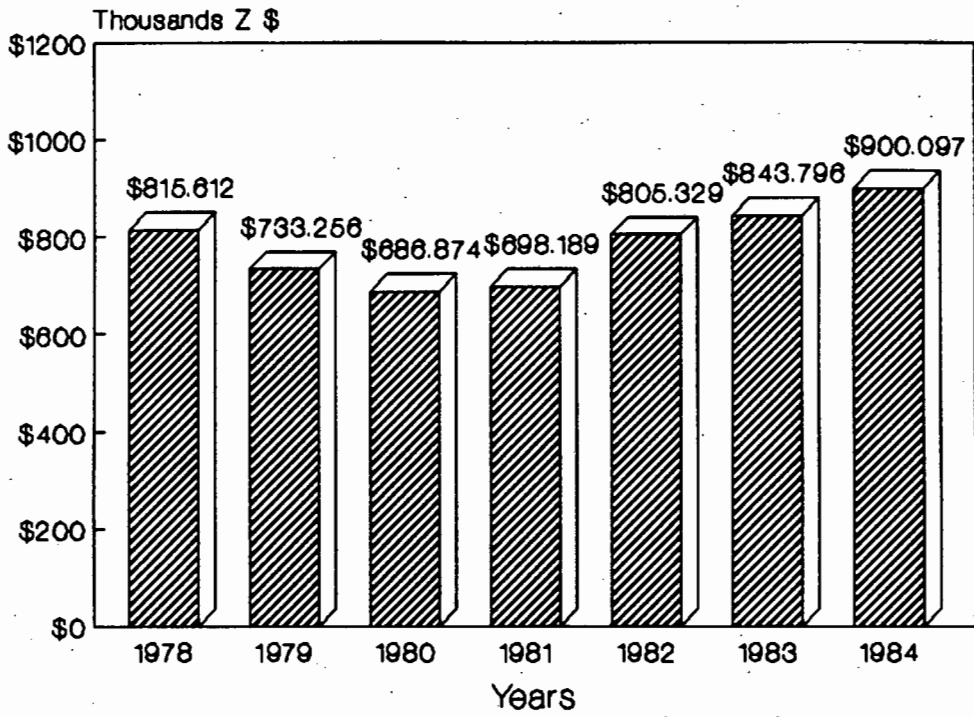
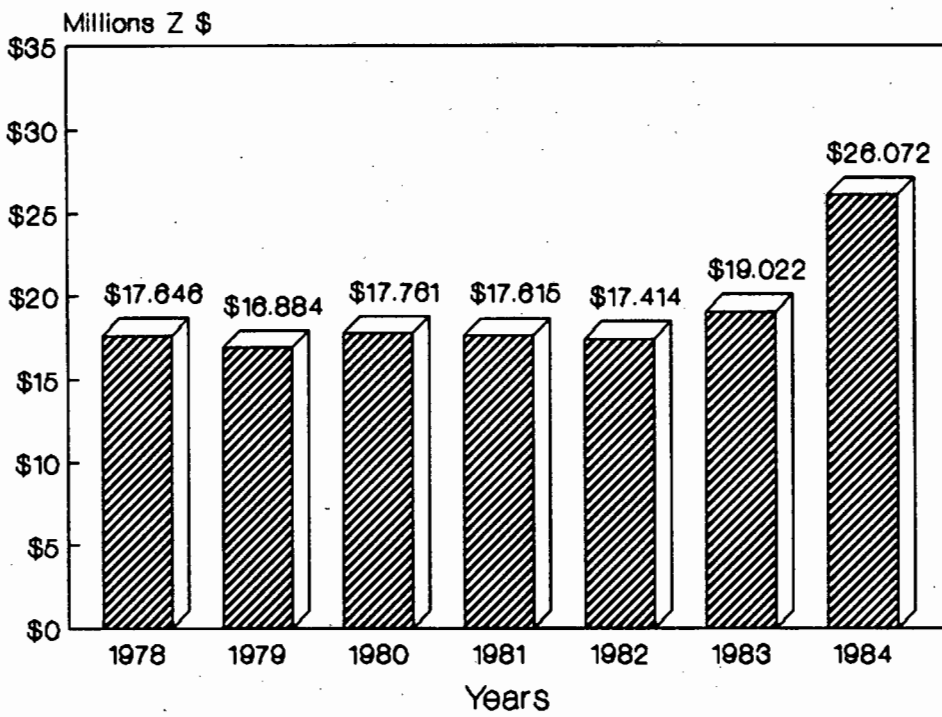


REVENUE EXPENDITURE - WATER



REVENUE EXPENDITURE - RATES**REVENUE EXPENDITURE - ESTATES**

REVENUE EXPENDITURE - HOUSING**REVENUE EXPENDITURE - HOUSING L.G.A.'s**

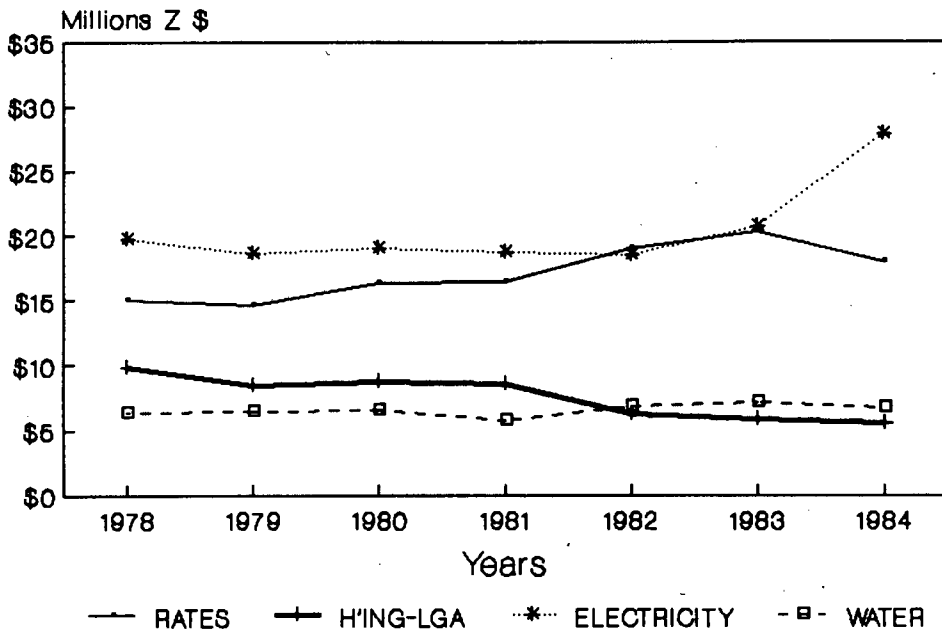
REVENUE EXPENDITURE - WELFARE**REVENUE EXPENDITURE - ELECTRICITY**

D

1) AGGREGATE REVENUE INCOME

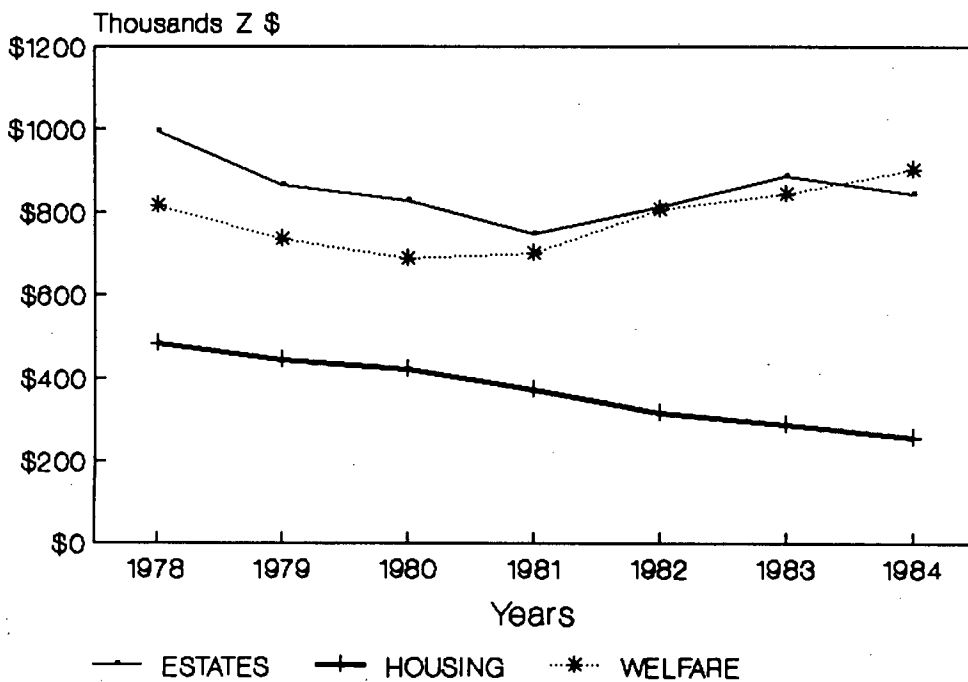
RATES ACCOUNT	15,052,215	14,593,988	16,377,115	16,417,571	18,997,534	20,357,679	18,056,208
ESTATES ACCOUNT	995,642	864,192	827,338	745,850	811,003	885,735	842,762
HOUSING ACCOUNT	483,486	441,840	420,346	370,020	314,327	286,361	255,443
HOUSING ACC L.G.S.	9,839,206	8,412,477	8,722,150	8,603,998	6,220,799	5,875,798	5,573,893
WELFARE ACCOUNT	815,612	733,256	686,874	698,189	805,329	843,798	900,097
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT	19,677,124	18,649,605	19,069,266	18,757,158	18,509,781	20,695,028	27,857,856
WATER ACCOUNT	6,327,124	6,446,698	6,537,366	5,778,000	6,814,114	7,116,610	8,718,487
TOTAL INCOME	53,190,409	50,142,035	52,640,456	51,370,786	52,472,889	58,061,007	60,204,746

REVENUE ACCOUNT - INCOME RATES, HOUSING-LGA, ELECTRICITY, WATER

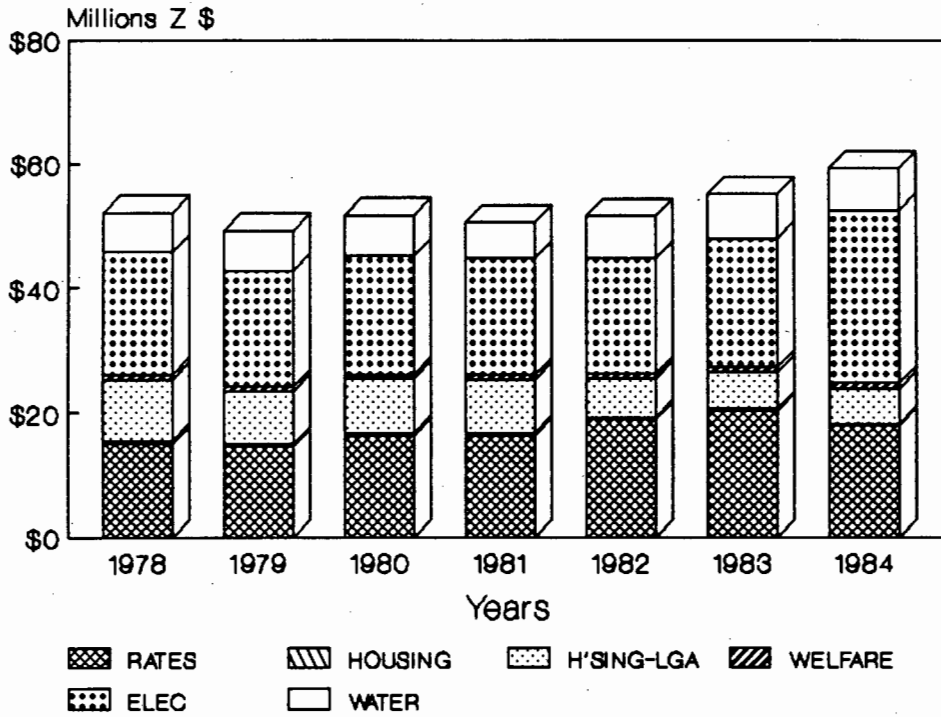


Data have been disaggregated to
accommodate the great range in values.

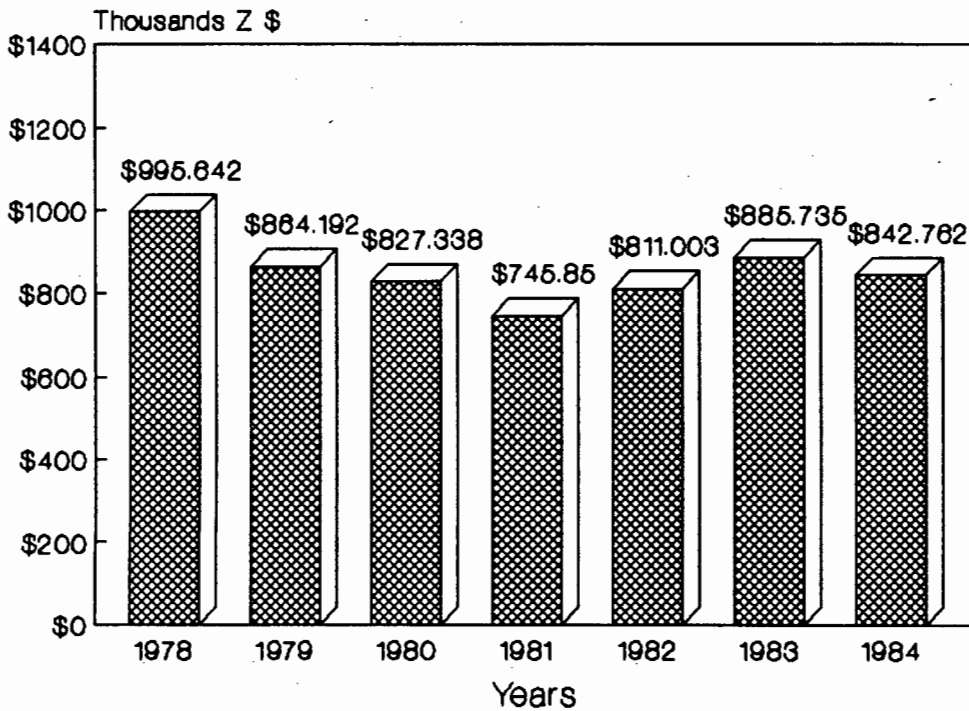
REVENUE ACCOUNT - INCOME ESTATES, HOUSING AND WELFARE ACCOUNTS

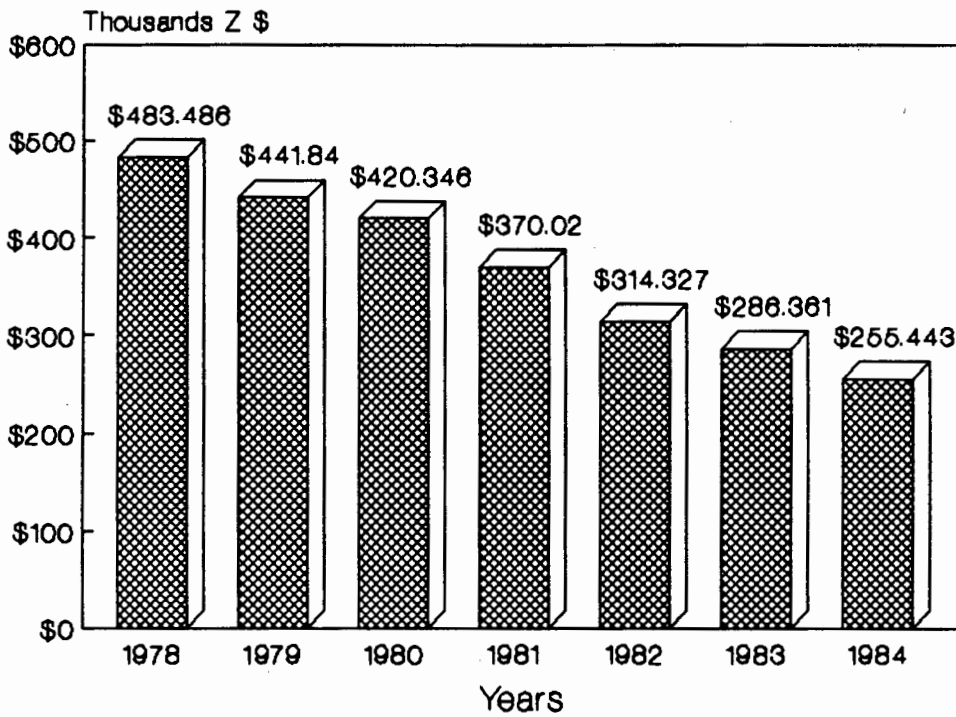
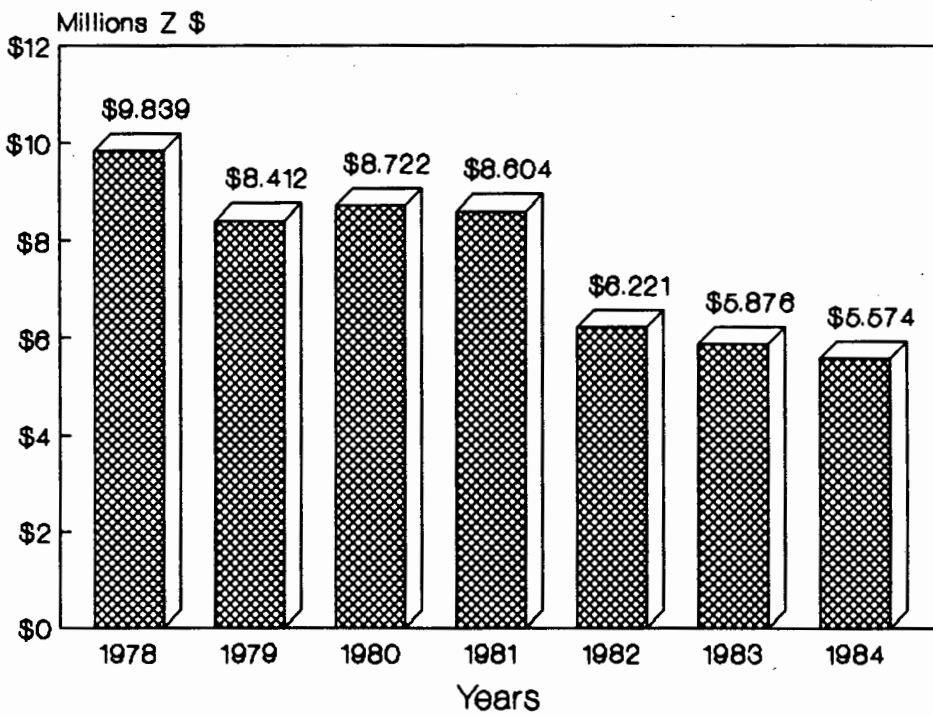


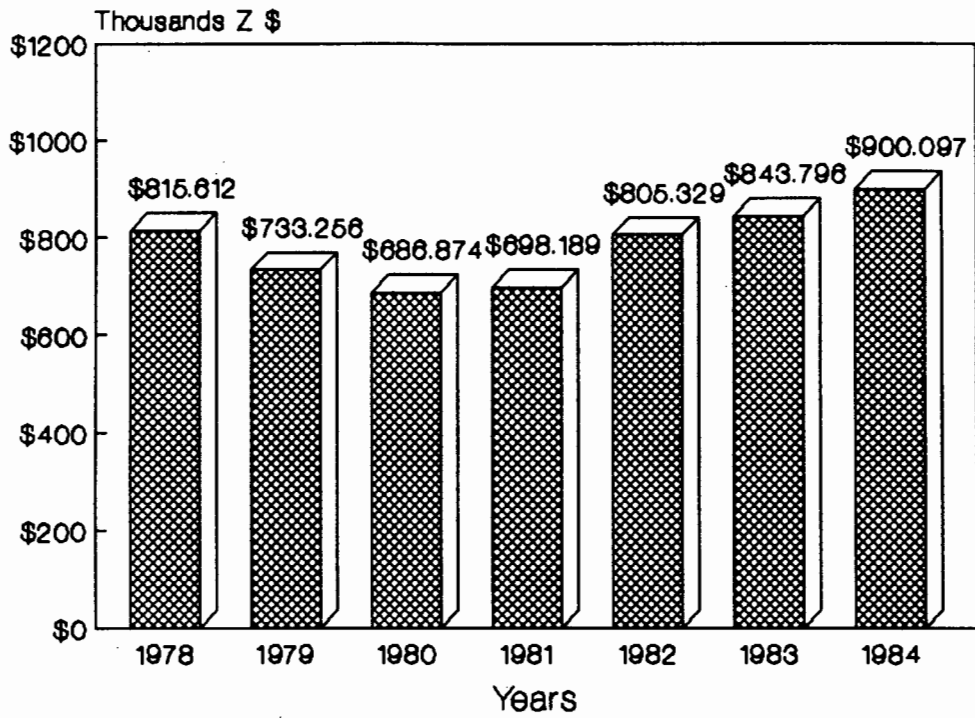
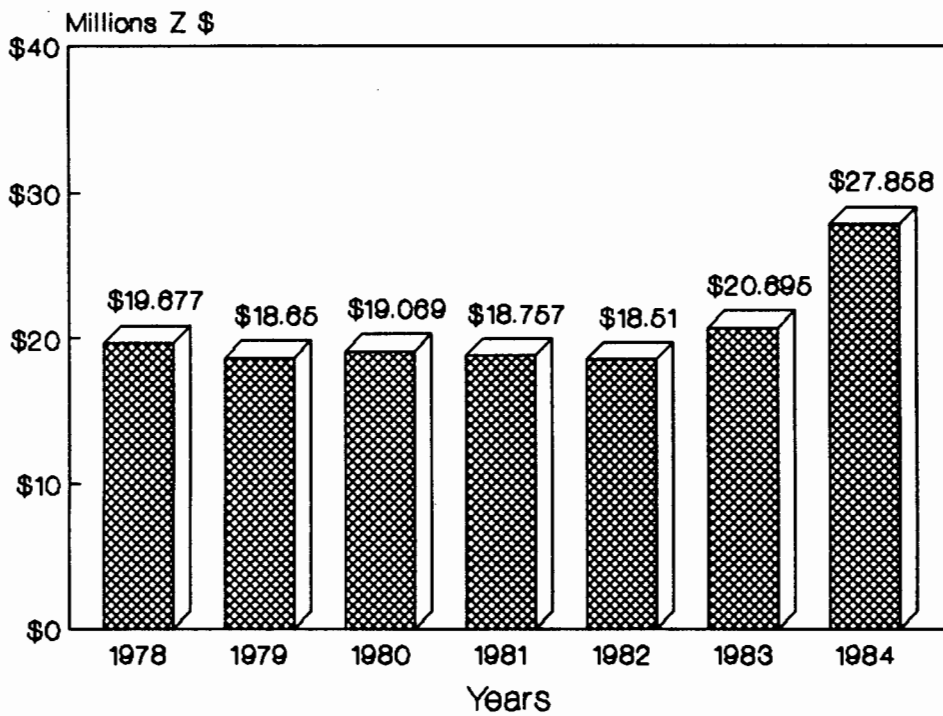
REVENUE ACCOUNTS : RELATIVE INCOME



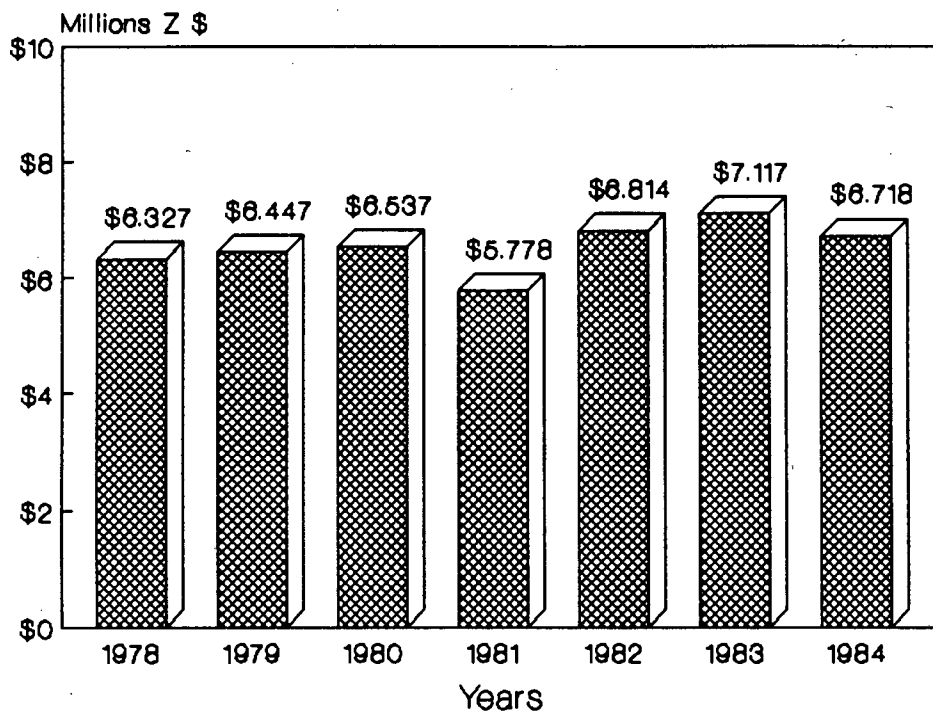
REVENUE INCOME - ESTATES



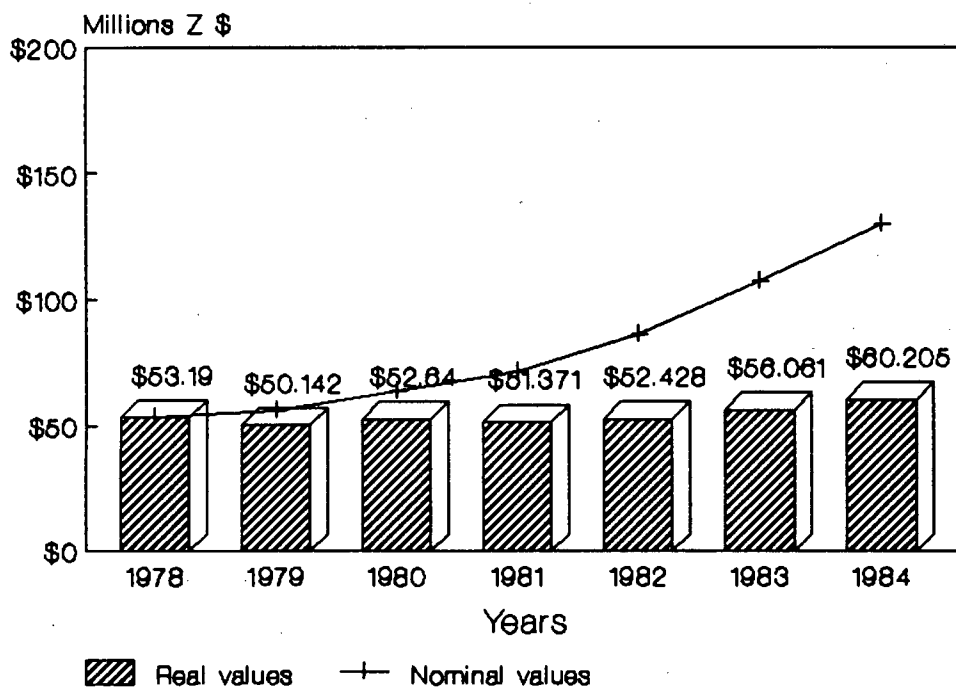
REVENUE INCOME - HOUSING**REVENUE INCOME - HOUSING L.G.A.'s**

REVENUE INCOME - WELFARE**REVENUE INCOME - ELECTRICITY**

REVENUE INCOME - WATER

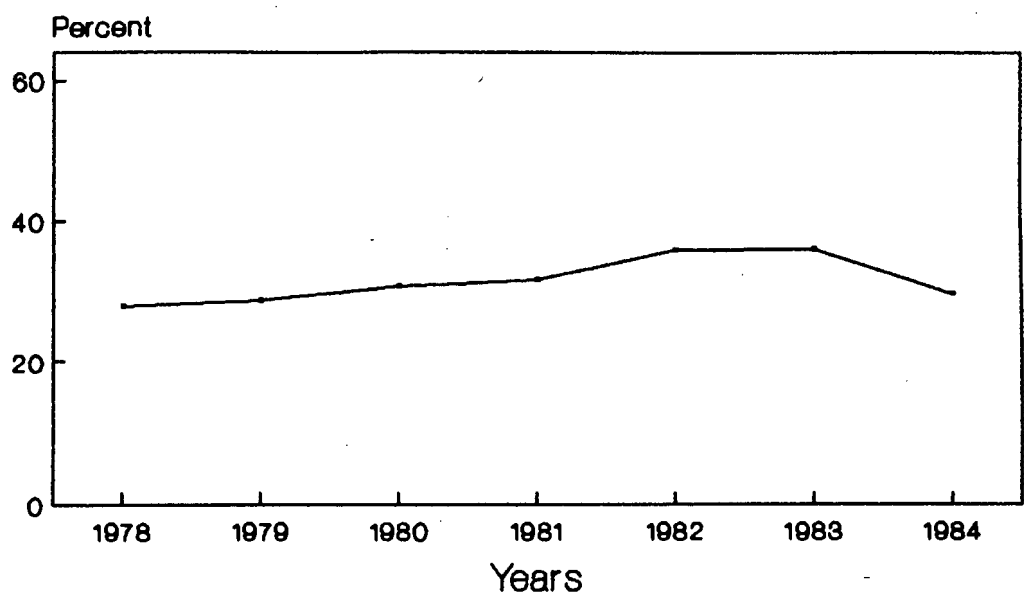


TOTAL REVENUE INCOME (Real and Nominal Values)



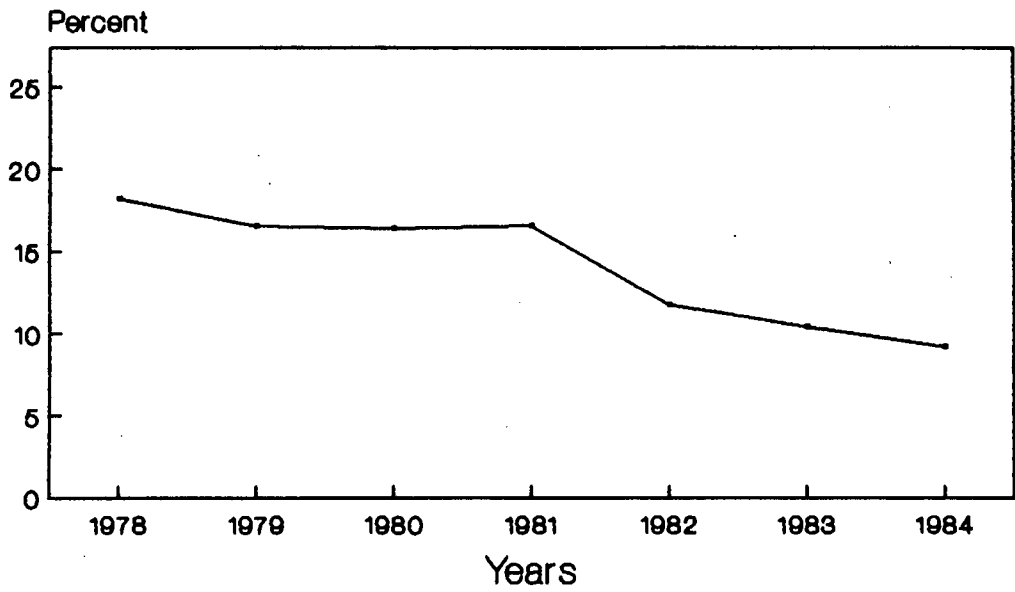
**RATES ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**

574



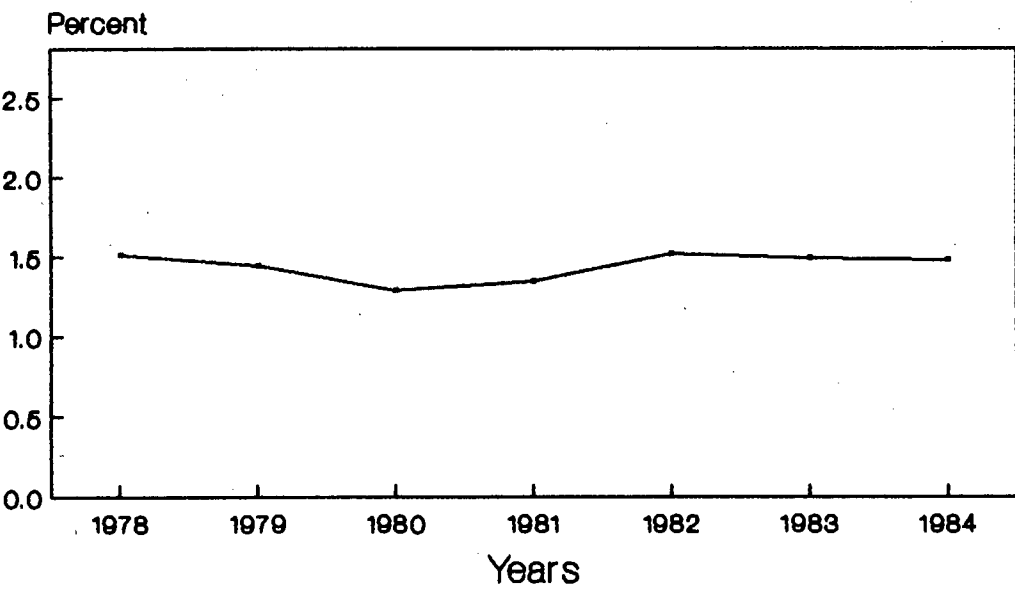
P - 0.089
R - 0.586

**HOUSING: LGA's ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**



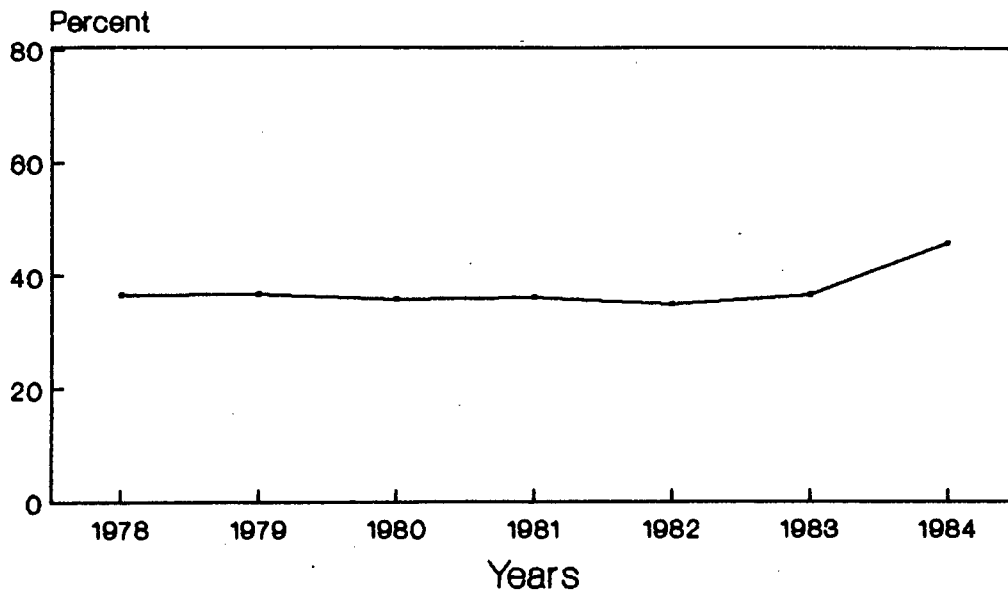
P - 0.0005
R - -0.945

**WELFARE ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL REVENUE INCOME**



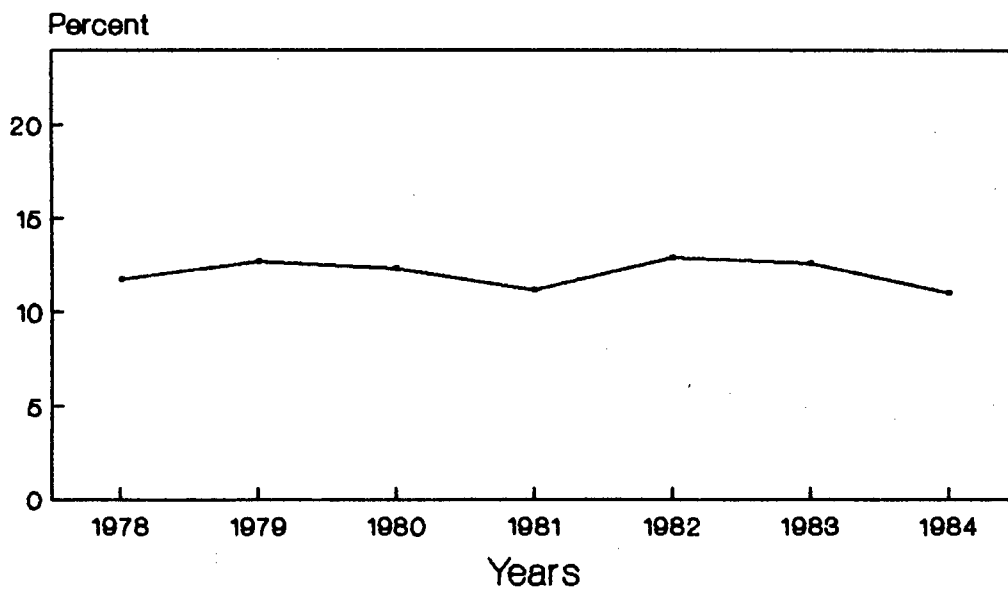
P - 0.337
R - 0.207

ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL REVENUE INCOME



P = 0.106
R = 0.554

WATER ACCOUNT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL REVENUE INCOME



P = 0.352
R = -0.187

2) INDIVIDUAL REVENUE ACCOUNTS - INCOME

	RATES ACCOUNT - INCOME				REAL VALUES		
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
RATES ACCOUNT							
Administration							
Assessment Rate	5,500,668	5,099,652	4,584,856	4,333,875	6,585,742	7,863,025	7,020,262
Licensing Revenue							
- Liquor	32,400	42,460	48,012	54,093	43,218	38,432	43,778
- Business			265,737	227,529	281,741	247,212	214,911
- Cattle & Dog	25,089	19,588	22,808	37,563	39,994	38,827	31,578
Town Clerks Dept							
Fire Brigade (fees)							
- Ambulance Section	55,078	49,557	66,881	73,574	71,809	71,660	64,468
- Fire Section	21,100	37,113	16,290	13,932	13,929	9,801	6,131
Amenities Dept.							
Environmental Control							
- Refuse Removal (fees)	33,105	33,863	787,755	840,239	813,920	1,025,852	982,351
Engineers Dept.							
Administration							
- Owners Charges							
Sewerage	1,702,496	1,582,580	1,442,374	1,281,822	1,293,122	1,354,565	1,234,433
Effluent	446,975	422,450	454,977	121,018	530,781	658,062	325,898
Operations							
- Vehicle Licencing	3,243,605	3,107,932	2,939,739	2,697,598	2,925,423	2,907,546	2,629,500
Roads, Bridges & Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Bicycle	18,755	13,457	15,780	18,321	14,903	13,045	9,752
City Health Dept.							
Family Health Services "A"							
- Contributions & Grants							
Government	56,291	52,294	76,631	183,832	201,728	282,308	199,923
Beer Account	56,779	52,708	76,934	13,967	74,020	24,602	30,401
Family Health Services "B"							
- Fees (Clinic)	3,429	2,302	4,211	3,519	1,643	1,380	
- Contributions & Grants							
Government	98,301	101,724	105,914	80,452	53,378	54,807	32,513
Beer Account				1,388	12,553	16,810	10,450
Dental Clinic							
- Fees	46,625	50,641	53,263	19,640	15,477	38,737	46,526
- Contributions & Grants							
Government		0	18,394	76,663	90,414	73,372	28,150
Beer Account	17,240	21,125	19,217	3,768	21,295	317	12
T.B. Centre							
- Contributions & Grants							
Government		0	41,966	74,462	69,214	80,611	44,205
Beer Account	69,390	67,379	33,777	7,766	2,315	2,176	
Primary Care & Maternity Care							
- Fees	347,373	365,553	448,458	76,894	12,780	163,358	235,320
- Contributions & Grants							
Government	279,453	282,358	358,199	1,347,819	1,335,004	1,294,415	860,998
Beer Account	307,003	311,402	389,172	112,641	348,424	79,079	326,290
Hospitals (Total)							
- Fees	161,434	118,646	211,223	95,465	17,203	14,698	10,189
- Contributions & Grants							
Government	210,344	189,340	218,643	626,473	643,632	662,579	400,458
Beer Account	145,129	138,396	167,967	38,494	107,424	20,114	15,803
TOTAL INCOME RATES ACCOUNT	15,052,215	14,593,968	16,377,115	11,794,613	14,816,374	15,695,320	14,042,063

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
ESTATES ACCOUNT							
Rents							
- Special Residential	45,532	39,626	40,042	32,527	25,852	12,699	6,628
- General Residential	27,812	23,560	22,909	20,907	24,020	26,095	23,093
- Business	227,522	188,108	168,557	157,184	183,196	189,534	173,372
- Industrial	85,714	73,695	74,234	70,089	68,232	68,462	70,077
- Public Utility	182,585	170,075	155,491	142,404	171,797	188,738	173,160
- Recreation	29,346	29,559	29,727	26,850	28,778	27,493	25,325
TOTAL ESTATES ACCOUNT	598311	524622.376	490959.8	449961.704	497874.784	513020.556	471655.072
WELFARE ACCOUNT							
Administration:General							
- Cinemas	52,553	73,672	59,736	21,042	74,060	64,819	61,951
- Vocat. Training (fees)	6,504	9,750	11,274	5,275	2,893	2,801	1,924
MBARE							
Halls							
- Hire Fees	1,372	980	956	2,954	1,910	2,090	5,637
- Rents (fixed property)	600	0	0	4,071	3,550	3,778	5,117
Play Centres & Feeding							
- Creche fees	1,955	13	0	0	0	212	6,980
- Food sales	792	319	273	208	203	4	ERR
Recreation Grounds							
- Fees & Recoveries	32,064	37,827	46,239	51,178	70,169	84,430	79,247
TOTAL INCOME - WELFARE ACCOUNT	144,135	148,853	146,790	127,888	194,054	204,164	222,892
(minus contributions from Beer Acc)							
Contributions from Beer Account		0	0	570,301	611,276	639,833	677,206
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT							
Sales							
Electricity	15,562,514	15,069,205	15,017,183	15,800,125	15,361,791	17,888,804	24,688,376
Load Limiters	388,124	388,939	421,500	370,697	334,554	435,028	625,841
WATER ACCOUNT							
Fees							
Water Levy	65,308	60,958	56,727	50,379	51,959	51,486	47,941
Sales							
Water	6,212,064	6,332,383	6,439,188	5,695,013	6,714,538	6,967,838	6,597,715

Mbare inserted as an example: Entries vary too much and there are too many omissions.

Accounts are constantly being reformulated. For example "Play Centres & Feeding" becomes a single entity "pre-School Play Centres". Elsewhere only "Social Services Functions" appears. For details see the original data sheet.

HOUSING LOCAL GOVT AREAS - INCOME

REAL VALUES

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
HOUSING ACCOUNT - LOCAL GOVT AREAS							
MBARE							
Housing:general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	479,314	489,994	496,502	464,069	210,274	157,556	191,686
Hostels							
- Rentals and Recoveries	1,099,268	838,545	602,254	412,719	388,985	369,052	311,686
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	29,792	28,356	51,974	54,894	56,607	90,296	97,192
Trade Rentals	17,554	26,117	24,852	21,186	17,926	15,860	12,836
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	26,609	26,800	23,374	22,855	29,844	29,863	26,073
Sewerage							
- Owners Charges	7,788	6,994	0	0	0	0	0
Water							
- Sales	257,954	251,437	258,172	267,034	0	0	0
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle	688	404	670	708	638	581	503
Cattle and Dog	46	243	157	250	260	381	286
Shop	0	5,738	5,934	4,803	6,694	5,130	2,272
Liquor	0	2,335	2,596	2,013	1,702	3,132	3,979
-Rents							
Business	3,682	4,011	3,380	3,093	2,614	1,958	1,832
Public Utility	840	754	939	820	693	627	1,308
- Owners Charges							
Refuse	1,050	938	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	644,774	579,319	531,916	463,852	370,606	315,836	291,699
Total Income of Local Govt Area	2,624,128	2,318,127	2,040,048	1,752,870	1,337,075	1,196,512	1,251,153
MABVUKU							
Housing:general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	121,652	455,209	415,909	348,843	86,806	77,845	71,952
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	4,099	3,894	2,061	0	2,721	3,703	5,196
Trade Rentals	7,392	7,527	8,125	7,571	8,279	7,727	6,960
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	15,017	16,205	15,159	14,439	17,908	16,907	15,076
Sewerage							
- Owners Charges	2,570	1,711	0	0	0	0	0
Water							
- Sales	127,213	124,283	126,936	111,526	0	0	0
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle	238	186	258	348	257	324	198
Cattle and Dog	192	47	122	40	247	156	102
Shop	0	1,652	1,697	1,309	1,946	1,634	1,267
Liquor	0	718	1,154	719	608	1,096	1,267
-Rents							
Business	1,346	1,852	1,922	1,662	1,406	1,207	722
Public Utility	240	216	198	173	146	125	111
- Owners Charges							
Refuse	903	625	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	383,410	348,096	320,309	277,344	208,608	173,861	162,767
Total Income of Local Govt Area	1,130,630	1,000,876	922,354	811,805	633,686	569,310	503,988

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
MUFAKOSE							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	539,955	498,229	466,313	416,238	41,925	34,182	29,055
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	4,037	3,610	1,411	0	2,704	3,122	3,880
Trade Rentals	2,820	3,610	3,563	3,266	2,816	2,065	2,240
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	28,443	30,480	26,242	23,276	29,521	28,146	23,037
Water							
- Sales	162,718	155,893	150,869	136,634	0	0	0
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle	323	178	406	421	394	342	170
Cattle and Dog	43	199	396	37	602	317	69
Shop	0	1,473	1,327	1,841	2,268	1,900	2,043
Liquor	0	718	989	803	608	1,253	1,114
-Rents							
Business	1,370	3,374	3,972	3,450	2,832	2,190	1,061
Public Utility	230	108	99	86	73	63	46
- Owners Charges							
Refuse	1,121	797	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	507,789	456,410	419,734	367,564	267,184	223,014	206,423
Total Income of Local Govt Area	1,285,227	1,176,780	1,086,606	966,180	753,587	643,037	595,771
TAFARA							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	164,333	147,916	136,805	97,975	50,341	46,810	43,419
Hostels							
- Rentals and Recoveries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	936	841	771	1,249	1,304	1,679	2,353
Trade Rentals	4,982	6,229	5,756	5,073	4,138	3,683	3,274
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	5,855	7,731	6,052	7,576	7,184	6,330	5,500
Water							
- Sales	6,907	67,037	68,465	63,281	0	0	0
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle	64	348	196	216	165	182	114
Cattle and Dog	165	451	110	319	113	152	142
Shop	0	988	824	719	1,003	793	677
Liquor	0	539	659	431	365	783	835
-Rents							
Business	180	162	148	331	280	240	213
Public Utility	190	108	140	86	67	84	56
- Owners Charges							
Refuse	325	291	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	225,134	202,741	186,315	157,521	116,881	100,965	93,965
Total Income of Local Govt Area	501,519	460,095	427,719	388,851	284,579	256,187	234,925

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
DZIVARESEKWA							
Housing:general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	101,429	95,728	216,466	227,017	85,248	82,614	77,005
Housing Purchase							
- Loans	1,481	1,330	1,220	1,065	150,664	136,209	125,408
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	1,837	1,564	1,182	748	320	319	2,098
Trade Rentals	1,743	2,155	1,978	1,693	1,525	1,287	1,147
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	4,451	5,368	5,352	5,652	6,728	7,432	6,117
Water							
- Sales	41,138	42,882	59,339	61,263	0	0	0
General							
- Lodger	898	955	626	463	948	465	0
- Licences							
Bicycle	359	158	344	415	506	573	320
Cattle and Dog	0	0	2	170	85	135	79
Shop	0	718	577	431	547	392	418
Liquor	0	539	769	719	608	626	835
-Rents							
Business	530	476	437	389	322	7	0
Public Utility	0	2	3,527	1,035	882	752	668
- Owners Charges							
Refuse		0	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	155,758	141,448	188,923	180,230	121,430	97,157	90,876
Total Income of Local Govt Area	313,360	144,587	483,309	483,538	371,641	330,801	307,016

HIGHFIELD							
Housing:general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	243,297	237,488	234,622	200,741	150,710	140,284	122,947
Hostels							
- Single Quarters:Rents	105,381	96,977	86,843	77,880	65,865	57,123	50,780
Housing purchase							
- Loans	166,146	142,615	126,208	101,996	133,299	97,678	83,476
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	12,657	10,300	9,101	8,022	7,133	9,499	13,466
Trade Rentals	373	355	316	276	223	448	175
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	74,215	74,229	65,257	57,529	70,796	68,582	59,285
Sewerage							
- Owners Charges		0	0	0	0	0	0
Water							
- Sales	270,713	277,278	277,605	255,002	0	0	0
General							
- Lodgers	82,772	53,918	24,893	8,451	3,740	2,015	1,234
- Licences							
Bicycle	601	348	716	550	599	551	373
Cattle and Dog	48	40	38	55	300	280	206
Shop	0	13,087	12,915	11,245	13,393	11,740	12,359
Liquor	0	3,727	3,708	3,140	3,577	8,208	4,791
-Rents							
Business	6,133	4,917	4,591	4,017	3,270	1,606	1,985
Public Utility	770	754	634	604	511	438	390
- Owners Charges							
Refuse		0	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	681,784	617,048	569,383	497,345	419,624	383,046	363,975
Total Income of Local Govt Area	1,678,454	1,575,701	1,444,015	1,252,993	884,655	794,782	724,933

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
KAMBUZUMA							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	2,420	1,083	918	867	886	1,203	1,069
Purchase						0	
- Loans	94,669	83,653	75,384	66,145	58,428	51,746	44,803
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	5,043	4,274	3,525	2,791	2,626	3,460	4,480
				0		0	
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	28,176	29,382	23,575	19,921	26,204	22,496	19,839
Water							
- Sales	80,987	85,508	87,508	76,523	0	0	0
General							
- Lodger	20,312	13,157	6,623	3,277	1,430	884	128
- Licences							
Bicycle	216	131	283	308	275	213	211
Cattle and Dog	30	50	40	122	326	241	228
Shop	0	2,461	2,571	2,459	4,074	2,532	2,408
Liquor		0	1,318	994	973	1,096	696
-Rents							
Business	853	863	613	1,219	480	125	111
- Owners Charges							
Suppl. Charge	209,983	189,405	174,569	152,439	122,855	107,939	101,952
Total Income of Local Govt Area	446,694	419,558	216,906	332,375	220,937	194,757	180,297
GLEN NORAH							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	414,119	374,305	344,851	220,834	59,602	56,879	57,985
Purchase							
- Loans	0	0	0	174,910	253,411	198,393	214,772
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	4,592	3,230	3,575	3,177	3,463	4,727	8,430
Trade Rentals	1,898	1,498	1,416	1,307	1,124	965	0
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	33,230	41,927	36,299	32,247	40,203	40,804	34,985
Water							
- Sales	165,189	176,567	181,354	155,750	0	0	0
General							
- Lodgers	258	1,277	1,917	723	106	27	24
- Licences							
Bicycle	208	128	316	234	198	305	216
Cattle and Dog	123	38	3	299	253	232	381
Shop	1,500	1,616	2,620	2,286	182	1,498	0
Liquor	0	898	1,154	1,294	1,094	1,253	1,496
-Rents							
Business	2,715	2,550	3,267	783	662	535	643
Public Utility	120	108	420	173	146	125	111
- Owners Charges							
Refuse							
Suppl. Charge	480,605	428,996	395,375	337,287	243,846	211,678	203,815
Total Income of Local Govt Area	1,109,983	1,038,393	976,538	859,055	617,678	558,276	527,531

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
GLEN VIEW							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	0	6,954	146,078	146,961	8,209	6,745	6,212
Purchase							
- Loans	0	9,366	108,141	181,750	350,356	321,054	280,540
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	0	0	0	192	1,534	2,500	6,059
Trade Rentals	0	0	0	4,237	4,570	4,084	4,010
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	0	47	3,902	9,438	19,349	27,764	30,104
Water							
- Sales	0	3,460	109,317	147,688	0	0	0
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle	0	0	67	124	119	413	139
Cattle and Dog	0	0	0	115	32	271	53
Shop	0	0	82	827	1,277	1,302	1,079
Liquor	0	0	659	1,570	2,057	3,693	1,288
- Rents							
Business	0	395	0	5,404	0	0	0
Public Utility	0	0	1,258	1,553	1,313	1,128	1,002
- Owners Charges							
Suppl. Charge	0	12,622	344,982	396,654	292,362	250,640	233,930
Total Income of Local Govt Area	0	34,522	877,539	1,037,278	742,949	703,429	636,373
WARREN PARK							
Purchase							
- Loans		0	0	4,195	258,526	291,897	393,357
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls						444	1,211
Trade Rentals						0	137
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles		0	0	0	1,539	5,981	8,455
General							
- Licences							
Bicycle		0	0	0	131	172	116
Cattle and Dog		0	0	0	38	29	63
- Owners Charges							
Suppl. Charge		0	0	1,221	74,123	129,813	133,520
Total Income of Local Govt Area		0	0	8,342	335,763	587,699	822,345

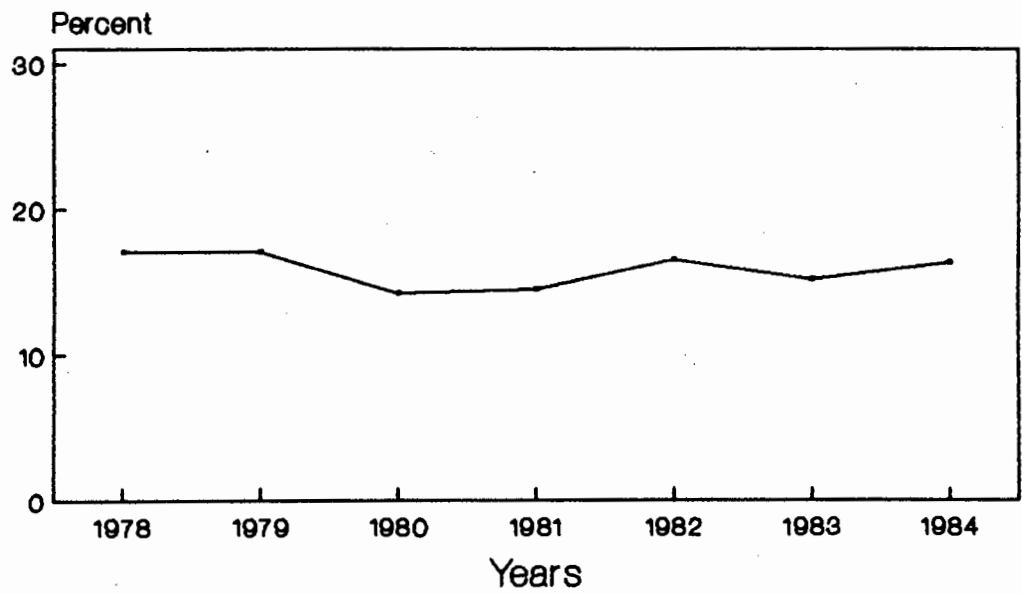
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Total income for government areas							
Housing: general							
- Rentals and Recoveries	2066519	2306905.426	2458464.976	2123546.368	694001.6	604118.43	601329.152
Hostels							
- Rentals and Recoveries	1204649	933522.186	689097.192	490598.865	454849.664	426174.894	362486.592
Housing purchase							
- Loans	262296	236964.24	310952.88	530061.18	1204683.904	1096976.736	1142355.936
Trading							
- Rents							
Market Stalls	62993	56069.324	73600.504	71073.15	78413.152	119748.366	144366.64
Trade Rentals	36762	47490.73	46005.568	44609.636	40599.2	36118.224	30778.976
Roads and Stormwater Drainage							
- Licences							
Vehicles	220242	236940.892	209543.2	198769.707	256676.32	262005.894	235334.768
Sewerage							
- Owners Charges	10358	8704.314	0	0	0	0	0
Water							
- Sales	1123700	1198652.196	1337166.6	1274702.158	0	0	0
General							
- Lodgers	104240	69307.64	34059.216	12914.678	6224.704	3390.912	1385.968
- Licences							
Bicycle	2695	1881.31	3256.448	3323.937	3281.376	3656.088	2359.44
Cattle and Dog	647	1068.62	867.672	1407.083	2255.072	2192.922	1608.224
Shop	1500	27733.832	28547.48	25919.95	31383.744	26920.584	22522.56
Liquor	0	9473.9	13005.192	11683.75	11592.128	21141	16300.32
-Rents							
Business	16809	18599.376	18330.704	20349.138	11865.728	7868.106	6567.92
Public Utility	2390	2049.236	7213.296	5750.562	77953.504	133154.37	137213.152
- Owners Charges							
Refuse	3399	2650.896	0	0	0	0	0
Suppl. Charge	3295543	2983829.5	3141822.184	2841074.575	2247624	2004676.794	1892856.912
Total Income of Local Govt Area	9134749	8197677.666	8512101.28	7913195.365	6206585.6	5858967.15	5804998.672

E

INDIVIDUAL REVENUE ACCOUNTS - EXPENDITURE

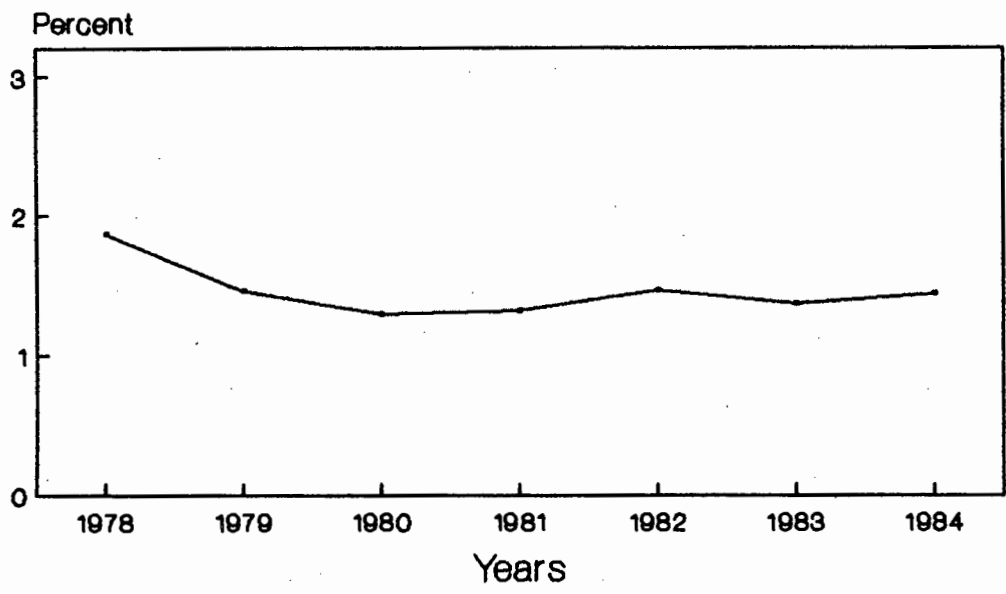
	RATES ACCOUNT - EXPENDITURE				REAL VALUES		
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
RATES ACCOUNT							
Administration	2,657,824	2,560,097	2,376,135	2,429,599	2,744,870	2,443,923	2,715,019
Halls and Comm Centres	28,126	24,380	19,055	23,170	25,780	30,913	23,746
Cemeteries	144,235	146,237	144,558	152,044	147,740	152,337	167,115
Cleansing Services	88,845	100,758	112,600	104,316	103,103	110,590	89,980
Waste Management	728,372	668,988	867,955	976,181	899,135	1,069,977	1,180,036
Parks and Open Spaces	979,784	828,886	908,640	1,084,340	1,061,778	1,076,532	1,160,700
Swimming Baths	291,879	218,888	216,246	221,628	243,251	221,418	239,996
Sewerage							
Reticulation:City	1,181,719	1,091,737	1,116,736	1,054,216	921,915	874,926	831,263
:LGA's	421,607	414,161	542,763	478,934	440,171	445,478	468,733
Treatment	738,876	736,233	1,115,216	1,122,839	1,169,754	1,184,111	740,308
Pollution Control	659,445	651,810	854,302	1,008,999	576,200	512,492	611,995
Roads,Bridges,Stormwater Drains,							
Signs and Signals	3,246,656	3,600,961	3,606,466	3,526,240	3,538,049	3,410,318	3,558,572
Street Lighting	489,903	460,116	529,006	553,258	511,598	545,813	614,187
Grass Control	141,137	179,162	153,998	188,599	199,515	187,894	206,289
Street Cleaning	Nil	177,430	183,665	202,188	215,504	194,714	210,326
Family Health Services	315,476	312,352	371,329	363,608	420,606	505,685	589,757
Clinics	1,112,950	1,142,498	1,388,999	1,748,186	1,943,973	1,999,753	2,070,960
Environmental Health Control	352,815	329,099	353,827	329,312	271,414	229,779	246,045
Hospitals	578,222	599,963	661,233	774,907	823,021	813,698	855,511
TOTAL EXPENDITURE SELECTED ITEMS	14,157,871	14,243,756	15,522,729	16,342,544	16,257,376	16,010,350	16,580,538
TOTAL EXPENDITURE RATES ACCOUNT	15,611,664	15,001,364	16,761,640	16,848,970	16,630,158	16,195,463	16,691,902

**ADMINISTRATION AS PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



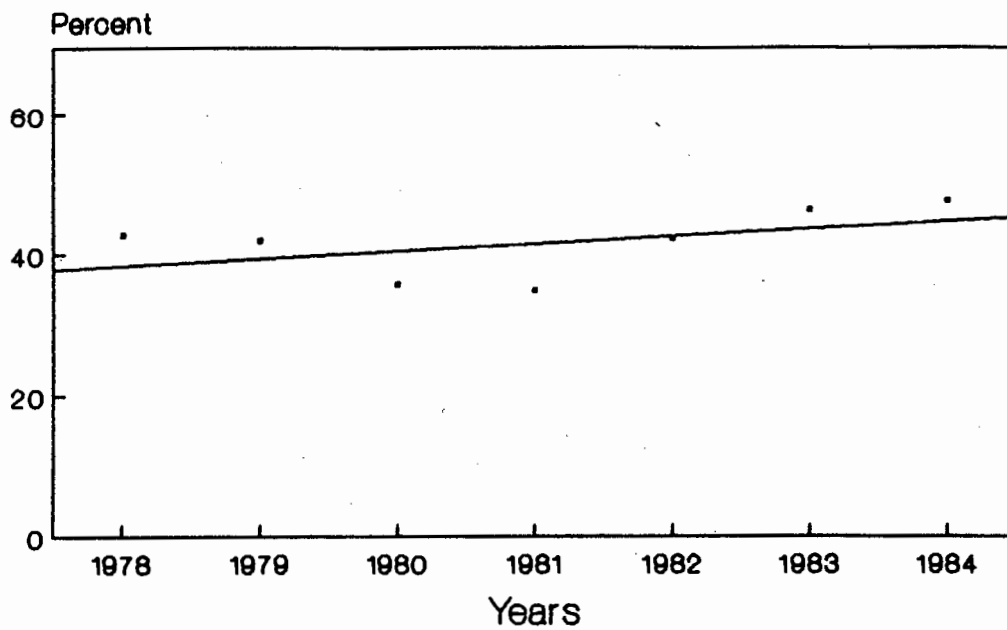
P - 0.308
R - -0.246

**SWIMMING BATHS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



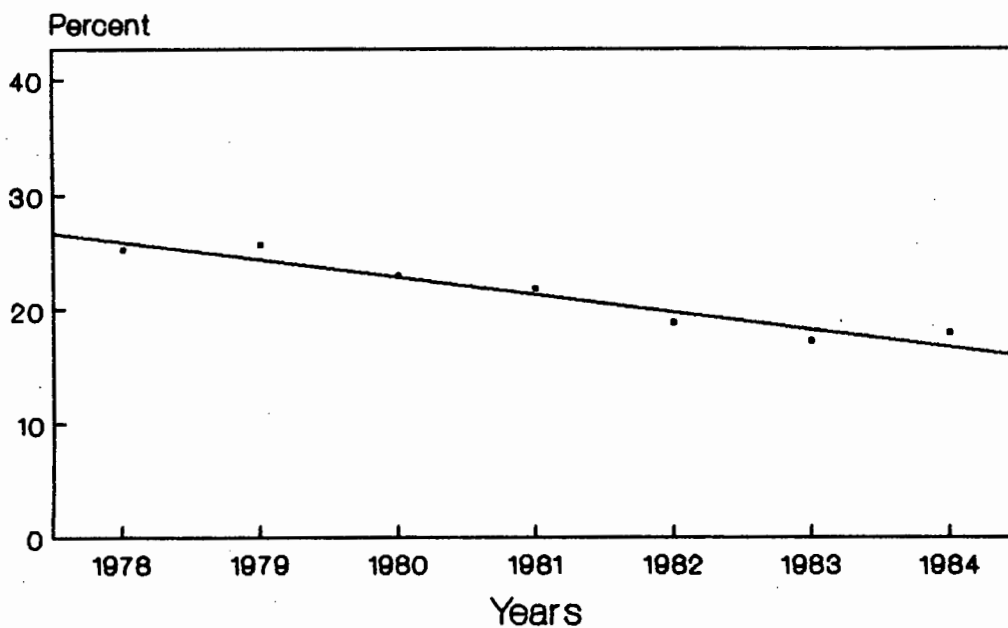
P - 0.126
R - -0.518

ASSESSMENT RATE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES INCOME 587



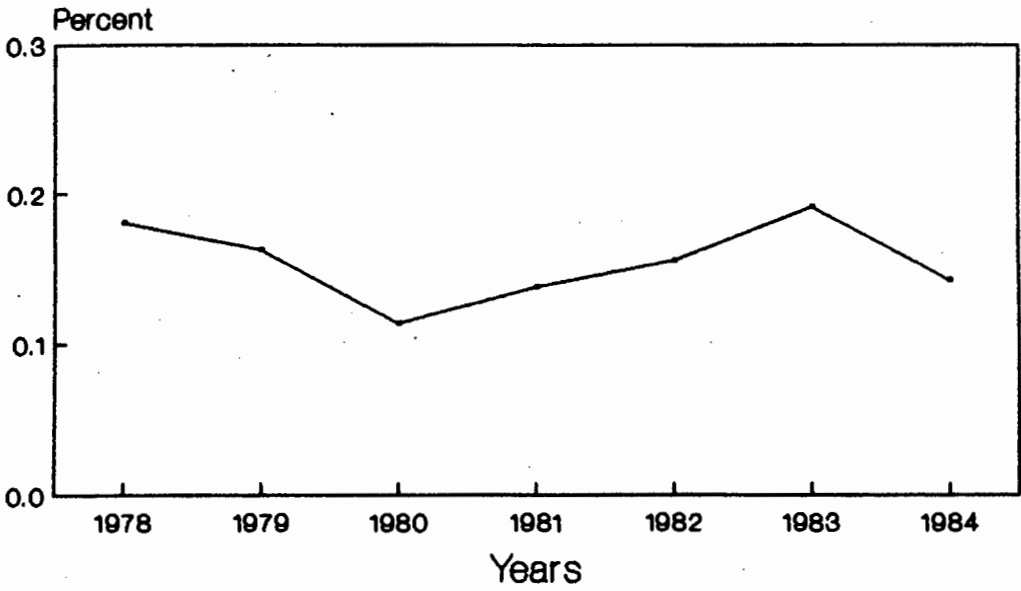
P = 0.155
R = 0.468

VEHICLE LICENCES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES INCOME



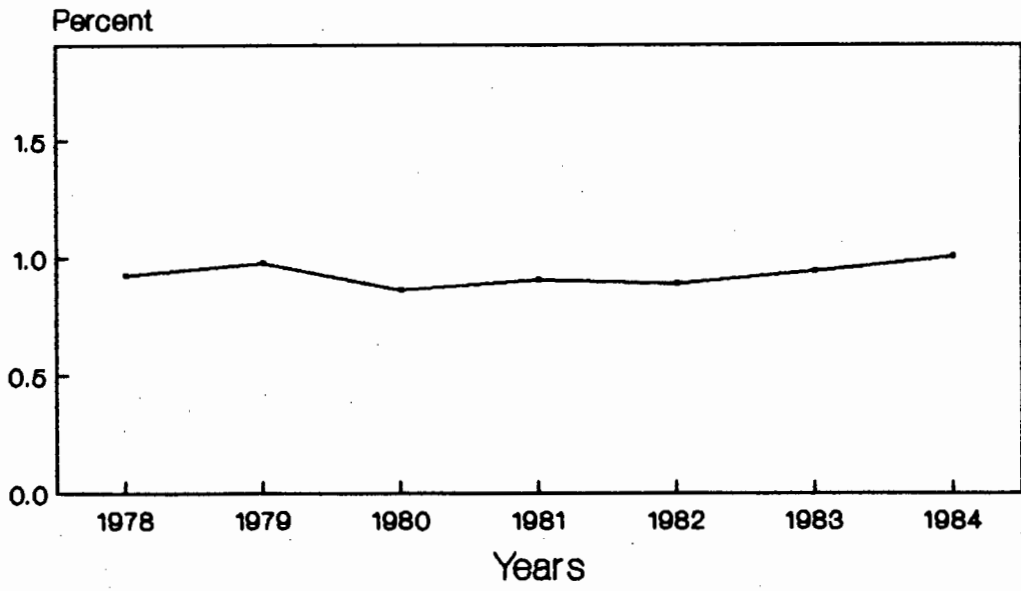
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**HALLS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



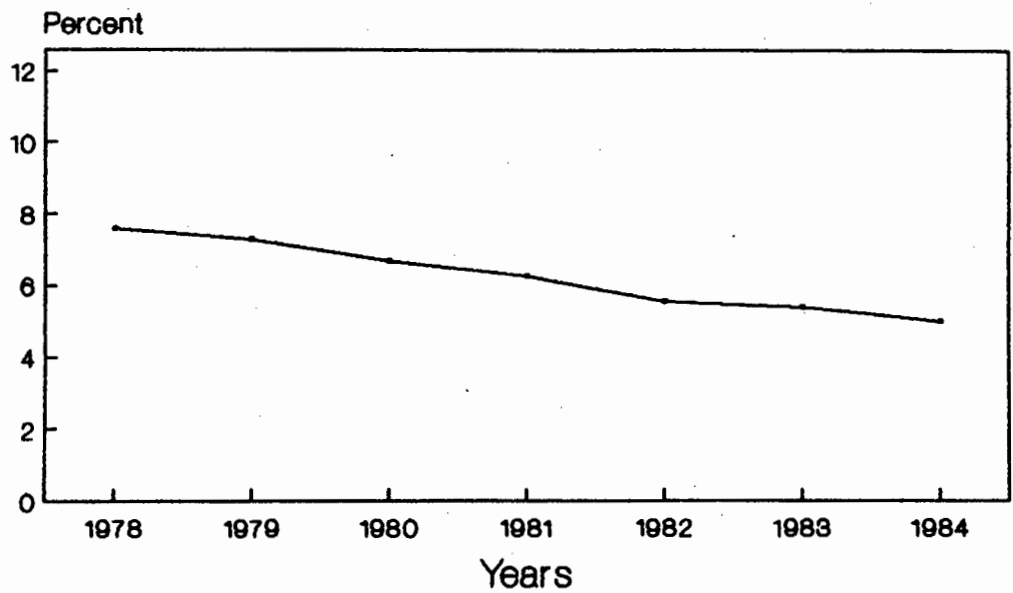
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**CEMETERIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



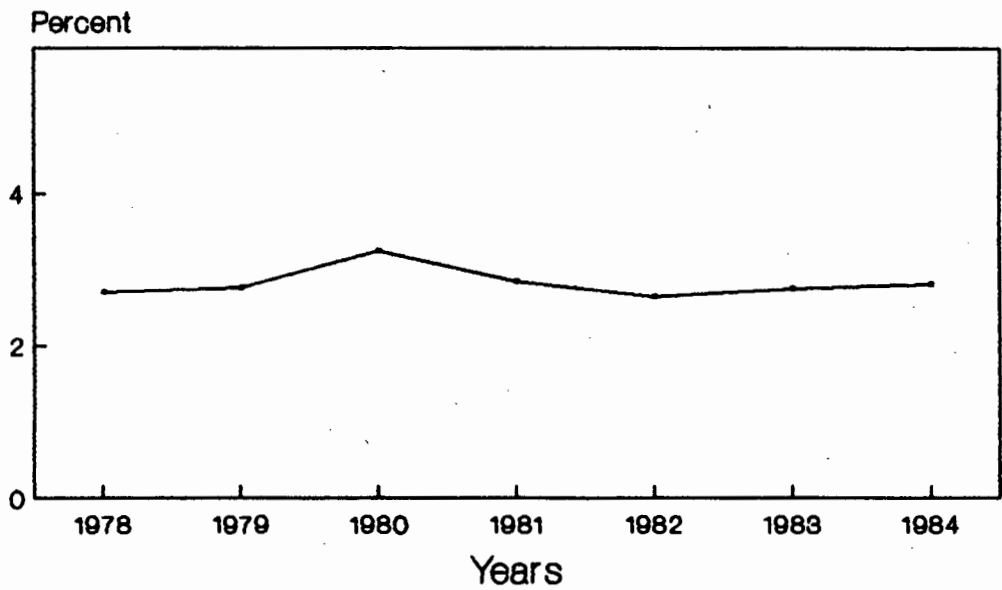
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**SEWERAGE RETICULATION: CITY AS A
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



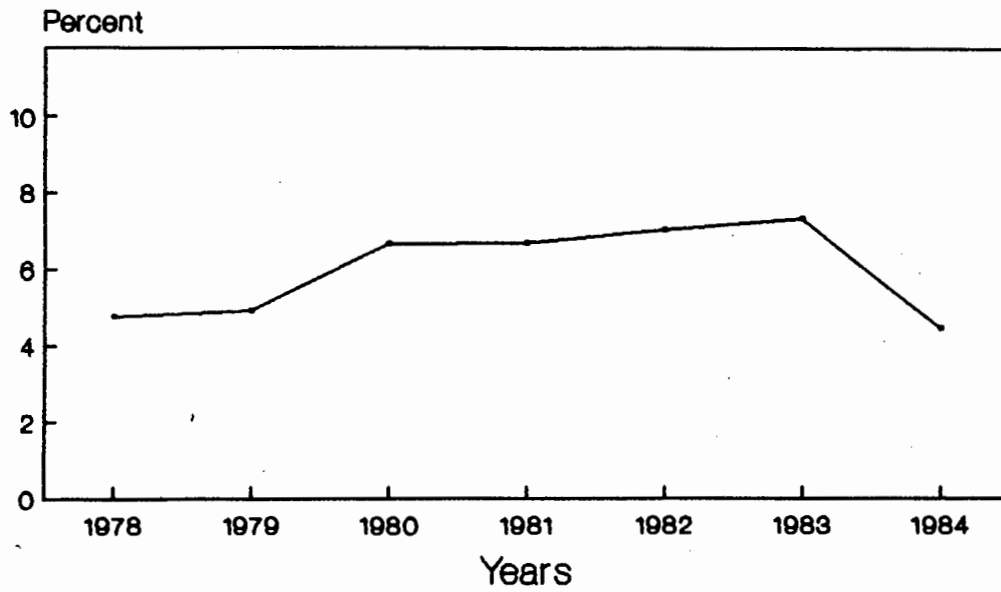
P - 0.0006
R - -0.992

**SEWERAGE RETICULATION: LGA's AS A
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



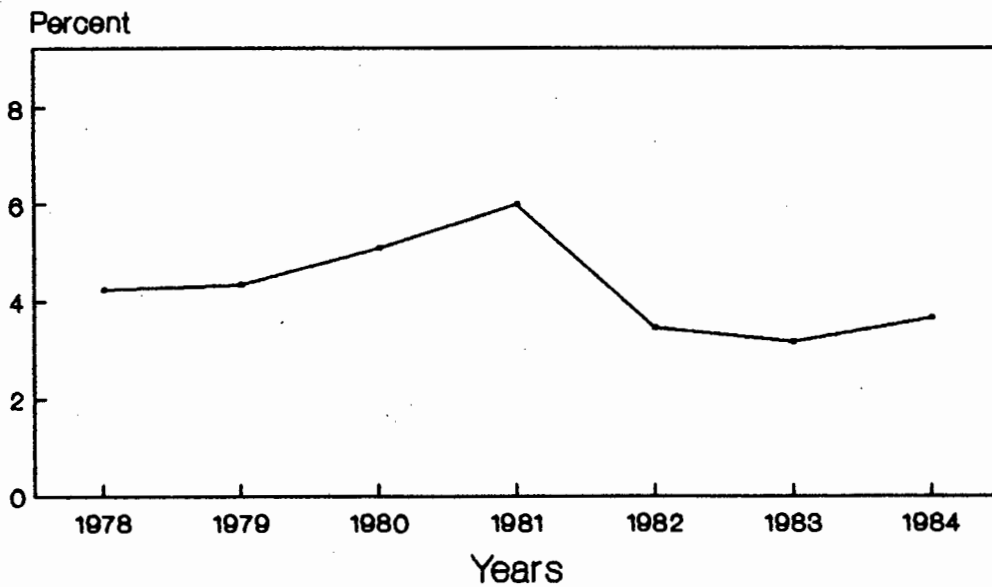
P - 0.412
R - -0.111

SEWERAGE TREATMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE



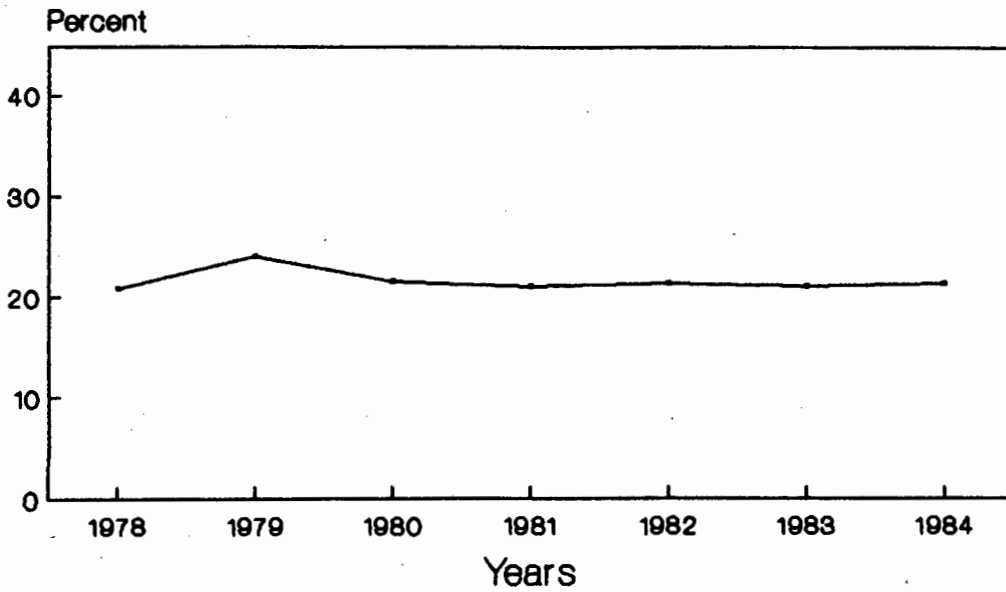
P = 0.287
R = 0.274

SEWERAGE POLLUTION CONTROL AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE



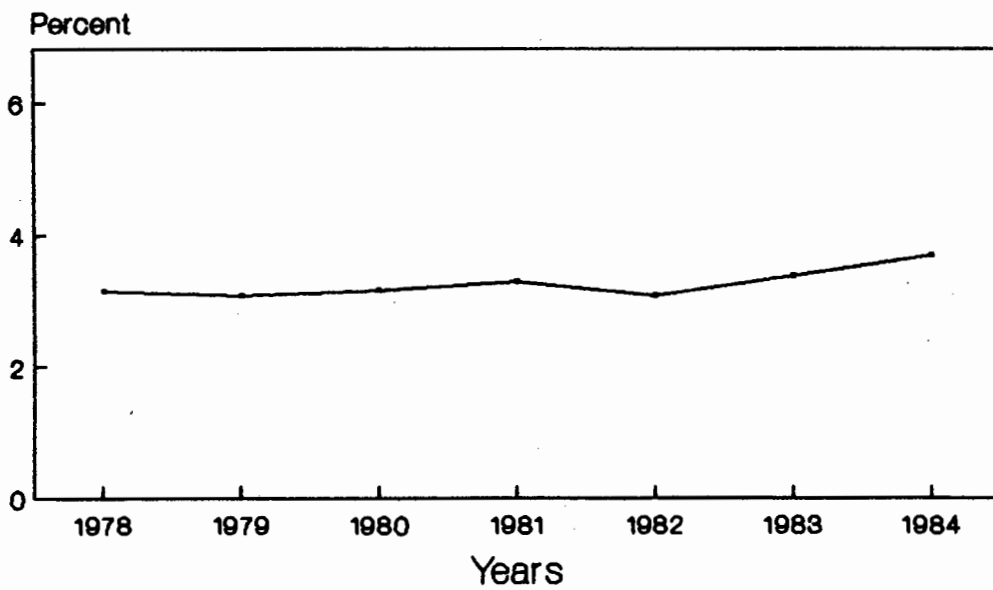
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ROADS, BRIDGES ETC. AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE



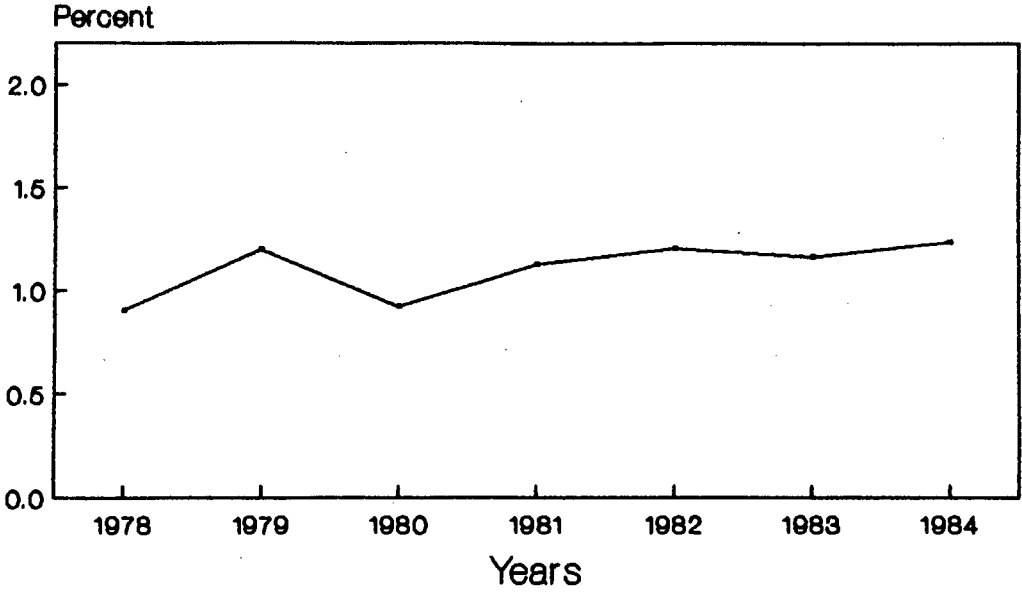
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STREET LIGHTING AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE



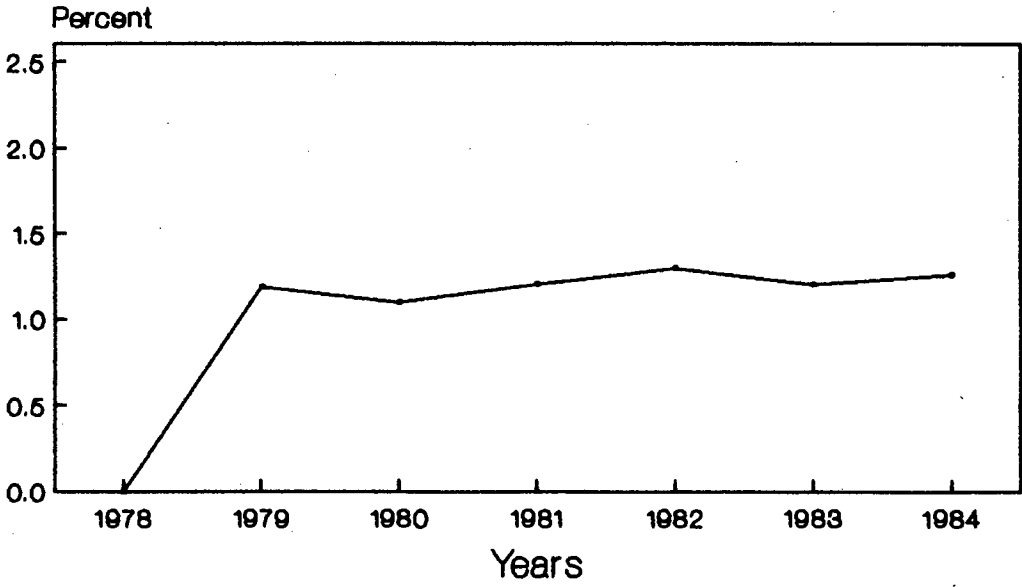
P = 0.023
R = 0.762

**GRASS CONTROL AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.044
R - 0.694

**STREET CLEANING AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL RATES EXPENDITURE**



P - 0.104
R - 0.621

REVENUE ACCOUNT
HOUSING ACCOUNT - LOCAL GOVT AREAS - EXPENDITURE REAL VALUES

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
MBARE							
Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	250,052	212,994	256,730	262,500	288,145	282,920	254,933
Trading	64,218	59,031	73,827	75,178	90,912	96,261	106,817
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	19,476	38,618	37,470	40,053	32,515	48,121	56,006
- Street Lighting (Repairs & Maintenance)	15,132	12,032	11,295	8,415	5,678	7,528	4,002
- General:Grass Control	10,904	11,150	16,148	16,689	16,255	15,657	17,169
Refuse Removal	40,251	36,235	55,079	57,889	16,299	1,225	522
Ambulance	13,969	17,908	21,952	23,585	24,312	25,003	33,198
Fire	18,165	12,915	14,663	16,852	20,440	16,648	19,028
Environ. Health	16,435	17,156	14,353	18,855	19,660	15,637	16,395
Swimming Baths	0	27,529	28,560	26,722	27,499	30,955	34,674
MABYUKU							
Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	70,367	109,309	95,084	108,908	60,062	42,073	37,591
Trading	11,899	13,723	9,593	7,810	12,314	13,644	26,723
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	22,827	19,824	23,464	27,518	29,644	34,512	41,814
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	9,570	6,986	5,448	6,348	5,471	7,575	3,428
- General:Grass Control	10,235	12,014	12,021	12,278	12,483	11,275	14,632
Refuse Removal	25,152	23,062	24,143	31,522	8,889	0	0
Ambulance	7,086	9,085	13,093	13,579	14,849	15,281	20,403
Fire	5,369	3,787	4,327	5,014	6,249	5,101	5,839
Environ. Health	13,543	12,977	13,528	10,863	11,100	9,650	10,944
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0
MUFAKOSE							
Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	98,527	103,101	126,491	82,231	40,130	44,475	92,490
Trading	8,802	7,843	6,210	5,359	11,353	8,833	25,990
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	58,830	26,764	30,766	33,747	34,869	58,945	59,248
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	5,626	3,884	2,863	2,884	2,741	2,640	1,883
- General:Grass Control	11,780	13,690	16,630	13,908	15,614	12,945	13,995
Refuse Removal	9,551	8,757	13,586	18,275	5,149	86	0
Ambulance	4,399	5,652	7,405	7,463	8,130	8,361	11,065
Fire	3,074	2,293	2,404	2,796	2,963	2,392	2,673
Environ. Health	8,323	8,095	8,209	5,963	6,507	5,214	5,655
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0

TAFARA

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	32,064	30,364	22,881	15,635	13,129	23,263	18,414
Trading	7,326	5,672	4,799	5,933	6,210	5,309	14,819
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	21,233	17,754	20,115	26,192	29,117	33,998	32,448
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	5,626	3,884	2,863	2,884	2,741	2,640	1,883
- General:Grass Control	11,708	13,690	16,630	13,908	15,614	12,945	13,995
Refuse Removal	9,551	8,757	13,586	18,275	0	0	0
Ambulance	4,399	5,652	7,405	7,463	8,130	8,361	11,065
Fire	3,074	2,293	2,404	2,796	2,963	2,392	2,673
Environ. Health	8,323	8,095	8,209	5,963	6,507	5,214	5,655
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0

DZIVARESEKWA

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	1,842	14,126	17,904	18,830	14,544	15,830	14,285
Trading	6,685	4,720	5,059	4,520	5,205	5,357	10,980
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	7,343	20,147	18,941	10,741	23,394	22,195	23,324
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance).....		1,469	1,801	2,432	1,670	1,964	1,704
- General:Grass Control		3,575	5,381	5,382	5,631	6,035	1,381
Refuse Removal		8,612	17,017	23,768	6,770	0	0
Ambulance		5,520	10,094	10,665	11,806	12,462	16,856
Fire		1,500	1,683	2,757	3,429	3,009	3,309
Environ. Health		7,349	8,905	8,529	8,537	7,986	8,570
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0

HIGHFIELD

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	23,082	103,871	107,641	104,110	71,671	63,537	91,674
Trading	17,527	22,775	22,971	21,963	22,437	22,123	38,179
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	22,379	81,448	83,507	95,870	131,882	79,160	64,728
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	45,156	20,291	25,714	22,493	19,758	9,937	6,382
- General:Grass Control	10,165	3,508	3,905	2,343	7,561	15,401	16,317
Refuse Removal	56,796	51,742	43,017	53,140	0	0	0
Ambulance	16,545	21,195	24,597	23,598	25,383	26,111	34,480
Fire	8,530	6,163	6,851	8,466	10,132	12,838	13,904
Environ. Health	20,514	22,059	21,253	18,877	15,728	16,373	17,310
Swimming Baths	0	11,313	12,726	13,041	12,398	7,464	14,693

KAMBUZUMA

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	880	928	269	238	188	264	45
Trading	9,280	9,460	9,773	11,533	10,476	10,958	11,546
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	4,916	27,772	25,078	26,707	23,899	30,162	31,204
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	17,407	5,145	5,995	4,893	5,784	3,604	4,746
- General:Grass Control	3,222	4,988	7,194	8,978	11,105	9,482	8,865
Refuse Removal	12,019	11,019	10,331	13,561	3,912	0	0
Ambulance	4,258	5,454	6,480	6,639	6,979	7,173	8,126
Fire	1,873	1,417	1,502	1,562	1,751	1,395	1,583
Environ. Health	6,219	5,879	4,871	5,306	4,848	3,886	4,103
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0

GLEN NORAH

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	12,905	32,412	39,110	29,715	10,937	16,103	26,322
Trading	15,657	15,230	16,833	15,929	16,057	16,695	25,721
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	3,690	22,020	26,207	37,709	45,402	47,430	38,890
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	2,221	2,509	2,705	2,293	2,848	950	2,154
- General:Grass Control	4,738	150	4,330	3,592	4,175	4,081	4,256
Refuse Removal	28,734	26,346	29,664	37,737	10,837	0	0
Ambulance	8,708	11,172	15,244	15,572	17,005	17,497	23,141
Fire	5,255	3,693	4,327	5,001	6,572	5,345	5,881
Environ. Health	16,223	17,135	14,129	12,442	13,640	10,810	11,429
Swimming Baths		0	0	0	0	0	0

WARREN PARK

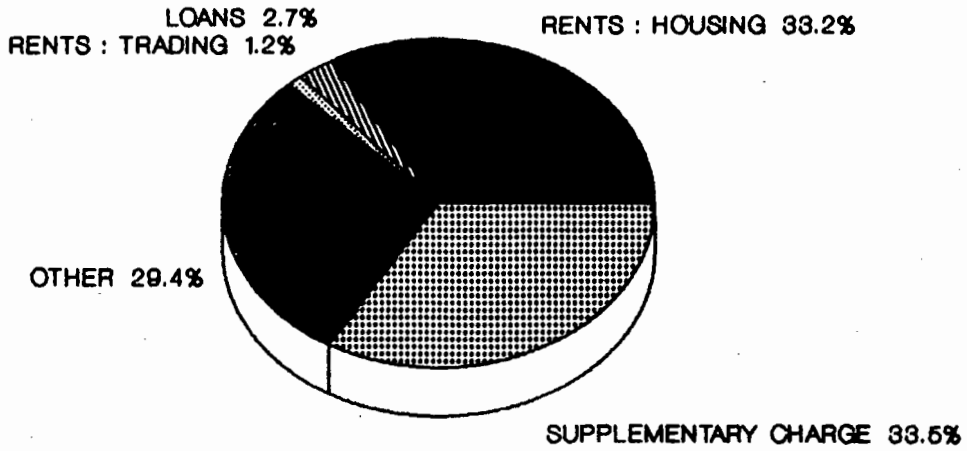
Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trading	0	0	0	0	0	1,798	87,302
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	0	0	0	985	9,433	11,472	
- Street Lighting (Repairs & Maintenance).....	0	0	0	0	300	1,293	
- General:Grass Control	0	0	0	7,984	8,409	13,524	
Ambulance	0	0	385	2,450	5,004	3,577	
Fire	0	0	147	3,571	3,104	3,374	
Environ. Health	0	0	44	3,607	2,510	3,060	

GLEN VIEW

Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	0	3,419	7,078	2,540	1,863	1,405
Trading	0	251	8,413	5,847	9,263	22,476
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:						
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	0	18,407	21,156	35,628	46,360	36,109
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance).....	0	1,431	3,705	3,689	4,224	3,943
- General:Grass Control	0	366	2,644	2,513	9,441	1,622
Refuse Removal	0	28,016	47,271	13,263	0	0
Ambulance	986	12,605	14,926	17,040	17,529	23,689
Fire	57	2,524	7,258	8,317	6,763	7,900
Environ. Health	242	17,007	11,938	16,923	11,204	12,183
Swimming Baths	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL EXPENDITURE - SELECTED ITEMS	1,331,635	1,547,974	1,789,268	1,858,151	1,632,955	1,567,900
TOTAL EXPENDITURE - HOUSING ACCOUNT						
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS.....	9,780,242	8,693,868	9,630,029	10,154,078	7,191,034	7,233,306
						7,158,389

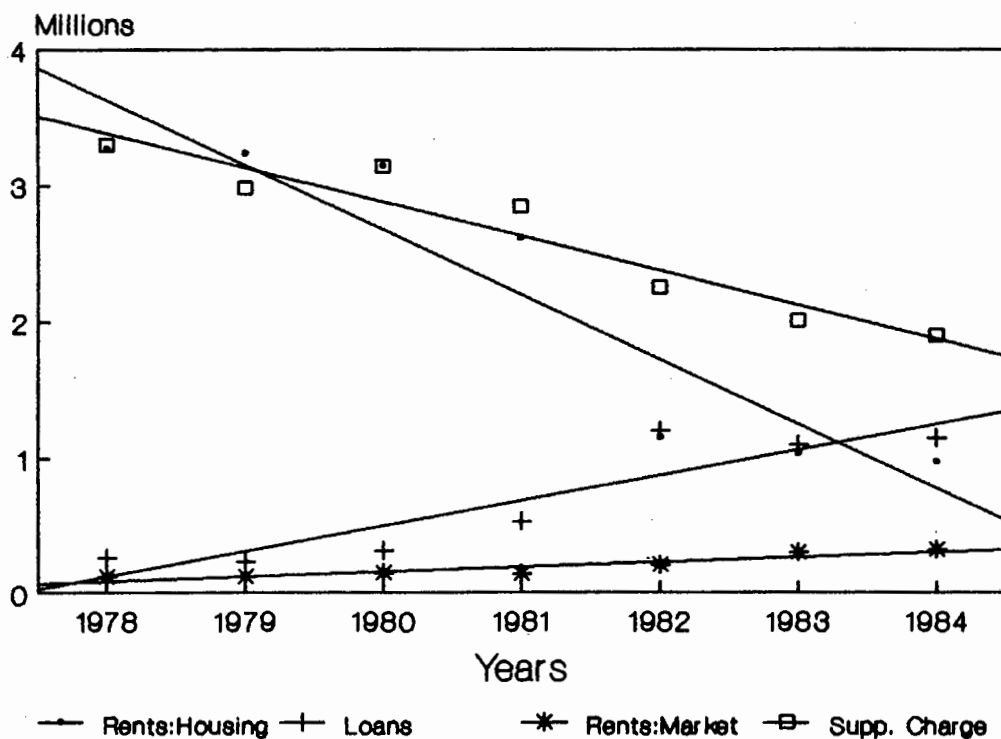
Expenditure for all government areas	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Housing:General-Repairs and Maintenance	489719	607105	669529	629243	501345	490329	537160
Trading	141394	138454	149316	156639	180811	190240	370554
Service Account:Roads and Stormwater Drainage:							
- Highways(repairs and maintenance).....	160694	254348	283955	319693	387136	410317	395244
- Street Lighting:Mains (Repairs & Maintenance)	100738	56200	60115	56347	50359	41361	31417
- General:Grass Control	62752	62765	82604	79724	98956	105671	105757
Refuse Removal	182054	174530	234440	301437	0	0	0
Ambulance	59364	82624	118875	123874	136083	142780	185599
Fire	45340	34119	40683	52649	66389	58988	65963
Environ. Health	89580	98988	110465	98780	107058	88484	95305
Swimming Baths	0	38842	39286	39764	39898	38419	49367

LGA SELECTED ITEMS PERCENT REVENUE EXPENDITURE 1978



Housing includes hostels
Trading includes Market stalls, Business
and Public utilities

HOUSING LGA's: SIGNIFICANT INCOME-GENERATING ITEMS



APPENDIX 9

SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSES

- a) Aggregate Revenue Expenditure
- b) Rates Account: Revenue Expenditure

AGGREGATE REVENUE EXPENDITURE
SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSIS

	DIFFERENCE 1978-1984	EXPECTED INCREASE IN OUTLAY	NET SHIFT POSITIVE	NET SHIFT NEGATIVE	% of ALL + ive SHIFTS	% of ALL - ive SHIFTS
RATES ACCOUNT	2,653,113	2,486,579	166,533		2.88	
ESTATES ACCOUNT	11,150	52,270		(41,120)		0.71
HOUSING ACCOUNT	(325,723)	89,170		(414,893)		7.18
HOUSING ACC L.G.A.	(2,621,853)	1,557,768		(4,179,621)		72.29
WELFARE ACCOUNT	84,485	129,908		(45,423)		0.79
ELECTRICITY ACCOUNT	8,426,061	2,810,561	5,615,501		97.12	0.00
WATER ACCOUNT	(44,526)	1,056,452		(1,100,978)		19.04
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	8,182,708	8,182,708				
			TOTAL			
TOTAL OUTLAY	0.1592770184		5,782,034	(5,782,034)		

REVENUE ACCOUNT: RATES ACCOUNT SHIFT-SHARE ANALYSIS

	DIFFERENCE 1978-1984	EXPECTED INCREASE IN OUTLAY	NET SHIFT POSITIVE	NET SHIFT NEGATIVE	% OF all + ive SHIFTS	% OF all - ive SHIFTS
RATES ACCOUNT						
Administration	57,195	183,906		(126,711)		13.83
Halls and Comm Centres	(4,380)	1,946		(6,326)		0.69
Cemeteries	22,880	9,980	12,900		0.58	0.00
Cleansing Services	1,135	6,148		(5,013)		0.55
Waste Management	451,664	50,399	401,265		18.18	0.00
Parks and Open Spaces	180,916	67,795	113,121		5.13	0.00
Swimming Baths	(51,883)	20,196		(72,080)	0.00	7.87
Sewerage	0	0	0		0.00	0.00
Reticulation:City	(350,456)	81,768		(432,224)	0.00	47.17
:LGA's	47,126	29,173	17,953		0.81	0.00
Treatment	1,432	51,126		(49,694)	0.00	5.42
Pollution Control	(47,450)	45,630		(93,080)	0.00	10.16
Roads,Bridges,Stormwater	0	0	0		0.00	0.00
Signs and Signals	311,916	224,650	87,266		3.95	0.00
Street Lighting	124,284	33,898	90,386		4.10	0.00
Grass Control	65,152	9,766	55,386		2.51	0.00
Street Cleaning	67,649	9,872	57,776		2.62	0.00
Family Health Services	274,281	21,829	252,451		11.44	0.00
Clinics	958,010	77,010	881,000		39.92	0.00
Environmental Health Cont	(106,770)	24,413		(131,183)	0.00	14.32
Hospitals	277,289	40,010	237,279		10.75	0.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURE SELECTED	2,422,667	0.1711180598				
TOTAL EXPENDITURE RATES ACC	1,080,238				100	100
			TOTAL	TOTAL		
% CHANGE IN TOTAL OUTLAY		0.0691942978	2206784	-916310		

APPENDIX 10

**CITY COUNCILLOR INTERVIEW
QUESTIONNAIRE**

CITY IN TRANSITION PROJECT

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CITY COUNCILLORS

A. On the Question of Raising Funds in the Public Sector:

1. In your opinion do the means of raising funds for the municipality supply an adequate flow of money for it to undertake necessary provision of services and amenities in the city?
2. If no - what factors do you believe are responsible for the inadequacies in the supply of public funds?
3. Do you have any suggestions for alternative ways and means through which additional, or supplementary, sources of public funds could be raised?

B On the Question of Identifying Priority Needs in the Development of the City :

1. As a legacy of the colonial period, what were the major problems that required attention, or improvement, in the city at independence? If possible place these in order of priority.
2. Have any of these since been satisfactorily resolved?
3. What do you consider to be the most important requirements for the city at present?
4. What kinds of
 - a) Complaints or problems
 - b) Requests or demandsare addressed to you as Ward Councillor by constituents?
5. Do you consider that channels of communication with your constituents are effective?

C On the Allocation and Distribution of Council Finance :

1. Are current money allocation procedures satisfactory?
2. If no - Have you any suggestions for improving them?

3. In your opinion does your Ward receive a fair allocation of the pool of public money?
4. In your opinion have matters concerning your Ward improved significantly since 1980 and in what ways?

D On General Questions of Urban Development

1. In the light of your experience, what approach would you suggest the City Council should adopt towards such common urban development problems as:
 - a) The growth of squatter settlements?
 - b) Rural-urban migration?
 - c) Informal retail activity (hawking and vending)?
 - d) Informal manufacturing activity?
 - d) Local health needs?
 - f) The provision of low-income housing?
 - g) Social problems, drug-abuse, alcoholism, unemployment, child-care?
2. In your view is it possible or desirable for Harare to develop physical and social characteristics that might be described as distinctly African in nature? Could you identify some of the characteristics that might be encouraged to develop? (alternatively, or in other words, do you have a conception of the emergence of a city that is identifiably African, and, specifically, Zimbabwean?)

E On Limitations of the Council System.

1. Playing the 'devil's advocate' what kinds of criticisms would you level against the City Council and the system of local government?

APPENDIX 11

**SALISBURY/HARARE LOCAL
AUTHORITY LEGISLATION**

APPENDIX 11

SALISBURY/HARARE LOCAL AUTHORITY LEGISLATION

Statutory

Instrument

1978

Number

- 36 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (28)
- 58 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (29)
- 77 Salisbury (Control of Pedestrian Malls) By-Laws, 1978
- 45 Salisbury (African Townships)(Rent) by-Laws (No 5).
- 113 Land Tenure (Declaration of Urban Land)(European Area)(Amendment) Notice, 1978 (No 3).
- 116 Tariff of Vehicle Licence and Other Fees (City Council of Salisbury) Notice, 1978.
- 121 Public Health (Effluent)(Amendment) Regulations, (No 2).
- 154 African Councils (Model)(Hawkers and Street Vendors) By-Laws, 1978
- 194 Salisbury (Traffic)(Amendment) By-Laws, (No 30).
- 207 Salisbury (Licenced Premises)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978, (No 1).
- 208 Salisbury (Food Hygiene)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 1).
- 211 Declaration of an African Townships Area : Alteration of Boundaries and Redefinition of Dzivareskekwa African Township Area : City Council of Salisbury.
- 225 Declaration of an African Township Area : Alteration of Boundaries and Redefinition of Mabvuku African Township Area : Salisbury City Council.
- 226 Salisbury (Peri-Urban Areas)(Noxious Weeds)(Repeal) By-Laws, 1978.

- 260 Salisbury (Prohibition of Smoking in Theatres and Cinemas)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 1).
 - 283 Salisbury Hospitals (Soliciting of Medical Services) Regulations, 1978.
 - 285 Salisbury (Licensed Premises)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 1).
 - 286 Standard African Townships (Amendment) Regulations, 1978 (No 3).
 - 313 Salisbury (Dog Licensing and Control)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 3).
 - 396 Salisbury (Dog Licensing and Control)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 4).
 - 397 Salisbury (Parking Meter)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 11).
 - 448 Salisbury (African Townships and Westwood) (Meetings) (Repeal) By-Laws, 1978.
 - 569 Salisbury (Cemeteries)(Amendment) Regulations, 1978 (No 2).
 - 677 Declaration of an African Township Area : Definition of Glen View African Townships Area, Salisbury City Council.
 - 720 Salisbury (Parking Meter)(Amendment) By-Laws, (No 12).
 - 741 Salisbury (Municipal Traffic Laws)(Offenses of Fixed Penalties)(Amendment) Regulations, 1978 (No 4).
 - 778 Salisbury (African Townships) (LGA's General Regulations) (Repeal) By-Laws, 1978.
 - 794 Salisbury (Traffic)(Amendment) Resolution, 1978 (No 3).
 - 823 Salisbury (Beating) By-Laws, 1978.
 - 917 Salisbury (Traffic)(Amendment) By-Laws, 1978 (No 32).
 - 953 Salisbury (Hawkers and Street Vendors) By-Laws, 1978.
- Source : Government Gazette, Vol LVI, Government Printer.
Salisbury.

StatutoryInstrument1979Number

- 500 Salisbury (Proceedings of the Council) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 4).
- 510 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) By-Laws, 1979 (No 3).
- 535 Salisbury Municipal Electricity Supply (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 9).
- 544 Model Building (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 2).
- 603 Salisbury (Parking Garage) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 3).
- 628 Commercial Undertaking of Salisbury Employment (Amendment) Regulations, 1979 (No 10).
- 649 Salisbury Speed Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1979 (No 4).
- 655 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) By-Laws, 1979.
- 666 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 33).
- 712 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) By-Laws, 1979.
- 716 Model Building (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 3).
- 718 Salisbury (Taxi Cab) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 2).
- 720 Salisbury (Control of Shanties) (Repeal) By-Laws, 1979.
- 764 Commercial Undertakings of Salisbury Employment Regulations, 1979.
- 806 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 34).
- 836 Services Levy (Repeal) Regulations, 1979.
- 837 Salisbury (Parking Meter) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 13).
- 847 Urban Councils (Model) (Use and Occupation of Land and Buildings). (Adoption) (No 2) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1979 (No 1).

Source : Government Gazette, Vol LVII, Government Printer.
Salisbury.

StatutoryInstrument1980Number

- 60 Salisbury (Parking Meter) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 14).
- 140 Salisbury Speed Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1980 (No 4).
- 222 Salisbury (Physical Examination) By-Laws, 1980.
- 236 Salisbury (Boating) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 1).
- 240 Salisbury (Fishing in Municipal Waters) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 1).
- 275 Salisbury (Boating) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 1).
- 304 Salisbury (Dog Licensing and Control) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 6).
- 328 Salisbury (Control of Vegetation and Waste Material) By-Laws, 1980.
- 330 Salisbury (Municipal Electricity Supply) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980.
- 344 Urban Councils (City of Salisbury) (Suspension of Provisions of Act). Notice, 1980.
- 394 Salisbury (Cemeteries) (Amendment) Regulations, 1980 (No 3).
- 401 Salisbury (General) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 1).
- 402 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) Notice, 1980.
- 406 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 1).
- 432 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) (No 2) Notice, 1980.
- 467 Salisbury Municipal Electricity Supply (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 11).
- 514 Salisbury (Speed Limit) (Amendment) Resolution, 1980.
- 518 Salisbury (Ramps and Sidewalk Crossing) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 2).
- 541 Westwood Local Government Area (Service Charges) (Amendment) Regulations, 1980 (No 2).

- 542 Marimba Park Local Government Area (Water and Supplementary Charges) (Amendment) Regulations, 1980 (No 1).
- 543 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) (No 3) Notice, 1980.
- 575 Housing and Building (Lodgers Rent Restriction) Regulations, 1980.
- 576 Rent (Amendment) regulations, 1980 (No 5).
- 610 Proclamation 27 of 1980 : Urban Councils Act (Chap 214)
- 623 Proclamation 40 of 1980 : Urban Councils Act (Chap 214)
- 656 Urban Councils (Salisbury) (Composition of Council and Related Matters) Notice 1980.
- 742 Urban Councils (City of Salisbury) (Voters' Rolls) Notice, 1980.
- 767 Salisbury (General) Amendment) By-Laws, 1980 (No 2).

Source : Government Gazette, Vol LVIII : Government Printer.
Salisbury.

StatutoryInstrument1981Number

General Notice 149 of 1981. In terms of the Model Building By Laws of 1977 the Minister of Local Government and Housing granted permission for Salisbury City Council to authorize such departures as it deemed expedient from the provisions of the Model Building By-Laws.

- 3 Salisbury (Parking Meter) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (no 15).
- 4. Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 35).
- 45 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 37)
- 85 Salisbury (Anti-Litter) By-Laws, 1981.
- 117 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) Notice, 1981.
- 126 Urban Councils (City of Salisbury) (Modification of Act) Notice, 1981.
- 127 Salisbury (Waste Management) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 1).
- 133 Salisbury Speed Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1981 (No 7).
- 144 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) (No 2) Notice, 1981.
- 150 Proclamation 4 of 1981 : Urban Councils Act (Chap 214).
- 151 Salisbury (Cemeteries) (Amendment) Regulations, 1981 (No 4).
- 164 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 2).
- 165 Salisbury (Licensed Premises) (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Application) By-Laws, 1981.
- 175 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 3).
- 213 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 4).

- 218 Urban Councils (Modification of Act) (No 3) Notice, 1981.
- 228 Salisbury (Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 5).
- 237 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 37).
- 273 Salisbury (Parking Meter) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 16).
- 327 Salisbury (Street Collection) (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Application) By-Laws, 1981.
- 328 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (General) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981.
- 422 Salisbury Speed Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1981 (No 8).
- 492 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 38).
- 516 Salisbury (Proceedings of the Council) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 1).
- 557 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) By-Laws, 1981.
- 558 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Sewerage Charges) By-Laws, 1981.
- 559 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Waste Management) By-Laws, 1981.
- 560 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) By-Laws, 1981.
- 561 Salisbury (Glen Norah) (Flats) (Service Charges) By-Laws, 1981.
- 577 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 39).
- 610 Tariff of Vehicle License and Other Fees (City of Salisbury) Notice, 1981.
- 744 Shop Licences (Amendment) Regulations, 1981.
- 748 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Water Charges) By-Laws, 1981.
- 810 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Waste Management) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 1).

- 813 Salisbury (Model) (Use and Occupation of Land and Buildings) (Adoption) By-Laws, 1981.
- 814 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Sewerage Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1981 (No 1).
- 908 Salisbury (Control of Advertising Signs) By-Laws, 1981.

Source : Government Gazette LVIX Government Printer,
Salisbury.

StatutoryInstrument1982Number

- 29 Salisbury Parking Privileges (Amendment) Regulations, 1982 (No 1).
- 32 Salisbury Speed-Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1982 (No 9).
- 42 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 40).
- 92 Salisbury Municipal Electricity Supply (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 12).
- 94 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Waiver of Charges) By-Laws, 1982.
- 125 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).
- 128 Salisbury (General) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 3).
- 135 Salisbury (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).
- 137 Salisbury (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 41)
- 246 Salisbury (Hawkers and Street Vendors) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).
- 502 Salisbury Speed Limit (Amendment) Resolution, 1982 (No 10).
- 544 Local Government Areas (Supplementary Charge Exemption) (Amendment) Regulations, 1982.
- 579 Tariff of Vehicle License and Other Fees (City of Harare) Notice, 1982.
- 585 Harare (Cemeteries) (Amendment) Regulations, 1982 (No 5).627 Harare Municipal Electricity Supply (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 13).
- 650 Harare (Control of Advertising Signs) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).
- 704 Harare (Control of Vegetation and Waste Material) By-Laws, 1982.
- 738 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) (Amendment) By Laws, 1982 (No 2).

- 739 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas)
(Sewerage Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 2).
- 740 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Water
Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).
- 741 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Water
Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1982 (No 1).

Source : Government Gazette Vol LX Government Printer.
Harare.

StatutoryInstrument1983Number

- 40 Local Government Areas (Supplementary Charge Exemption) (Amendment) Regulations, 1983 (No 2).
- 57 Harare (People's Markets) By-Laws, 1983.
- 58 Harare Municipal Electricity Supply (Amendment) By-Laws 1983 (No 14).
- 107 Harare (Control of Vegetation and Waste Material) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1983 (No 1).
- 117 Harare (Taxi-cab) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1983 (No 3).
- 132 Harare (Makuvisi Woodlands) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1983 (No 1).
- 193 Establishment of Township, Marlborough Township 23.
- 295 Urban Councils (Harare) (Composition of Council and Related Matters) Notice, 1983.
- 357 Harare (Traffic) By-Laws, 1983.
- 358 Harare (Parking) By-Laws, 1983.
- 429 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1983 (No 3).
- 431 Harare Parking Privileges (Amendment) Regulations, 1983 (No 12).
- 457 Harare (Municipal Traffic Laws) (Offenses and Fixed Penalties) (Amendment) Regulations, 1983 (No 6).
- 516 Regional, Town and Country Planning (Harare Combination Master Plan Preparation Authority) Notice, 1983.
- 545 Salisbury (African Townships (Hire of Halls) (Repeal) By-Laws, 1983.
- 560 Harare Parking Privileges (Amendment) Regulations, 19893 (No 13).
- 611 Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1983 (No 7).

661A Road Motor Transportation (Emergency Taxi-cab)
Regulations, 1983.

Source : Government Gazette Vol LXI Government Printer.
Harare.

StatutoryInstrument1984Number

- 4 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Water Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 2).
- 5 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Waste Management) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 3).
- 39 Parirenyatwa Hospitals (Safe Custody of Patients' Property) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 1).
- 75 Harare (Taxi-cab) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 5).
- GN248 Road Motor Transportation Act (Chap 262) Road Motor Transportation (Emergency) (Taxi-cab) Regulations 1983 : Approval of Fares.
- 214 Proclamation 8 of 1984 : Urban Councils Act (Chap 214).
- 316 Harare (Taxi-cab) (Amendment) By-Laws 1984 (No 6).
- 328 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 4).
- 343 Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 8).
- 360 Harare (Long Distance Omnibus Station) By-Laws, 1984.
- 381 Harare (Abandoned Vehicle Charges) By-Laws, 1984.

Source : Government Gazette Vol LXII Government Printer.
Harare.

StatutoryInstrument1985Number

- 7 Harare (Traffic) (Amendment) By-Laws, (No 1).
- 9 Harare (Parking) (Amendment) By-Laws, (No 1).
- 16 Harare (Proceedings of the Council) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1984 (No 6).
- 17 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 5).
- 45 Harare (Prohibition of SMoking in Theatres and Cinemas) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 1).
- 46 Harare (Physical Examination) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 1).
- 65 Harare (General) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 2).
- 90 Harare (Noise) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 1).
- 91 Salisbury (African Townships) (Noise) (Application) (Repeal) By-Laws, 1985.
- 147 Urban Councils (Model) Occupation of Council Property) By-Laws, 1985.
- 169 Urban Councils (Harare : Kuwadzana) Notice, 1985.
- 199 Urban Councils (Harare) (Alteration of Boundaries and Related Matters) (Amendment) Notice, 1985 (No 6).
- 243 Tariff of Vehicle Licence and Other Fees (City Council of Harare) Notice, 1985.
- 309 Model Building (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 5).
- 331 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Rent) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 6).
- 332 Urban Councils Act (Chap 214) Proclamation 12 of 1985.
- 358 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) Sewerage Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 19895 (No 3).
- 339 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Supplementary Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 3).
- 345 Harare (Building) (Adoption) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 1).

355 Harare (Incorporated and Local Government Areas) (Water Charges) (Amendment) By-Laws, 1985 (No 3).

Urban Councils Amendment Act (No 4 of 1981)

Shop Licences Amendment Act (No 43 of 1981)

Land Survey Amendment Act (No 48 of 1981)

African Beer Amendment Act (No 56 of 1981)

African Status Determination (Repeal) (Act (No 33 of 1981)).

Salisbury Hospitals Amendment Act (No 39 of 1981).

Regional Town and Country Planning Amendment Act 1982

Traditional Beer Act (No 25 of 1984).

Local Government Areas Abolished by Statutory Instrument No 610 in terms of Proclamation 27 of 1980.

Source : Government Gazette Vol LXIII Government Printer.
Harare

APPENDIX 12

LEGAL POWERS OF THE HARARE CITY COUNCIL

**(As per the Urban Council's Act (Chapter 214) of 1980 (as
amended))**

APPENDIX 12LEGAL POWERS OF HARARE CITY COUNCIL

(as defined in the Second Schedule of the Urban Councils Act
Chapter 214 (as amended 1980))

1. Land, building and works
2. Open spaces
3. Recreational facilities
4. Showgrounds.
5. Trees.
6. Conservation of natural resources.
7. Cultivation and farming.
8. Grazing.
9. Clearing of land.
10. Stock pens and dip tanks
11. Slaughter-houses
12. Markets and agricultural produce.
13. Sale of products.
- 13A. Manufacture and sale of mahewu.
14. Charges.
15. Plant and machinery.
16. Roads, bridges, dams, etc.
17. Decorations and illuminations.
18. Advertising boardings.
19. Public conveniences.
20. Effluent or refuse removal and treatment.
21. Control of pests.
22. Hospitals and clinics.
23. Ambulances.
- 23A. Civil defence services.
24. Creches.
25. Maternity and child welfare services.
26. Family planning services.
27. Charitable institutions.
28. Maintenance allowances.
29. Funerals.
30. Grants to charities, sports, etc.
- 30A. Grants to local authorities.
31. Educational institutions.
32. Youth centres.
- 32A. Employment bureaux.
33. Libraries, museums, theatres, public halls, botanical and zoological gardens.
34. Orchestras and bands.
35. Aerodromes and helicopter stations.
36. Boats.
37. Publicity.
38. Public entertainment,
39. Congresses.

- 40. Courses for councillors and employees.
- 41. Subscriptions to associations.
- 42. Travelling expenses.
- 43. Loans to employees for transport.
- 44. Insurance.
- 45. Mementoes.
- 46. Coats of arms and seal.
- 47. Freedom of the municipality.
- 48. Monuments, statues and relics.
- 49. General.